[redacted]

CRUSADER ART IN THE HOLY LAND, FROM THE THIRD CRUSADE TO THE FALL OF ACRE, 1187–1291

In this monumental work, Jaroslav Folda examines the art and architecture produced for the Crusaders during the century that Acre served as the capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, from 1191 to 1291. Commissioned by Crusaders, pilgrims, merchants, and resident Franks in the Crusader territories of Syria-Palestine, these artworks were produced by Westerners who had traveled to the Latin East, resident Franks, Eastern Christians, and even Muslims who worked for Crusader patrons. Defining "Crusader art" as one that meshes the traditions of the Latin West and the Greek and Islamic East, Folda identifies the surviving works, discusses the main artistic developments in historical context, and shows how thirteenth-century Crusader art differs from that produced in the twelfth century. Although important achievements were made in religious book painting and coinage, the most dramatic innovations are found in icon painting and secular manuscript illustration. The result of years of research, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land* synthesizes the scholarship on a significant chapter in the history of medieval art. Lavishly illustrated with more than four hundred illustrations, this volume also includes a CD-ROM with a complete set of more than 500 illustrations from Crusader manuscripts.

Jaroslav Folda is N. Ferebee Taylor Professor of the History of Art at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. A scholar of medieval art, he is the author of numerous articles and books, including *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1197*, which received the Charles Homer Haskins Medal from the Medieval Academy of America in 1999.

CRUSADER ART IN THE HOLY LAND, FROM THE THIRD CRUSADE TO THE FALL OF ACRE, 1187–1291

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To the Members of My Family:

Linda

Lisa Kristin

Natasha Katherine

Farrell O'Gorman

Anna Clare

Jaroslav Connelly

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NOTE ON THE SCHOLARLY APPARATUS OF THIS BOOK

The expanded Table of Contents which follows is designed to facilitate the reader's access to the discussion of the historical context and the artistic developments in each of major chronological sections of this study.

Access to the Maps is provided in the List of Maps with a Note on the Maps.

Access to the works of art and architecture reproduced in the book is provided by the List of Color Plates, List of Figures, and List of Illustrations on the Compact Disc. The List of Figures is self-explanatory with a page number accompanying each item where the reproduction can be found. There are two special categories for the reproductions:

1. For the reproductions of the Icons please note that in addition to the individual icon entries found in the List of Figures [1–352] for the main text, there is also a complete list of icon reproductions contained in the List of Figures for the Appendix [Icons no. 1–134] immediately following. This means that for each icon cited in the Appendix reference is given to pages in the main text and in the Appendix where reproductions of the icons can be found. Figures 353–415 are located in the Appendix itself.

2. For the reproductions of the Illustrated Manuscripts please note that in addition to the individual entries found in the List of Figures [1–352] for the main text, a CD is provided at the back of the book which contains the full documentary reproduction [501 figures] of all the clearly identified Crusader manuscripts discussed in this study. These figures are listed in the List of Illustrations on the Compact Disc.

Abbreviations used are found on pp. lix ff., including special sections on abbreviations for studies on icons by K. Weitzmann, on p. *lxi*, and abbreviations for studies on icons by other scholars, on p. *lxii*.

A full set of end notes follows the Appendix at the end of the text.

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LIST OF COLOR PLATES, MAPS, AND FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

The black-and-white illustrations included in this volume are intended to provide the visual documentation required for the task of identifying and presenting the corpus of works of art said to have been done for Crusader patrons, or by Crusader artists in mainland Syria-Palestine. Although my intent is to be as comprehensive as possible, the reality of the photographic documentation varies by medium. Whereas I have perforce had to be selective with regard to works of architecture, sculpture, seals, pottery, and glass, in other media such as coins, manuscript illumination, and icon painting, the visual record is much more complete. In principle it has been possible to represent an example of every major coin type associated with the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine, although of course for most coins there are many extant examples of each type. For the illustrated manuscripts all major examples of figural decoration have been included in the documentary reproductions available on the compact disc that accompanies this volume, a total of 501 illustrations. Likewise, a photograph of every icon thought to be associated with Crusader patrons or Crusader artists has been included here, most in the text but many in the handlist of icons that appears as the Appendix. Overall there are 134 icons associated with the Crusaders in one way or other. Along with the black-and-white photographic reproductions, eleven color plates are included, comments about which follow.

COLOR PLATES

Introduction

For this volume on the thirteenth-century art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, the focus is on figural illustration found in manuscript illumination and icon painting. It will become evident from examining these plates that the colorism of the art of the Crusaders in the thirteenth century is substantially different from the colorism of twelfth-century Crusader art, examples of which were presented in *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: 1098–1187*. Some of these changes can be characterized as follows:

The intense Byzantine-influenced colorism of the twelfth-century work continues in many works of painting, but the hues, shading, and highlighting all change. Part of this is observed as the developments derived from the basic changes in Byzantine, Italian, French, English, German, and Eastern Christian art from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. Part of it, however, is the result of a new synthesis of the Byzantine and other Eastern Christian traditions with artists who are now Crusader in origin. This means these artists are mostly resident Franks born in the Holy Land and trained in the Near East. These artists may still have strong links with French or Italian painting, based on the training they received in Acre or other centers, based on their ancestry, and based on how long their family may have lived in the Crusader States or how recently they may have arrived. It is striking to find evidence of one painter, the Paris–Acre Master, who arrived fully trained in a good high Gothic style from Paris from the 1270s. It is remarkable to see his French Gothic colorism contrasted with works by others artists who worked in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, a Tuscano-Byzantine Crusader style, or other variants of the distinctive Eastern Crusader style, which blended Byzantine, East Christian, French, Venetian, Tuscan, south Italian, German, or English elements together with local Levantine aspects observed from daily life in the East.

Manuscript illumination and icons are the primary media that retain their original colorism from the thirteenth century, but pottery and especially glass also provide striking examples. In any case, the purpose of the examples in this color section is to provide the reader with important samples by which to observe the striking and in some cases exotic colorism of Crusader work. No less than the twelfth-century work, Crusader work in the thirteenth century has coloristic characteristics that distinguish it from works done elsewhere in the medieval world. The colorism was intense, partly as an expression of the brilliant sun and vivid quality of the light, especially along the eastern Mediterranean littoral where most of these works were done. The strength of the sun, the vivid quality of the light, and the overall intensity of the visual environment must have all been important factors in the coloristic range that characterized the art of the Crusaders during the period from 1187 to 1291.

Color plates begin on page lxix.

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3 King Solomon with Holy Wisdom, panel miniature, Bible, Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5211, fol. 307r.
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8 Queen Penthesilea leads her army to aid the Trojans, panel miniature, *Histoire Universelle*, London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, fol. 122r.
9 The Crusaders attack Antioch, panel miniature, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084, fol. 53r (Fig. 249).
10 The Byzantine emperor John attacks the city of Shayzar while the prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa stay in camp, panel miniature, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084, fol. 182v (Fig. 250).
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NOTE ON THE MAPS

The concept of linear boundaries in the medieval world was largely invented in the nineteenth century. The linear boundaries indicated in the maps listed should probably best be thought of as approximations of the territory controlled by the Crusaders at the times cited, but the reality of what was controlled was complex and constantly changing. We should realize we cannot project our notions of linear boundaries back onto the medieval world as Ronnie Ellenblum has pointed out: idem, "Were There Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 105–19 in D. Abulafia and N. Berend (eds.), *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2002.

BLACK-AND-WHITE REPRODUCTIONS

Figures

Reproductions are listed sequentially according to the chapter in which they appear, with the exception of the manuscripts and some of the icons. For the manuscript illuminations, in principle a sample reproduction from each codex is provided in the text, often more than one for the most important manuscript examples. The full set of major figural decorations for each manuscript is, however, fully documented on the compact disc included with this volume, at the back of the book.

The plates for the icons discussed in the text are found in the regular sequence of figures and appear in principle where the icon is first fully discussed in the text. Icons not discussed in the text that belong to the "Western-influenced" or "Crusader" group in the collection at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai are illustrated in the handlist in the Appendix. There are a few additional icons not in the St. Catherine's collection cited at the end of the Sinai handlist, nos. 125–34. Their illustrations are treated in the same manner, illustrated in the text when first discussed; those not discussed and therefore not illustrated in the text are illustrated in the handlist.

Credits for the photographs are given with the captions. Photos are by the author if not otherwise indicated. Icons are given a figure number and an appendix number. For icons now at Sinai, the appendix number combines its handlist number with its inventory number in the Sinai Archive at the University of Michigan (e.g., App. no. 34/308). The inventory number is the icon's unique numerical label for the purpose of this study, and it is used by permission of the Sinai Archive.

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202 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 2628: fol. 89v, book 11, (E)stez ert..., (historiated initial) Bohemond's journey to Apulia. ◆ 346
203 *Histoire Universelle*, Dijon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 562: fol. 1r, rubrics: Ce est li livres dou commencement dou monde (panel: 14.7 × 7.4 cm). ◆ 347

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204 *Histoire Universelle*, Dijon, fol. 89v, rubrics: Si comence la voire estoire de troies (panel: 12.5 × 8.5 cm). ◆ 348

1. Pelias and Jason.
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205 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 1963: fol. 49r, book 6, (L)a estoient . . . (historiated initial), the Crusaders fighting inside Antioch. ✦ 349
206 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 89/1414, panel with bust-length figure of Archangel Michael. ✦ 351
207 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 85/1387, panel with bust-length figure of Archangel Gabriel. ✦ 352
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209 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 70/822, triptych with Virgin and Child *Galaktotrophousa* Enthroned with Sts. Marina and Catherine on the central panel along with two kneeling donors. On the wings: (inside left wing) the Nativity and the Annunciation of the Angels to the Shepherds; (inside right wing) the Crucifixion and the Three Maries at the Tomb. ✦ 353
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232 Small glass beaker, Walters Art Museum, Inv. 47. 18: view. ✦ 367
233 Small glass beaker, Walters Art Museum, Inv. 47. 18: view. ✦ 367

Chapter 7

234 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre des Assises*, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS fr. app. 20 (=265), fol. 1r, The *Haute Cour* of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem. ✦ 395
235 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 2628: fol. 328v, Book 34, (L)oeis le roi . . . (historiated initial), the Crusade of Louis IX in 1248–50: The siege of Damietta. ✦ 405
236 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, St. Petersburg, The National Library of Russia (formerly the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), MS fr. fol. v. IV.5, vol. I: fol. 143v, Book 16, (N)e demora puis guaires . . . (panel: 8.6 × 7.2 cm). ✦ 405

    1. King Fulk and Queen Melisende ride out from Acre.
    2. King Fulk is thrown from his horse and lies fatally injured.

237 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Lyon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 828: fol. 205v, Book 18, (O)r parlerons . . . (panel: 8.0 × 7.4 cm). ✦ 407

    1. The patriarch of Antioch is abused by Renauld de Chatillon.

238 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer,* Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9085, fol. 47r, Initial "V." ✦ 408
239 *Histoire Universelle,* Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10175: fol. 130r, rubrics: Coment hector fist merveilles quant il fu venus al estor, et come achille locist. Et come grant dolor fu demenee (panel: 7.9 × 7.8 cm), Achilles kills Hector by spearing him from behind. ✦ 409
240 Cicero's *Rhetorica*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 433 (590): fol. 13r, Book 1 (*De Inventione*) miniature panel with two registers (11.0 × 8.3 cm). ✦ 413

    1. Evil Oratory causes the fall of cities and strife among the people.
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    Marginal drolleries.

241 Bible selections, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS nouv. Acq. Fr. 1404: fol. 2r, Genesis, two panel miniatures: the Lord creating on the first day (5.3 × 5.1 cm), and the Lord creating days two to six, and the Lord resting on the seventh day (12.2 × 7.3 cm), large red and blue calligraphic initial (E). ✦ 414
242 Bible selections, fol. 226v, II Maccabees, panel miniature with John Hyrcanus returning to defend Jerusalem (6.85 × 6.8 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (I). ✦ 415
243 *Censier*, Paris, Archives Nationales, MS Pièce S 1626 (1): fol. 20r, (Third quarter) Relicta Hervei Munerii.v. sol'. . . . rubrics: Recepta conventus . . . a pascha usque ad festum sci iohis bapte anno dni m(o).cc(o).lxxvi(o). Miniature panel (7.8 × 7.8 cm), Geneviève supervises the construction of the Basilica of Saint-Denis. ✦ 416
244 *Libellus* of St. Martin, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat. 5334: fol. 1r, Historiated Initial, (S)everus . . . (3.45 × 3.55 cm, main rectangle, with flourishes in the margins that measure 24.55 cm high maximum). ✦ 416

    1. St. Martin nimbed and in episcopal robes, blesses three *malades*.

245 Bible in Old French, New York, J. P. Morgan Library, MS 494: fol. 302r, Psalm 26, historiated initial (5.2 × 4.7 cm), (N)ostre sires si est ma lumiere & mon salut. . . . ✦ 417

    1. Coronation of King David [Paris-Acre Master], two marginal drolleries.

246 *Histoire Universelle*, London, British Library, Add. MS 15268: fol. 1v (panel: 30.0 × 20.0 cm), the Creation. ✦ 419
247 *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 16r (panel: 21.6 × 16.4 cm), King Ninus enthroned. ✦ 420
248 *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 24v (panel: 18.3 × 16.6 cm), Abraham's hospitality. ✦ 421
249 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084: fol. 53r, Book 5, (D)e faim & de mezaise come nos avons dit . . . (panel: 9.2 × 16.0 cm).
Captions: left, "*lost*," right, "*antioche*." ✦ 424

    1. The Crusaders attack and enter Antioch.

250 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, fol. 182v, Book 15, (A)pres le mois diver... (panel: 8.0 × 15.4 cm). ❖ 425

  1. The Byzantine Emperor John attacks the city of Shayzar, while the prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa stay in camp.

251 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Boulogne sur Mer, Bibl. Municipale, MS 142: fol. 16r, Book 2, (E)l quinsaime ior dou mois... (panel: 9.1 × 7.9 cm). ❖ 427

  1. Godefroy de Bouillon and Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy lead the men of the First Crusade to the Holy Land.

252 *Faits des Romains*, Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10212: fol. 1v, Chascun hom se doit pener.... Rubrics: Ci comense le livre de Cesar comet il conquist plusors tres (panel: 4.7 × 7.35 cm). Caesar's army on the march. ❖ 429
253 *Histoire Universelle*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 20125: Creation cycle. ❖ 430–431
a. fol. 2v (panel: 11.6 × 6.5 cm): ❖ 430

  1. God separates light and dark.
  2. God separates sky and water.

b. fol. 3r (panel: 25.4 × 6.8 cm): ❖ 431

  1. God separates dry land and sea.
  2. God creates the sun and moon and the fish of the sea.
  3. God creates the birds and animals.
  4. God creates Eve from the side of Adam.
  5. God rests on the seventh day.

254 *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 83v, rubrics: Dou rois ninus qns ans il regna (panel: 8.75 × 7.7 cm). King Ninus enthroned. ❖ 432
255 *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 91v, rubrics: Del adevinal q spins dist a edippum (panel: 6.0 × 8.0 cm). Oedipus confronts the sphinx. ❖ 433
256 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam, total view, containing bust-length images of the Deësis and eight other saints. ❖ 436
257 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam. Image of bust-length Christ blessing, from the central Deësis group. ❖ 436
258 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam. Image of bust-length intercessory Virgin, from the central Deësis group. ❖ 437
259 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam. Image of bust-length intercessory St. John the Baptist, from the central Deësis group. ❖ 437
260 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam. Lefthand side of the beam with Sts. George, Luke, John, Peter, flanking Mary and Christ. ❖ 438
261 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam. Righthand side of the beam with Sts. Procopios, Mark, Matthew, Paul, flanking John the Baptist and Christ. ❖ 438
262 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 24/212, panel with the Last Judgment in four registers. ❖ 439
263 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 101/1725, panel with the Dormition of the Virgin. ❖ 439
264 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 79/1128, panel with the Last Judgment. ❖ 440
265 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 47/496, panel with the Dormition of the Virgin. ❖ 441
266 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 87/1394, panel with the Dormition of the Virgin. ❖ 442
267 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 9/56, panel with the Crucifixion between the swooning Virgin and St. John with soldiers. ❖ 443
268 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 98/1645, panel with bust-length figure of St. Antipas. ❖ 443
269 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 97/1568, bilateral icon with, obverse, the Crucifixion. ❖ 444
270 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 97/1568, bilateral icon with, reverse, the Anastasis. ❖ 444

Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios and the Virgin and Child Kykkotissa

271 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios (left wing), surrounded by Christ, two angels, and nine saints. ❖ 445
272 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with the Virgin and Child Kykkotissa (right wing) surrounded by the Virgin "*n tns batou*" and eleven saints. ❖ 445
273 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of Christ and two angels. ❖ 447
274 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. Peter. ❖ 447
275 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. Paul. ❖ 448
276 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. John. ❖ 448
277 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. Thomas. ❖ 449
278 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. Theodore. ❖ 449
279 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. George. ❖ 450
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282 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of Moses. ❖ 451
283 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. John the Baptist. ❖ 451
284 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. Basil. ❖ 452
285 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. Nicholas. ❖ 452
286 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. John Klimachus. ❖ 453
287 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. Onouphrious. ❖ 453
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290 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 28/248, triptych with the Deësis on the central panel and two angels on the spandrel of the arch, and four standing and two bust-length saints on the interior surfaces of the wings. ❖ 455
291 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 42/427, panel with the bust-length Virgin and Child *Blachernitissa*. ❖ 456
292 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 53/581, panel with the standing figure of St. Catherine. ❖ 456
293 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 59/710, panel with the bust-length veiled Virgin and Child *Galaktotrophousa*. ❖ 457

294 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 84/1352, panel with bust-length image of Simeon holding the infant Jesus. ✦ 457
295 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 100/1680, panel with the veiled Virgin and Child *Galaktotrophousa.* ✦ 458
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298 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 61/729, panel with the image of the Crucifixion. ✦ 459
299 Icon: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., App. no. 132, the Kahn Madonna. ✦ 460
300 Icon: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., App. no. 133, the Mellon Madonna. ✦ 460
301 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 41/408, central panel from a triptych with bust-length image of St. Nicholas and diminutive images of Christ and the Virgin above. ✦ 461
302 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 64/742, panel with image of the Transfiguration. ✦ 461
303 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 80/1144, panel with images of three standing holy figures: Ephrem, John the Evangelist, and Daniel. ✦ 462
304 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 81/1177, triptych with the Deësis in the upper register and seven standing saints below, on the central panel. ✦ 462
305 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 81/1177, triptych with the angel Gabriel of the Annunciation on the left inner wing. ✦ 463
306 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 81/1177, triptych with the Virgin of the Annunciation on the right inner wing. ✦ 463
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308 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 83/1208, fragmentary panel of St. John for a painted cross. ✦ 464
309 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 92/1453, panel with three standing Old Testament Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. ✦ 465
310 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 95/1482, panel with standing figures of the Virgin and Child "*n tns batou,*" St. Stephen, and an unidentified youthful male saint. ✦ 465
311 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 115/1857, images of standing figures on triptych wings: Aaron and Moses. ✦ 466
312 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 119/1966, panel with images of the Three Hebrews and the Angel of the Lord. ✦ 466
313 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 91/1426, panel with images of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos standing. ✦ 467
314 Icon: Sinai, App. no. 93/1454, panel with images of the Virgin and Child "*n tns batou,*" St. Nicholas and St. Basil standing. ✦ 467
315 Tripoli, silver star *gros* of Bohemond VI. ✦ 467
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318 Acre/'Athlit, seal of William of Beaujeu, Templar Grand Master. ✦ 468
319 Acre/Montfort, seal of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights. ✦ 468
320 Acre, seal of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas of Lentino. ✦ 469
321 Tyre, seal of Archbishop Bonacours de Gloire. ✦ 469
322 Acre, seal of Abbot Adam of Notre Dame of Mount Sion. ✦ 469
323 Syria, Paris, Louvre, *Baptistère de Saint Louis.* ✦ 470
324 Syria, London, British Museum, glass canteen: front view. ✦ 471
325 Syria, London, British Museum, glass canteen: side view. ✦ 472
326 Syria, London, British Museum, glass canteen: side view. ✦ 472
327 Syria, London, British Museum, Aldrevandin Beaker: view. ✦ 472
328 Syria, London, British Museum, Aldrevandin Beaker: view. ✦ 473
329 Syria, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Luck of Edenhall Cup: front view. ✦ 473
330 Syria, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Luck of Edenhall Cup: side view. ✦ 474

Syria: Pottery excavated at Kinet/Tinat/Calamella, selections:

331 Syria, Kinet, drawing of polychrome sgraffito bowl depicting mounted knight with a shield, late thirteenth century. ✦ 475
332 Syria, Kinet, drawing of a fragment of a sgraffito bowl with a representation of a cupbearer, late thirteenth century. ✦ 476
333 Syria, Kinet, sgraffito bowl with representation of a cupbearer, Adana Museum. ✦ 477

Chapter 8

334 Cairo: *Spolia* from Acre, Gothic portal now the entrance to the Tomb of Qalawan: (a) Gothic portal; (b) detail of the capitals and colonnettes on the Gothic portal. ✦ 492
335 Acre, view of the city from the east, along the shore. ✦ 493
336 Acre, corbelled capitals and shafts in situ on east wall of the west hall adjoining the possible site of the barracks in the Hospitaller Convent: (a) view of the east wall with extant capitals and shafts; (b) view of the central set of corbelled capitals with fragments of ribs springing from their abacus. ✦ 494
337 Acre, Tomb Slab (fragment) of William of St. John, archbishop of Nazareth. ✦ 495
338 William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS PLU.LXI.10.LXI.10: fol. 61r, Book 6, (I)a cestoient bien saoul . . . (panel: 8.8 × 7.5 cm). ✦ 497

    1. The Crusaders enter and take Antioch with much carnage in the city. Some Antiochenes take refuge in the citadel of the city. Rubrics: Ci commence li.vi. livre ou quell se contient coment corbagaz asseia noz genz en antioche. & coment la lance dont nre sires ot persie le coste en la crins fu trouvee. & coment après ce quil orrent souferte grant mesaise & grant famine desconfirent corbagaz.

339 Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre des Assises*, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS fr. app. 20 (= 265): Fol. 1r, rubrics: Ci commence le livre des assises & des bons usages dou roiaume de iherusalem qui furent establis & mis en escrit par le duc godefroi de buillon. qui lor par comun acort fu esleu a roi & a seignor dou dit roiaume & par lordenement dou patriarche de iherusalem q lors primes fu esleu & sacre & par le conseill des autres rois princes & barons qui après le duc godefroi furent.
[text] (Q)uant la sainte cite de ierlm fu conqse . . . (Illuminated initial below the miniature panel: pink (Q) with long tail and pinwheel flourish in the lower margin, each scalloped stem of which is embellished with a gold disc.)
Miniature panel on fol. 1r, 7.9 × 13.9 cm. ✦ 498

    1. The *haute cour* of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem with the king and patriarch presiding.

340 Acre: Seal of the *cour bourgeois*, 1269. ✦ 499
341 *Credo* of Joinville, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat 11907: fol. 231v, 27.95 × 17.5 cm. ✦ 501
342 Acre, proposed chapel project drawing for Joinville's *Credo.* ✦ 502

343 Icon: Nicosia, Cyprus, altarpiece/icon of St. Nicholas with donor figures of the Ravendel family. ◆ 503
344 Icon: Nicosia, Cyprus, altarpiece/icon of the Golden Virgin with Carmelites. ◆ 503

Latin Kingdom, pottery excavated from Acre, selections:

345 Acre, Zeuxippus ware with striped design. ◆ 504
346 Acre, Zeuxippus ware with circular designs. ◆ 504
347 Acre, thirteenth-century Port Saint Symeon ware: soldier with circular shield. ◆ 505
348 Acre: Proto-Majolica bowl with Crusader warrior figure. ◆ 505
349 Acre, proto-majolica ware: soldier with sword and triangular shield. ◆ 505
350 Cyprus, silver *gros* of King Henry II. ◆ 506
351 Cyprus, silver *gros* of King Henry II and Amaury. ◆ 506
352 Cyprus, silver *gros* of King Henry II, second reign. ◆ 507

Icons from St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai (Appendix photographs indicated):

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2 Sinai, App. no. 2/37. Christ *Pantocrator.* ◆ 222
3 Sinai, App. no. 3/38. St. John the Baptist. ◆ 223
4 Sinai, App. no. 4/41. Annunciation and six Stylite Saints (Appendix, Fig. 353). ◆ 532
5 Sinai, App. no. 5/44. Annunciation. ◆ 327
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7 Sinai, App. no. 7/54. Front: Virgin and Child "*n tns Batou*" with Moses, Elijah, and St. Gregory Nazianzus. Reverse: Image of the True Cross (Appendix, Fig. 355). ◆ 328, 533
8 Sinai, App. no. 8/55. Front: Virgin and Child *Hodegetria Dexiokratousa.* Reverse: Image of the True Cross (Appendix, Fig. 356). ◆ 328, 533
9 Sinai, App. no. 9/56. Crucifixion with the Virgin Swooning ◆ 443
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19 Sinai, App. no. 19/154. Transfiguration (Appendix, Fig. 358). ◆ 534
20 Sinai, App. no. 20/172. *Deësis* (Appendix, Fig. 359). ◆ 535
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24 Sinai, App. no. 24/212. The Last Judgment. ◆ 439
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55 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 221r, (C)il de moab... (historiated initial) Ahaziah falls from a window in his palace (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

56 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 252r, Frontispiece to Judith, with six scenes (full-page panel) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

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57 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 252v, (A) decorated initial (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

58 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 261r, Frontispiece to Esther, with five scenes (half-page panel) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

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60 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 269v, (U) decorated initial (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

61 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 296v, Frontispiece to Tobit, with six scenes (full-page panel) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

1. Tobit blinded (Tob. 2: 10–12).
2. Tobias instructed by Tobit before setting out on his journey (Tob. 5: 1ff.).
3. Tobias cutting open the fish (Tob. 6: 4–5).
4. The Angel Raphael destroys the evil spirit; Tobias marries (Tob. 7: 12–15; 8: 3).
5. Tobias heals Tobit (Tob. 11: 7–15).
6. The Angel Raphael reveals himself to Tobit and his family (Tob. 12: 11–15).

62 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 297r, (T)obie fu... (historiated initial) Tobit burying a Jew (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

63 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 307r, Frontispiece to Proverbs i: 1. Solomon inspired by Holy Wisdom (full-page panel) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

64 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 307v, (C) decorated initial (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

65 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 332r, Frontispiece to Proverbs ii: 1. Solomon enthroned instructing a standing youth (full-page panel) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

66 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 333r, (C) decorated initial (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

67 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 337v, Frontispiece to Proverbs iii: 1. Solomon. enthroned dictating to a seated scribe (full-page panel) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

68 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 337v, (C) decorated initial (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

69 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 339r, Frontispiece to Maccabees, with three scenes (half-page panel) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

1. Antiochus despoils the Temple (1 Macc. 1: 21–5).
2. Mattathias slays the Jew performing a sacrifice (1 Macc. 2: 23–5).
3. The Maccabees in battle (1 Macc. 3, 4, 5ff.).

70 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 364v, Frontispiece to Ruth, with six scenes (full-page panel) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

1. Elimelech and Naomi, followed by Mallon and Chilion, departing outside the city gate of Bethlehem (Ruth 1: 1–2).
2. The two sons of Naomi (center) take wives, at table (Ruth 1: 3–4).
3. Ruth, one of her two daughters in law, follows Naomi back to Bethlehem (Ruth 1: 15–18).
4. Ruth gleans in the fields around Bethlehem (Ruth 2: 3–14).
5. Ruth sleeps at the feet of Boaz (Ruth 3: 7–9).
6. Ruth marries Boaz (Ruth 4: 10).

71 The Arsenal Bible, fol. 365r, (C) decorated initial (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, and Dr. Daniel Weiss).

Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 6 (olim 21): The Perugia Missal from Acre

72 The Perugia Missal, fol. 1, (A)d te levavi..., decorated initial with musical notation (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia).

73 The Perugia Missal, fol. 4, (KL) calendar page for July (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia).

74 The Perugia Missal, fol. 179r, (V)ere dignum... (historiated initial), Nativity (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia).

75 The Perugia Missal, fol. 181v, (P)er omnia... (historiated initial), Priest celebrating Mass (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia).

76 The Perugia Missal, fol. 182v, Frontispiece to the Canon of the Mass, Crucifixion (full-page panel) (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia).

77 The Perugia Missal, fol. 183r, (T)e igitur... (headpiece), Christ between two worshipping angels (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia).

78 The Perugia Missal, fol. 185r, (P)er omnia... (historiated initial), Priest celebrating Mass (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia).

79 The Perugia Missal, fol. 187r, (R)esurrexi... (historiated initial), The Resurrection and the Holy Women at the Tomb (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia).

London, British Library, Egerton MS 3153: The Egerton Missal from Acre

80 The Egerton Missal, fol. 82v, Frontispiece to the Canon of the Mass, Crucifixion (full-page panel) (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS C. 12: The Padua Old Testament Selections Manuscript: Psalter, Prophets, Maccabees from Acre

81 Padua OT MS, fol. 1r, (D)avid..., decorated initial (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

82 Padua OT MS, fol. 1v, The Psalter: (B)eatus vir... (historiated initial), David plays the psaltery, David slays Goliath (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

83 Padua OT MS, fol. 28r, (D)ominus illuminatio... (historiated initial), David with three men in prayer (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

84 Padua OT MS, fol. 41r, (D)ixi custodiam... (historiated initial), David addressing two men (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

85 Padua OT MS, fol. 53r, (D)ixit insipiens... (historiated initial), David addressed by a youth (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

86 Padua OT MS, fol. 66v, (S)alvum me fac... (historiated initial), Christ above watches two demons tormenting a monk (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

87 Padua OT MS, fol. 81v, (E)xultate deo... (historiated initial), David plays the chimes as two monks look on (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

88 Padua OT MS, fol. 95r, (C)antate domino... (historiated initial), David addresses two singing clerics (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

89 Padua OT MS, fol. 109r, (D)ixit dominus... (historiated initial), The Trinity (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

90 Padua OT MS, fol. 148, (H)omini..., and (D)aniele... decorated initials for Prologue to Daniel and a gloss (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

91 Padua OT MS, fol. 150r, The book of Daniel: (A)nno tertio... (historiated initial), Daniel with two lions (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

92 Padua OT MS, fol. 190r, The book of Hosea: (V)erbum domini... (historiated initial), Hosea and the Courtesan (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

93 Padua OT MS, fol. 209v, The book of Joel: (V)erbum domini... (historiated initial), Joel addressing three young men (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

94 Padua OT MS, fol. 216v, The book of Amos: (V)erba Amos... (historiated initial), Amos addresses three wise men (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

95 Padua OT MS, fol. 230r, The book of Obadiah: (V)isio abdie . . . (historiated initial), Jesus addresses the sleeping Obadiah (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

96 Padua OT MS, fol. 232v, The book of Jonah: (E)t factum . . . (historiated initial), Jonah vomited by the fish (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

97 Padua OT MS, fol. 236v, The book of Micah: (V)erbum domini . . . (historiated initial), Micah addresses a group of men (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

98 Padua OT MS, fol. 246r, The book of Nahum: (O)nus nineveh . . . (historiated initial), Nahum in front of the crumbling town (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

99 Padua OT MS, fol. 252r, The book of Habakkuk: (O)nus . . . (historiated initial), Habakkuk addresses a group of young men (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

100 Padua OT MS, fol. 257r, The book of Zephaniah: (V)erbum domini . . . (historiated initial), Jesus addresses Zephaniah as a shepherd (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

101 Padua OT MS, fol. 263r, The book of Haggai: (I)n anno . . . (historiated initial), Haggai addresses king Zerubbabel (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

102 Padua OT MS, fol. 267r, The book of Zechariah: (I)n mense . . . (historiated initial), Zechariah addresses a king (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

103 Padua OT MS, fol. 287r, The book of Malachi: (O)nus verbi . . . (historiated initial), Malachi addressed by an angel (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

104 Padua OT MS, fol. 295r, The book of I Maccabees: (E)t factum . . . (historiated initial), Mattathias slaying the renegade Jew (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

105 Padua OT MS, fol. 338r, The book of II Maccabees: (F)ratribus qui . . . (historiated initial), The letter from Jerusalem delivered to the Jews of Egypt (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua, and the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 2628, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer* from Acre

106 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 1r, Book 1, (L)es ancienes . . . (historiated initial), 1. Prayers offered at the Holy Sepulcher; A king and a cleric on horseback (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

107 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 14r, Book 2, (V)enus estoit . . . (historiated initial), 1. Army of Duke Godefroy de Buillon en route to Constantinople (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

108 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 22r, Book 3, (D)e la cite . . . (historiated initial), 1. The siege of Nicaea (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

109 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 29v, Book 4, (O)r avez . . . (historiated initial), 1. The blockade of Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

110 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 37v, Book 5, (V)eant le seignor . . . (historiated initial), 1. The capture of Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

111 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 45v, Book 6, (I)a estoient . . . (historiated initial), 1. The citadel of Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

112 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 53v, Book 7, (C)es choses . . . (historiated initial), 1. Crusader envoys to the Byzantine emperor (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

113 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 62v, Book 8, (V)eritez est . . . (historiated initial), 1. The siege of Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

114 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 71r, Book 9, (S)i com . . . (historiated initial), 1. Godefroy de Bouillon prays at the Holy Sepulcher; Discussion among the Crusader leaders (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

115 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 79r, Book 10, (R)ois fu . . . (historiated initial), 1. Death of Godefroy de Bouillon; Coronation of King Baldwin I (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

116 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 89v, Book 11, (E)stez ert . . . (historiated initial), 1. Bohemond's journey to Apulia (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

117 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 103r, Book 12, (X)erces fu . . . (historiated initial), 1. Death of Baldwin I; Coronation of King Baldwin II (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

118 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 114r, Book 13, (F)ors estoit a grant merveille . . . (historiated initial), 1. The siege of Tyre (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

119 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 124r, Book 14, (R)ois fu . . . (historiated initial), 1. Death of Baldwin II; Coronation of King Fulk (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

120 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 134v, Book 15, (A)pres le . . . (historiated initial), 1. Death of the Byzantine emperor; coronation of his successor (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

121 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 146v, Book 16, (N)e demora gaires . . . (historiated initial), 1. King Fulk killed in a hunting accident (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

122 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 160r, Book 17, (C)onraz . . . (historiated initial), 1. The Second Crusade: Council of Acre and siege of Damascus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

123 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 175r, Book 18, (O)r parlerons . . . (historiated initial), 1. Raynauld de Chatillon abuses the patriarch of Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

124 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 192r, Book 19, (R)emes estoit . . . (historiated initial), 1. Death of Baldwin III; coronation of King Amaury (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

125 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 205v, Book 20, (U)sle chose . . . (historiated initial), 1. King Amaury receives a letter from the Byzantine emperor; the siege of Balbis (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

126 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 218v, Book 21, (M)out fu . . . (historiated initial), 1. Death of Amaury; coronation of

King Baldwin IV (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

127 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 230v, Book 22, (R)eymons li princes... (historiated initial), 1. The patriarch officiates at the marriage of Sibylle, sister of Baldwin IV, and Guy de Lusignan (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

128 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 246r, Book 23, ch. 2, (E)n ce que... (historiated initial), 1. Death of Baldwin IV; coronation of Baldwin V (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

129 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 293v, Book 29, (N)e vos dirai... (historiated initial), 1. The Crusaders at the siege of Constantinople (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

130 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 300v, Book 31, (S)i tost come... (historiated initial), 1. John of Brienne arrives in the Holy Land and is crowned king (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

131 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 313r, Book 33, (I)sabel lemperis... (historiated initial), 1. Empress Isabel dies in childbirth; Frederick II leaves for the Holy Land (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

132 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 2628, fol. 328v, Book 34, (L)oeis le roi... (historiated initial), 1. The Crusade of Louis IX in 1248–50: the siege of Damietta (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 562, *Histoire Universelle* from Acre

133 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 1r, rubrics: Ce est li livres dou commencement dou monde (panel: 14.7 × 7.4 cm). 1. The Creation (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

134 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 3v, rubrics: Coment nost sires parla a caym (panel: 10.0 × 7.5 cm).

1. The offerings of Cain and Abel to the Lord.
2. Cain kills Abel, and the Lord calls Cain to account (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

135 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 6r, rubrics: Coment noe entra en larche (panel: 7.5 × 9.8 cm). 1. Noah guides the animal pairs into the ark (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

136 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 9r, rubrics: Coment nemhrot le iahan se porpensa a faire la grant tor de babel (panel: 13.4 × 7.5 cm). 1. The tower of Babel (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

137 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 14r, rubrics: Coment le roi ninus ot premerainement sa seignorie (panel: 8.0 × 7.6 cm). 1. King Ninus on the march (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

138 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 21v, rubrics: Coment Abraham herbaria nostre seignor qui li dist quil auroit fiz de sa feme (panel: 7.4 × 7.5 cm). 1. Abraham and the three heavenly visitors (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

139 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 23r, rubrics: Coment li angles maudirent les cites et coment elles fondirent apres la maleyson des angles (panel: 7.6 × 8.4 cm). 1. Lot and his wife flee the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

140 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 26r, rubrics: Coment li angles rescost ysahac que son pere ne li toli la vie (panel: 8.3 × 8.5 cm). 1. The sacrifice of Isaac (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

141 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 32r, rubrics: Coment iacob dessur ysaac son pere (panel: 7.7 × 7.6 cm). 1. Jacob deceives his father Isaac as Esau enters the house (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

142 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 40v, rubrics: Coment esau et iacob partirent et decevrerent les terres puis la mort lor pere (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm). 1. The death of Isaac (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

143 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 42r, rubrics: Si comence lestoire de ioseph (panel: 8.0 × 7.5 cm). 1. Joseph comes into his father Jacob (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

144 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 47v, rubrics: Coment la dame se complainst a son baron de ioseph a tort (panel: 7.7 × 7.6 cm). 1. Joseph and Potiphar's wife (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

145 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 49v, rubrics: De la vision pharaon et coment il manda toz les sages de sa terre (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm). 1. Pharaoh's dream (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

146 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 51r, rubrics: Coment le roi fist aler ioseph sur son riche char par tote sa cite (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm). 1. Joseph tours Pharaoh's lands (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

147 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 52r, rubrics: Coment les fiz Jacob pristrent conseill a leur pere daler en egypte au forment (panel: 7.4 × 8.4 cm). 1. Jacob's sons consult with their father about seeking food in Egypt (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

148 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 56r, rubrics: Coment ioseph fist a sa. maisnee voidier la sale et ce fist conoistre a ces freres (panel: 7.6 × 7.6 cm). 1. Joseph's brothers seek aid from Joseph in Egypt (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

149 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 57r, rubrics: Coment iacob ot grant ioie quant il oy novellas de ioseph son fiz. et si dist quil liroit veoir en egypte (panel: 7.8 × 7.5 cm). 1. Jacob journeys to Egypt to see Joseph (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

150 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 59v, rubrics: Coment pharaon demanda a iacob de son aage (panel: 7.5 × 7.4 cm). 1. Jacob appears before Pharaoh (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

151 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 60v, rubrics: Coment ioseph porta le cors iacob son pere en ebron per avoir sepulture (panel: 6.8 × 7.5 cm). 1. The body of Jacob is taken to Hebron for burial (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

152 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 62r, rubrics: Quant anz le roi ninus regna (panel: 6.4 × 7.4 cm). 1. King Ninus enthroned (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

153 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 65v, rubrics: Si comence lestoire de thebes (panel: 13.7 × 7.4 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

1. Laius and Jocasta.
2. The finding of Oedipus.

154 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 67v, rubrics: De la devinaille que Spins dist a edippus (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm). 1. Oedippus and the sphinx (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

155 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 70v, rubrics: Coment polinices et thideus se combatirent por la place (panel: 7.4 × 7.5 cm). 1. Polynices and Tydeus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

156 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 81v, rubrics: De la tygre de thebes par quoi comensa la bataille et la grant destorbance (panel: 7.5 × 7.6 cm). 1. The tiger of Thebes (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

157 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 86v, rubrics: Coment les dames de scite alerent vengier leur fiz et leur amis as espees esmolues (panel: 8.1 × 8.8 cm). 1. Merpesia and Lampetho avenge the deaths of their men (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

158 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 87r, rubrics: Coment les amazonienes fonderent ephese (panel: 7.1 × 8.1 cm). 1. Amazons on the march (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

159 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 88r, rubrics: Coment les.II. serors la royne antiope iosterent a II. Chevaliers le meillors qui estoient adonc el monde: Hercules et theseus (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm). 1. and 2. Hercules and Theseus battle two sisters of Antiope (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

160 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 88v, rubrics: Coment Hercules ocist lorible iahan qui ne doutoit nulle creature (panel: 7.7 × 7.5 cm). 1. Hercules and Antaeus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

161 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 89v, rubrics: Si comence la voire estoire de troies (panel: 12.5 × 8.5 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

1. Pelias and Jason.
2. The sailing of the Argo.

162 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 96v, rubrics: Coment hector fist merveilles quant il fu venus al estor, et come achille locist. Et come grant doulor fu demenee (panel: 8.1 × 7.3 cm). 1. Achilles kills Hector on the battlefield (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

163 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 102v, rubrics: Coment la royne dantioche panticelee de femenie vint au secors de cels de troies (panel: 7.6 × 7.6 cm). 1. Queen Penthesilea marches to the aid of the Trojans (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

164 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 103r, rubrics: Coment pirus le fiz Achilles vint en lost por vengier son pere (panel: 7.0 × 7.4 cm). 1. The battle between queen Penthesilea and Pyrrhus, son of Achilles (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

165 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 114r, rubrics: Coment eneas revint en cesile (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm). 1. Dido commits suicide as Aeneas sails away (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

166 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 115r, rubrics: Coment cil dathenes estoient sugiet a cil de crete (panel: 7.7 × 7.6 cm). 1. The Minotaur (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

167 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 125v, rubrics: Coment la royne Camilla demanda a turnus la premiere bataille contre eneas (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm). 1. Queen Camilla battles Aeneas (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

168 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 130v, rubrics: Si comence lestorement de la cite de rome (panel: 7.6 × 7.4 cm). 1. The building of the city of Rome (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

169 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 135r, rubrics: Si comence des concelles le grant afere (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm). 1. Brutus as consul (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

170 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 150v, rubrics: Coment nabugodenosor comanda a holofernes qui alast sur ciaus qui contre lui estoient (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm). 1. Holofernes marches to Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

171 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 151v, rubrics: Coment iudith fu menee devant le duc holofernes (panel: 7.4 × 7.6 cm). 1. Judith is brought before Holofernes in his tent (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

172 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 166r, rubrics: Si comence lestoire de alixandre le grant roi de macedoine qui conquest tot le monde (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm). 1. Alexander on horseback (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

173 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 170v, rubrics: Coment alixandre sagenoilla contre le nom de dieu (panel: 8.0 × 8.7 cm). 1. Alexander kneels before the high priest in Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

174 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 171v, rubrics: Coment la royne damazone vint a alixandre (panel: 7.8 × 7.4 cm). 1. Alexander on the wheel of fortune (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

175 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 172v, rubrics: Que cil qui estoient sur les olifanz greverent mult la gent alixandre (panel: 7.8 × 8.5 cm). 1. Alexander and his army battle the Indians on elephants (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

176 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 176r, rubrics: Coment la gent alixandre envairent celle beste (panel: 8.0 × 7.5 cm). 1. The beast of India with three horns (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

177 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 178r, rubrics: Coment la beste qui avoit II. Testes corut sus as genz le roi alixandre (panel: 7.9 ×

7.4 cm). 1. The beast of India with two heads (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

178 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 181v, rubrics: Coment la voiz del arbre dist au roi alixandre que iames nentroient en sa terre (panel: 8.4 × 8.0 cm). 1. Alexander listens to the magic speaking tree in India (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

179 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 190r, rubrics: Que le roi pirus vint en laye de ciaus de tarente et si amen aces olifanz (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm). 1. Pyrrhus comes to the aid of the people of Tarentum (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

180 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 204v, rubrics: Que adonques ot pais a rome et que nulls gens ne les agrevoient (panel: 7.5 × 7.4 cm). 1. The temple of Janus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

181 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 249r, rubrics: Coment le roi iugurta fu pris et mene a rome ou grant ioie fu demenee (panel: 8.9 × 8.5 cm). 1. The triumph of Marius (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

182 Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 270r, rubrics: Coment pompeius repaira a rome (panel: 7.4 × 8.1 cm). 1. The triumph of Pompey (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 1963: William of Tyre, *History of Outremer* from Antioch

183 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 1r, Book 1, (L)es anciens... (small panel miniature), Author portrait: William of Tyre in his study (redrawn later, *c.*1400) (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

184 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 15r, Book 2, (V)enuz estoit... (historiated initial), 1. Godefroy de Bouillon leads his army to the Holy Land (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).
[N.B. the miniature for book 3 is cut out.]

185 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 31v, Book 4, (O)r avez... (historiated initial), 1. The army of the First Crusade marches toward the Holy Land (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

186 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 40r, Book 5, (V)oiant le seignor... (historiated initial), 1. The Crusaders attack Antioch (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

187 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 49r, Book 6, (L)a estoient... (historiated initial), 1. The Crusaders fighting inside Antioch (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

188 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 59r, Book 7, (C)es choses... (historiated initial), 1. A Crusader envoy to the emperor of Byzantium (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

189 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 69r, Book 8, (V)eritez est que... (historiated initial), 1. The city of Jerusalem (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

190 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 78v, Book 9, (S)i com... (historiated initial), 1. Discussions about the choice of a Crusader ruler; a Crusader baron and his wife pay hommage to Godefroy de Bouillon (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

191 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 88r, Book 10, (R)ois fu... (historiated initial), 1. King Baldwin I enthroned (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

192 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 100r, Book 11, (E)stez estoit... (historiated initial), 1. Bohemond gives Tancred responsibility for Antioch; Bohemond and Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, sail to the West (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

193 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 115r, Book 12, (X)erses fu... (historiated initial), 1. Xerxes, king of Persia, and his court (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

194 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 126v, Book 13 (F)orz estoit... (historiated initial), 1. The Crusaders camped before the city of Tyre (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

195 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 137v, Book 14, (R)ois fu... (historiated initial), 1. King Fulk enthroned (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

196 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 148r, Book 15, (A)pres le tens... (historiated initial), 1. The Byzantine emperor leads his army into Syria (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

197 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 160r, Book 16, (N)e demora... (historiated initial), 1. The coronation of Baldwin III watched by Queen Melisende (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

198 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 173v, Book 17, (C)orntz li emperes... (historiated initial), 1. The Second Crusade: the Council of Acre (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

199 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 188r, Book 18, (O)r vos parlerons... (historiated initial), 1. The patriarch of Antioch is abused by Raynaud de Chatillon; Raynaud de Chatillon orders his men to take the patriarch to the citadel (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

200 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 205r, Book 19, (V)emes estoit... (historiated initial), 1. The coronation of Amaury I (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

201 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 218v, Book 20, (U)ne chose... (historiated initial), 1. The marriage of Amaury to princess Maria of Byzantium (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

202 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 232r, Book 21 (M)lt fu granz... (historiated initial), 1. The funeral of Amaury I (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

203 Vatican *History of Outremer*, fol. 243v, Book 22, (B)uymons... (historiated initial), 1. Marriage of Sibylle, sister of Baldwin IV, to Guy de Lusignan; Patriarch Heraclius rides to Antioch (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City).

Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS fr. app. 20 (= 265), Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre des Assises* from Acre

204 Marciana *Livre des Assises*, fol. 1r, The *Haute Cour* of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem (detail of the miniature panel) (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice).

St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, formerly the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, MS fr. fol. v. IV.5, in two volumes: William of Tyre, *History of Outremer* from Acre

Volume I

205 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 1r, Book 2, (V)enus estoit li mois daost.... No miniature. Illuminated initial (V), (3.4 × 3.65 cm) (photograph by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

206 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 10v, Book 3, (D)e la cite de nique... (panel: 8.2 × 6.9 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. The Crusaders attack Nicaea.
2. The Crusaders capture the wife of the Turkish commander, Qilij Arslan.

207 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 18v, Book 4, (O)r avez oi coment... (panel: 8.2 × 7.2 cm). 1. The Crusaders besiege Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

208 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 27r, Book 5, seignor... (panel: 10.9 × 7.0 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. The city of Antioch is betrayed to the Crusaders by Firuz.
2. The Crusaders enter Antioch after the gates were opened from within.

209 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 36r, Book 6, (I)a estoient bien saole... (panel: 8.2 × 7.1 cm) (photograph by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. The citadel of Antioch where many citizens took refuge.
2. The Crusaders kill many people in the lower city of Antioch.

210 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 45r, Book 7, (L)es choses furent ensi... (panel: 9.1 × 7.0 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. The Crusaders besiege the city of Maara.
2. The Crusaders encamp before the city of Jerusalem.

[N.B. Book 8: incipit missing between fols. 49 and 50.
Book 9: incipit missing between fols. 49 and 50.
Book 10: incipit missing between fols. 58 and 59.]

211 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 73r, Book 11, (E)stes estoit ia passes... (panel: 9.4 × 7.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. Bohemond leaves Antioch on horseback for the West.
2. Bohemond travels to Apulia by ship.

212 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 90r, Book 12, (X)erses fu.I. puissat... (panel: 9.3 × 7.2 cm, damaged) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. Death of King Baldwin I.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin II by patriarch Arnulf.

213 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 103r, Book 13, (F)orz estoit a mervoilles... (panel: 9.9 × 7.1 cm). 1. The Crusaders besiege Tyre by land and by sea (photograph by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

214 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 116r, Book 14, (R)ois fu de ihrlm... (panel: 8.1 × 6.9 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. Death of King Baldwin II.
2. Coronation of King Fulk I by patriarch William.

215 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 129r, Book 15, (A)pres le mois diver... (panel: 8.3 × 6.8 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. The Byzantine emperor attacks Shayzar.
2. The count of Edessa and the prince of Antioch play chess in their tent.

216 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 143v, Book 16, (N)e demora puis guaires... (panel: 8.6 × 7.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. King Fulk and Queen Melisende ride out from Acre.
2. King Fulk is thrown from his horse and lies fatally injured.

217 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 166r, Book 17, (C)onrat lempeor dalemaigne... (panel: 9.1 × 7.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. The council at Acre during the Second Crusade.
2. The Crusaders besiege Damascus.

218 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 177r, Book 18, (O)r plerons .i. petit... (panel: 8.5 × 7.1 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. Amaury, patriarch of Antioch, is exposed on the citadel.
2. Renauld de Chatillon and his men observe the patriarch on the citadel.

Volume II

219 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 2r, Book 19, (R)emes estoit un frere... (historiated initial: 8.1 × 7.9 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. Death of King Baldwin III.
2. Coronation of King Amaury I.

220 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 15v, Book 20, (U)ne chose ne voil... (panel: 7.0 × 7.5 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. The envoys of the Byzantine emperor to King Amaury I.
2. The Crusaders besiege Balbis.

221 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 29r, Book 21, (M)out fu grans li duels... (panel: 7.3 × 7.5 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

1. Death of King Amaury I.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin IV by patriarch Amaury.

222 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 41r, Book 22, (B)eumons li princes... (panel: 6.7 × 7.4 cm). 1. Sibylle, sister of king Baldwin IV, marries Guy de Lusignan (photograph by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

223 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 61r, Book 23, ch. 6, (D)evant ce q... (historiated initial: 4.4 × 5.4 cm, damaged). 1. Coronation of King Baldwin V (photograph by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

224 St. Petersburg *History of Outremer*, fol. 115v, Book 33, ch. 13, (E)n ce point... (historiated initial: 5.5 × 4.7 cm). 1. Alice, queen of Cyprus, and regent of the Latin Kingdom, conferring with a representative of the High Court on the succession of the crown, in Acre in 1229 (photograph by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg).

Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 828: William of Tyre, *History of Outremer* from Acre

225 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 1r, Book 1, (L)es anciens estoires... (panel: 15.7 × 7.5 cm, damaged) (photographs by

courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Peter the Hermit prays at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Peter the Hermit leads the First Crusade.

226 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 15v, Book 2, (V)enus estoit... (panel: 7.85 × 7.9 cm). 1. Mounted pilgrims en route to the Holy Land led by Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

227 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 24r, Book 3, (D)e la cite de nique... (panel: 7.9 × 7.7 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. The siege of Nicaea.
2. The capture of the wife of the Turkish commander, Qilij Arslan.

228 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 33r, Book 4, (O)re aves oi coment tancres... (panel: 7.1 × 7.4 cm). 1. The siege of Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

229 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 42r, Book 5, (V)oians les seignors... (panel: 7.8 × 7.55 cm). (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. The surrender of Antioch.
2. The Crusaders enter the lower city.

230 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 52v, Book 6, (I)a sestoient bien saoule... (panel: 7.8 × 7.35 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. The citadel of Antioch.
2. Fighting at the gate of Antioch.

231 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 62r, Book 7, (L)es choses... (panel: 8.85 × 7.4 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Council of the Latin leaders.
2. Death of a king.

232 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 73r, Book 8, (V)erites est que... (panel: 8.15 × 7.3 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. The Crusaders at Jerusalem.
2. Prayers in the Crusader camp.

233 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 83r, Book 9, (S)I come vos aves oi... (panel: 7.7 × 7.4 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Godefroy de Bouillon prays at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Discussions among the Crusaders about who should rule Jerusalem.

234 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 93v, Book 10, (R)ois fu li dus... (panel: 7.7 × 7.6 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Death of Godefroy de Bouillon.
2. Coronation of Baldwin as king of Jerusalem.

235 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 106r, Book 11, (E)stes iert ia passes... (panel: 7.6 × 7.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Prince Bohemond departs on horseback for the West.
2. Prince Bohemond travels to Apulia by ship.

236 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 122v, Book 12, (X)erses fu un puissant... (panel: 7.7 × 7.5 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Death of King Baldwin I.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin II.

237 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 135v, Book 13, (F)ors fu a grant... (panel: 7.8 × 7.45 cm). 1. The siege of Tyre (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

238 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 147v, Book 14, (R)ois fu apres... (panel: 8.2 × 7.5) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Death of King Baldwin II.
2. Coronation of King Fulk I.

239 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 160v, Book 15, (A)pres le mois... (panel: 7.7 × 7.3 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. The Byzantine emperor attacks Shayzar.
2. The prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli play chess.

240 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 174, Book 16, (N)e demora gaires apres... (panel: 8.2 × 7.35 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. King Fulk and Queen Melisende ride out from Acre.
2. King Fulk falls from his horse and is killed.

241 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 189r, Book 17, (C)orat... (panel: 7.0 × 7.4 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. The council at Acre during the Second Crusade.
2. The attack of the Second Crusade on Damascus.

242 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 205v, Book 18, (O)r parlerons... (panel: 8.0 × 7.4 cm). 1. The patriarch of Antioch is abused by Renauld de Chatillon (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

243 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 224v, Book 19, (R)emes... (panel: 7.3 × 8.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Death of King Baldwin III.
2. Coronation of King Amaury I.

244 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 238v, Book 20, (U)ne chose... (panel: 8.05 × 7.5 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. King Amaury I receives a letter from the Byzantine emperor.
2. The siege of Balbis.

245 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 254r, Book 21, (M)lt fu grans le duel... (panel: 8.2 × 7.25 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Death of King Amaury I.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin IV.

246 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 268r, Book 22, (B)ueimont... (panel: 8.25 × 7.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. The prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli meet in Jerusalem.
2. Baldwin IV's sister marries Guy de Lusignan.

247 Lyon *History of Outremer*, fol. 288r, Book 23, ch. 6, (D)evant ce que... (panel: 8.4 × 7.6 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole).

1. Death of King Baldwin IV.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin V.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 9085, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer* from Acre

248 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9085, fol. 47r, initial "V" (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 10175: *Histoire Universelle* from Acre, signed by Bernard d'Acre

249 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 20, (Q)uant dieu..., panel miniature: the Lord with Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (Flemish, fourteenth century) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

250 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 22v, rubrics: Coment nostre sires parla a caym (panel: 6.9 × 7.7 cm). 1. The Lord speaks to Cain standing over the fallen Abel (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

251 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 24v, rubrics: Coment noe entra en larche (panel: 7.6 × 7.7 cm). 1. Noe, nimbed, shepherds the elephants and lions into the ark (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

252 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 40r, rubrics: Coment Abraham herbaria nostre seignor qui li dist quil auroit fiz de sa feme (panel: 7.6 × 7.7 cm). 1. Abraham with the three heavenly visitors (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

253 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 41v, rubrics: Coment li angles maudirent les cites et coment eles fondirent après la maleison des angles (panel: 8.0 × 7.7 cm). 1. The angel destroys the city as Lot flees with his family (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

254 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 45r, rubrics: Coment li angeles rescoust ysaac que son pere ne li tolt la vie (panel: 8.3 × 7.7 cm). 1. The sacrifice of Isaac where Abraham holding a dagger is stopped by the angel of the Lord (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

255 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 52r, rubrics: Coment iacob dessut ysaac son pere (panel: 7.6 × 7.6 cm). 1. How Jacob deceives his father Isaac as Esau approaches (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

256 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 61v, rubrics: Coment esau et iacob partirent de decevrerent les terres puis la mort lor pere (panel: 8.7 × 7.7 cm). 1. The death of Isaac (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

257 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 63r, rubrics: Si commence lestoire de ioseph (panel: 8.0 × 7.7 cm). 1. Jacob and his sons, with Joseph in front (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

258 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 68v, rubrics: Coment la dame se complainst a son baron de ioseph a tort (panel: 6.8 × 7.7 cm). 1. Potiphar's wife attempts to seduce Joseph (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

259 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 71v, rubrics: De la vision pharaon. Et coment il manda tous les sages de sa terre (panel: 8.2 × 7.7 cm). 1. The dream of Pharaoh (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

260 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 73r, rubrics: Coment le roi fist aler ioseph sur son riche char par toute sa cite (panel: 7.6 × 7.6 cm). 1. Joseph tours the land of Egypt in Pharaoh's chariot (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

261 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 74r, rubrics: Coment les fiz iacob pristrent conseill a luer [sic] pere daler en egypte au forment (panel: 8.1 × 7.7 cm). 1. Jacob and his sons take counsel to go to Egypt for grain (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royal de Belgique, Brussels).

262 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 79r, rubrics: Coment ioseph fist a sa maisnee voider la salle et ce fist conoistre a ses freres (panel: 7.5 × 7.7 cm). 1. Joseph makes himself known to his brothers (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

263 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 82r, rubrics: Coment pharaon demanda a iacob de son aage (panel: 8.1 × 7.7 cm). 1. Jacob and his sons before Pharaoh (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

264 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 84r, rubrics: Coment ioseph porta le cors iacob son pere en ebron per avoir sepulture (panel: 8.3 × 7.7 cm). 1. The death of Jacob (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

265 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 90r, rubrics: Si commence lestoire de thebes (panel: 9.9 × 7.7 cm). 1. Above: Laius and Jocasta; 2. Below: the finding of Oedipus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

266 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 92r, rubrics: De la devinaille que Spins dist a edippus (panel: 7.8 × 7.7 cm). 1. Oedipus approaching from the right confronts the sphinx (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

267 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 96v, rubrics: Coment polinices et thideus se combatirent por la place (panel: 9.1 × 7.5 cm). The combat of Polynices and Tydeus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

268 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 110v, rubrics: De la tygre de thebes par quoi comensa la bataille et la grant destorbance (panel: 7.7 × 7.5 cm). 1. The tiger of Thebes (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

269 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 117v, rubrics: Coment les dames de scite alerent vengier leur fis et leur amis as espees esmolues (panel: 7.8 × 7.5 cm). 1. The Amazons do battle to avenge their menfolk (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

270 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 119r, rubrics: Coment les II. Serors la royne Antyope iousterent as II. Chevaliers les meillors qui estoient adonc el monde: Hercules and theseus (panel: 9.0 × 7.5 cm). 1. Two Amazon sisters of Antiope do battle with two knights (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

271 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 121r, rubrics: Coment iason et Hercules alerent por la toison par quoi renovela la heyne des grezois a ceaus de troyes, dont la cite fu destruite (panel: 9.0 × 8.0 cm). 1. The story of the Golden Fleece (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

272 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 130r, rubrics: Coment hector fist merveilles quant il fu venus al estor, et come achille locist. Et come grant dolor fu demenee (panel: 7.9 × 7.8 cm). 1. Achilles kills Hector by spearing him from behind (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

273 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 138r, rubrics: Coment pirus le fiz Achilles vint en lost por venger son pere (panel: 7.8 × 7.7 cm). 1. Penthesilea and the Amazons battle Pyrrhus the son of Achilles (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

274 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 151r, rubrics: Coment eneas revint en cesile (panel: 8.3 × 7.7 cm). 1. The departure of Aeneas as Dido kills herself on the balcony of her palace (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

275 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 165v, rubrics: Coment la royne Camilla demanda a turnus la premiere bataille contre eneas (panel: 8.3 × 8.0 cm). 1. Queen Camilla battles Aeneas (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

276 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 172r, rubrics: Ci commence lestorement de la cite de rome (panel: 7.8 × 7.5 cm). 1. The building of the city of Rome (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

277 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 195r, rubrics: Coment nabugodenosor comanda a holofernes qui alast sur ciaus qui contre lui estoient (panel: 7.8 × 7.5 cm). 1. Holofernes leads his army against the Israelites (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.

278 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 195v, rubrics: Coment iudith fu menee devant le duc holofernes (panel: 7.1 × 7.5 cm). 1. Judith comes before Holofernes (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

279 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 216v, rubrics: Coment alixandre sagenoilla contre le nom de dieu (panel: 7.9 × 7.6 cm). 1. Alexander kneels before the high priest in front of the temple in Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

280 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 219v, rubrics: Que cil qui estoient sur les olifans greverent mult la gent alixandre (panel: 7.8 × 7.7 cm). 1. Alexander and his army battles king Porus with his army on elephants (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

281 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 222r, rubrics: Coment la gent alixandre envairent cele beste (panel: 7.1 × 7.6 cm). 1. Alexander's army confronts the monstrous beast in India (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

282 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 224v, rubrics: Coment la beste qui avoit II. Testes corut sus as genz le roi alixandre (panel: 7.1 × 7.7 cm). 1. Alexander's army confronts a second monstrous beast with two heads (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

283 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 254v, rubrics: Que adonques ot pais arome et que nulles gens ne les agrevoient (panel: 7.9 × 7.6 cm). 1. The temple of Janus in Rome (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

284 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 304v, rubrics: Coment le roi iugurta fu pris et mene a rome ou grant ioie fu demenee (panel: 7.8 × 7.7 cm). 1. Jugurtha captive is carried through the streets of Rome (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

285 Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 328r, rubrics: Coment pompeyus repaira a rome (panel: 7.9 × 7.7 cm). 1. Pompey's return to Rome (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 433 (590): Cicero's *Rhetorica and the Ad Herrenium* from Acre, translated and written for William of St. Stephen, by John of Antioch, 1282

286 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 6v, Prologue, illuminated initial (T) (5.2 × 5.0 cm), with flourish and tail (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly).

287 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 9v, schema of "toute ceste division de philosophie" (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly).

288 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 11v, schema of "la reson civile: retorique" (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly).

289 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 13r, Book 1 (*De Inventione*) miniature panel with two registers (11.0 × 8.3 cm) (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly). 1. Evil Oratory causes the fall of cities and strife among the people; 2. Good Oratory encourages the building of cities and harmony among the people.
Marginal drolleries

290 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 45v, Book 2 (*De Inventione*) miniature panel (6.75 × 8.45 cm) with Zeuxis of Heraclea painting an image of Helen; illuminated initial (I) (9.6 × 1.3 cm) (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly).

291 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 86r, Book 3 (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) illuminated initial, (I)..., (20.7 × 1.6 cm) (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly).

292 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 95r, Book 4 (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) miniature panel (5.5 × 7.1 cm) with Cicero dictating to his scribe as Herennius looks on; illuminated initial (N) (4.2 × 4.85 cm) (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly).

293 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 113r, Book 5 (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) historiated initial (4.9 × 5.15 cm) with Cicero seated, addressing a standing student. Marginal drollery (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly).

294 Chantilly *Rhetorica*, fol. 127v, Book 6 (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) miniature panel (6.0 × 8.4 cm) with a classroom scene: a master teaches six students with two elders looking on; illuminated initial, (N) (4.3 × 8.4). Marginal drollery (photograph by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. Fr. 1404: Bible Selections from Acre

295 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 1r, Preface, panel miniature: 1. St. Jerome and Brother Ambrosius (6.9 × 6.1 cm), large red and blue calligraphic initial (D) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

296 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 2r, Genesis, two panel miniatures: 1. the Lord creating on the first day (5.3 × 5.1 cm); 2. the Lord creating days two to six and resting on the seventh day (12.2 × 7.3 cm), large red and blue calligraphic initial (E) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

297 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 25v, Exodus, panel miniature: 1. Moses leading the Israelites (7.15 × 6.4 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (C) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

298 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 44r, Numbers, panel miniature: 1. an Israelite making an offering to God (6.9 × 6.35 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (N) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

299 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 54v, Joshua, panel miniature: 1. Joshua kneeling before the Lord (7.5 × 6.3 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (A) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

300 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 64v, Judges, panel miniature: 1. the people of Israel kneeling in prayer to God

(6.2 × 6.2 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (A) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

301 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 94v, I Kings, panel miniature: 1. the prayer of Anna, as Eli looks on (7.3 × 6.4 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (U) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

302 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 123v, II Kings, panel miniature: 1. King David ordering the killing of the Amalekite (6.8 × 6.5 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (A) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

303 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 124v, II Kings, ch. 3, panel miniature: 1. the annointing of the seated King David (5.8 × 6.5 cm), with red and blue calligraphic initial (Q) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

304 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 148r, III Kings, panel miniature: 1. Abishag brought to the aged King David in bed (5.95 × 6.5 cm), with red and blue calligraphic initial (D) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

305 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 180v, IV Kings, panel miniature: 1. Elijah taken up to heaven as Elisha watches (6.65 × 6.05 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (L) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).
[Bible Selections, fol. 208v, I Maccabees, miniature panel, and start of text missing.]

306 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 226v, II Maccabees, panel miniature: 1. John Hyrcanus returning to defend Jerusalem (6.85 × 6.8 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (I) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

307 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 229v, Tobit, panel miniature: 1. Tobit blinded (6.15 × 6.6 cm), with red and blue calligraphic initial (T) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

308 Bible Selections, MS n.a. fr. 1404, fol. 238r, Judith, panel miniature: 1. Judith decapitating Holofernes (6.25 × 6.85 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial (A) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

Paris, Archives Nationales, MS Pièce S 1626 (1): Censier from Paris

309 Censier, fol. 1r (first quarter), Relicta Hervei Munerii . v. sol'.... rubrics: Recepta pitantiarum conventus sce Genovefe... a termino Sci Remigii usque ad natale anno di m(o).cc(o). lxxvi(o)..... Miniature panel (7.7 × 7.2 cm), Geneviève is consecrated by Bishop Germain of Auxerre and Bishop Loup of Troyes (photograph by courtesy of the Archives Nationales, Paris).

310 Censier, fol. 13r (second quarter), Burgesia parisie.xl. sol'.... rubrics: Recepta pitantiarum... a termino natale usque ad pascha anno di m(o).cc(o).lxxvi(o). Miniature panel (8.1 × 8.2 cm), Geneviève on her way to evening prayer has her candle relit by an angel after it had been extinguished by a devil (photograph by courtesy of the Archives Nationales, Paris).

311 Censier, fol. 20r (third quarter), Relicta Hervei Munerii.v. sol'.... rubrics: Recepta conventus... a pascha usque ad festum sci iohis bapte anno dni m(o).cc(o).lxxvi(o). Miniature panel (7.8 × 7.8 cm), Geneviève supervises the construction of the Basilica of Saint-Denis (photograph by courtesy of the Archives Nationales, Paris).

312 Censier, fol. 26v (fourth quarter), Familia iohis rouselli.xxxv. sol'.... Rubrics: Recepta pitantiarum... a termino sci iohis bapte usque ad festum sci Remigii anno di m(o).cc(o).lxxvi(o). Miniature panel (8.0 × 8.1 cm), Monks from the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève carry her *châsse* through the streets of Paris on the Feast of Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents (photograph by courtesy of the Archives Nationales, Paris).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5334: *Libellus* of St. Martin from Paris

313 *Libellus* of St. Martin, fol. 1r, historiated initial, (S)everus... (3.45 × 3.55 cm, main rectangle, with flourishes in the margins that measure 24.55 cm high maximum).

1. St. Martin, nimbed and in episcopal robes, blesses three *malades* (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 494: Bible in Old French from Paris

314 Bible, fol. 171r, I Kings, panel (8.9 × 7.9 cm) and illuminated initial (5.4 × 4.9 cm) (U)ns homs fu de la cite....

1. The prayer of Anna to God, with Eli looking on [Paris–Acre Master] (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

315 Bible, fol. 296v, Psalm 1, panel (8.7 × 7.5 cm) and historiated initial (4.3 × 4.9 cm), (B)eneuvrez est li homs..., with marginal drolleries. (panel) 1. Confrontation of David and Goliath. [Paris–Acre Master] 2. David decapitates Goliath (initial). 1. King David plays the psaltery [Paris–Acre Master] (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

316 Bible, fol. 302r, Psalm 26, historiated initial (5.2 × 4.7 cm), (N)ostre sires si est ma lumiere & mon salut....

1. Coronation of King David [Paris–Acre Master], marginal drolleries (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

317 Bible, fol. 305r, Psalm 38, historiated initial/panel (5.4 × 4.5 cm), (I)e dis ie gardere mes voies....

1. King David kneels in prayer to God above [Paris–Acre Master], marginal drolleries (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

318 Bible, fol. 308r, Psalm 52, historiated initial (5.2 × 4.7 cm), (C)il qui nestoit pas sages dist....

1. The fool [Paris–Acre Master], marginal drolleries (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

319 Bible, fol. 311r, Psalm 68, historiated initial (5.3 × 4.6 cm), (D)ieux fai moi sauf porce que....

1. King David standing orans in water prays to the Lord above [Paris–Acre Master], marginal drolleries (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

320 Bible, fol. 314v, Psalm 80, historiated initial (5.3 × 4.7 cm), (E)cleesciez vos en dieu qui....

1. King David plays the bells [Paris–Acre Master], two marginal drolleries (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

321 Bible, fol. 318r, Psalm 97, historiated initial (5.2 × 5.0 cm), (C)hantez a nostre seingneur nouvelle chancon....

1. Two monks chanting before a lectern [Paris–Acre Master], marginalia (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

322 Bible, fol. 322r, Psalm 109, historiated initial (5.2 × 5.2 cm), (N)ostre sires dist a mon seingneur....

1. Jesus and God the Father enthroned together [Paris–Acre Master], marginalia (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

323 Bible, fol. 597r, Letter of Paul to the Philippians, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.7 cm), (P)ouls & thy mothee sers ihesucrist....

1. Paul in city tower hands letter to man outside [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drollerie (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

324 Bible, fol. 601v, First Letter of Paul to Timothy, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.4 cm), (P)ouls apoustre ihesucrist....

1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master] (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

325 Bible, fol. 604v, Second Letter of Paul to Titus, historiated initial (5.5 × 5.4 cm), (P) ouls le seriant de dieu & apoustre ihesucrist....

1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drollerie (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

326 Bible, fol. 605r, Third Letter of Paul to Titus, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.3 cm), (P)ouls sers de dieu apoustre ihesucrist....

1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drollerie (photograph by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

London, British Library, Add. MS 15268: *Histoire Universelle* from Acre

327 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 1v, (panel: 30.0 × 20.0 cm). 1. the Creation (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

328 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 7v, (panel: 8.0 × 7.7 cm). 1. Noah's Ark (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

329 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 16r, (panel: 21.6 × 16.4 cm). 1. King Ninus enthroned (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

330 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 24v, (panel: 18.3 × 16.6 cm). 1. Abraham's hospitality (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

331 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 26v, rubrics: Coment les angles maudirent les cites et come elles fondirent après la maleysson des angles (panel: 16.8 × 16.4 cm). 1. The angel destroys the city as Lot and his family flee (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

332 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 30v, rubrics: Coment li angles rescoust ysaac que so pere nel ocist (panel: 15.5 × 16.5 cm). 1. The sacrifice of Isaac (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

333 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 37v, rubrics: Coment iacob dessut ysaac son pere (panel: 11.6 × 16.4 cm). 1. Jacob deceives his father Isaac as Esau approaches (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

334 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 48r, rubrics: Ci commence lestoire de ioseph (panel: 12.2 × 16.8 cm). 1. Jacob and Joseph; Joseph and his brothers (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

335 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 54r, rubrics: Coment la dame vost retenir ioseph et le prist par le mantel (panel: 12.1 × 16.3 cm). 1. Joseph and Potiphar's wife (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

336 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 56v, rubrics: De la vision que le roi pharaon vit (panel: 12.2 × 16.5 cm). 1. Pharaoh's dream (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

337 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 58r, rubrics: Coment le roi fist aler ioseph sur son char par tote sa cite (panel: 11.6 × 16.4 cm). 1. Joseph surveys the land of Egypt in Pharaoh's chariot (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

338 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 59r, rubrics: Coment les fiz iacob pristrent conseill a lor pere daler en egypte au forment (panel: 11.6 × 16.4 cm). 1. Jacob and his sons consult on going to Egypt to secure grain (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

339 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 64r, rubrics: Coment li freres ioseph sagenoillierent devant lui et il fist voidier la sale a sa maisnee et se fist conoistre (panel: 12.2 × 16.6 cm). 1. Joseph makes himself known to his brothers (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

340 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 65v, rubrics: Coment iacob si mist a la voie por aler a ioseph son fiz (panel: 12.3 × 16.5 cm). 1. Jacob travels to Egypt with his family to see Joseph (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

341 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 67r, rubrics: Coment iacob ala devant le roi pharaon (panel: 11.9 × 16.6 cm). 1. Jacob before Pharaoh (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

342 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 69r, rubrics: Coment ioseph porta le cors iacob en ebron por avoir sepulture (panel: 12.0 × 16.3). 1. The burial of Jacob in Hebron (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

343 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 71r, rubrics: Quant ans le roi ninus regna (panel: 12.0 × 16.3 cm). 1. King Ninus enthroned (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

344 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 75v, rubrics: Ci commence lestoire de thebes (panel: 20.7 × 16.3 cm). 1. The finding of Oedipus (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

345 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 77v, rubrics: Coment edippus ala vers thebes ou il trova spins qui li vint alencontre (panel: 12.1 × 16.3 cm). 1. Oedipus confronts the sphinx (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

346 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 81v, rubrics: Coment polinices et thideus si combatirent por la place (panel: 11.3 × 16.6 cm). 1. Polynices and Thydeus in combat (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

347 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 95r, rubrics: De la tygre de thebes par quoi comensa la bataille (panel: 12.2 × 16.5 cm). 1. The tiger of Thebes (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

348 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 101v, rubrics: Coment les dames de scite alerent vengier lor barons et lor fiz et lor amis (panel: 11.6 × 16.5 cm) 1. The Amazons Merpesia and Lampetho avenge the deaths of their menfolk (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

349 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 103r, rubrics: Coment les.II. serors iosterent a hercules et theseus qui adonc estoient les meillors chevaliers dou monde (panel: 11.4 × 16.6 cm). 1. Two Amazon sisters of Antiope do battle with two knights (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

350 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 104v, rubrics: Coment Hercules occist le orible iahan qui ne doutoit nulle creature (panel: 11.5 × 16.6 cm). 1. Hercules battles the giant Antheus (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

351 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 105v (panel: 26.5 × 16.4 cm). 1. The story of the Golden Fleece (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

352 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 114v, rubrics: Coment achiles occist hector don't grant doulor fu demenee (panel: 12.0 × 16.2 cm). 1. Achilles kills Hector by spearing him from behind on the battlefield (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

353 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 122r, rubrics: Coment la royne pantisselee vint au secorz de troies (panel: 12.0 × 16.4 cm). 1. The Amazon queen Penthesilea leads her army en route to aid the Trojans (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

354 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 123r, rubrics: Coment pirus le fiz ahilles et la royne pantisselee iosterent corz a corz (panel: 12.0 × 16.3 cm). 1. Penthesilea and the Amazons battle Pyrrhus the son of Achilles and his army (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

355 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 136v, rubrics: Coment cil dathenes estoient subget a cil de crete (panel: 16.0 × 16.2 cm). 1. A naval battle between the fleets of Athens and Crete (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

356 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 149r, rubrics: Coment la royne Camilla demanda a turnus la premiere bataille contre eneas (panel: 11.9 × 16.3 cm). 1. Queen Camilla prepares to battle Aeneas (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

357 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 155v, rubrics: Ci commence lestorement de la cite de rome. Fol. 156r, (panel: 13.8 × 16.3 cm). 1. The building of the city of Rome (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

358 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 161v, rubrics: Ci commence des consellles de rome le grant afaire (panel: 12.2 × 16.2 cm). 1. Brutus as consul (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

359 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 179v, rubrics: Coment nabugodenosor comanda a holofernes qui alast sur ciaus qui contre lui estoient (panel: 12.8 × 16.3 cm). 1. Nebuchadnezzar sends Holofernes against the Israelites (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

360 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 181r, rubrics: Come iudit fu menee devant holofernes (panel: 11.4 × 16.3 cm). 1. Judith is brought to Holofernes in his tent (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

361 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 203r, rubrics: Coment la royne damazone vint a alixandre et li rendi li et sa terre (panel: 16.2 × 16.2 cm). 1. The queen of the Amazons comes before Alexander (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

362 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 204r, rubrics: Que cil qui estoient sur les olifanz greverent mult la gent alixandre (panel: 12.2 × 16.2 cm). 1. Alexander and his army battle King Porus with his elephants (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

363 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 208r, rubrics: Coment la gent alixandre envayrent ceste beste (panel: 12.3 × 16.3 cm). 1. Alexander and his army confront a monstrous beast in India (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

364 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 210v, rubrics: Coment la beste qui avoit II. Testes corus sus as genz le roi alixandre (panel: 12.2 × 16.3 cm). 1. Alexander's army confronts a second monstrous beast with two heads (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

365 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 214v, rubrics: Coment la vois del arbre dist a alixandre que iames ne repaireroit en sa contree (panel: 12.2 × 16.3 cm). 1. Alexander kneels before the magic tree, which tells him he will never return to Macedonia (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

366 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 217r, rubrics: Coment II. Rois vindrent ensemble armes a la bataille (panel: 11.5 × 16.3 cm). 1. Two kings do battle (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

367 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 226r, rubrics: Coment le roi pirus vint en laye de cil de tarente et amena ses olifanz (panel: 12.0 × 16.3 cm). 1. King Pyrrhus and his army with elephants march to the aid of the city of Tarentum (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

368 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 242r, rubrics: Que adonques ot pais a rome si que nulls genz ne les agrevoient (panel: 12.1 × 16.3 cm). 1. The Temple of Janus in Rome with senators feasting (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

369 London *Histoire Universelle*, fol. 292r, rubrics: Coment le roi boctus fist pais as romainz et le roi iugurta pris et lies et mene a rome ou grant ioie fu demenee (panel: ll.5 × 16.3 cm). 1. Jugurtha captive is carried through the streets of Rome (photograph by courtesy of the British Library, London).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 9084: William of Tyre, *History of Outremer* from Acre

370 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 1r, Book 1, (L)es ancienes estoires... (panel: 8.85 × 15.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

1. Christ appears to Peter the Hermit at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Peter receives a message from the patriarch of Jerusalem to give to the pope in Rome.

371 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 20v, Book 2, el XVeime jour dou mois... (panel: 8.3 × 7.6 cm). 1. Godefroy de Bouillon and his men on the march toward the Holy Land (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

372 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 31v, Book 3,... de nicomede mais lempereres la fist oster... (panel: 8.5 × 12.2 cm). Caption: "*la desputacion des perlas encontre les mescreans.*" 1. The council of Nicaea, 325, with Eastern and Western prelates (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

373 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 42r, Book 4, (O)re aves oy comt tancres se contenoit en celisse... (panel: 7.0 × 6.25 cm). 1. Turkish and Armenian satraps from the mountains offer Tancred gifts to win his favor and obtain treaties of friendship (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

374 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 53r, Book 5, (D)e faim & de mezaise come nos avons dit... (panel: 9.2 × 16.0 cm). Captions: left, "*lost*," right, "*antioche.*" 1. The Crusaders attack

and enter Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

375 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 64v, Book 6, (L)a estoyent bie saoule despandre le sac... (panel: 7.4 × 11.8 cm). 1. The Crusaders put the Antiochenes to the sword; some citizens gain refuge in the citadel (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

376 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 77r, Book 7, (C)estes choses firent ensi atirees en la cite dantioche... (panel: 8.0 × 11.0 cm). 1. Crusader envoys to the Byzantine emperor Alexius at Constantinople (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

377 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 89v, Book 8, (V)erites est que la sainte cite de ierlm... (panel: 8.3 × 7.4 cm). 1. The city of Jerusalem between two mountains (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

378 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 101r, Book 9, (S)i com vos aves oy li peleris... (panel: 8.3 × 15.7 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

1. A meeting of the chief men of the Crusaders, despite the opposition of the clergy, to choose a ruler for Jerusalem.
2. A meeting of the clergy to choose a patriarch for Jerusalem.

379 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 112r, Book 10, (R)oys fu li dus godefroy de ierlm... (panel: 7.6 × 7.25 cm). 1. Baldwin, count of Edessa, crowned king of Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

380 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 125v, Book 11, (E)stes estoit ia passes le prices beumot... (panel: 9.6 × 15.5 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

1. Bohemond sails to France to seek funding.
2. Philippe, king of France, prepares to give two daughters, Constance and Cecilia, in marriage to Bohemond and Tancred.

381 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 169r, Book 14, (R)oys fu apres de ierlm fouques... (panel: 8.3 × 7.15 cm). 1. Fulk of Anjou is crowned king in Jerusalem by patriarch William (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

382 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 182v, Book 15, (A)pres le mois diver... (panel: 8.0 × 15.4 cm). 1. The Byzantine emperor John attacks the city of Shayzar while the prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa stay in camp (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

383 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 197r–v, Book 16, (N)e demora puis gaires... (panel: 8.2 × 15.4 cm). 1. The mourning of King Fulk and the coronation of King Baldwin III in Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

384 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 214r, Book 17, (C)onras lemperes dalemaigne doit estre... (panel: 8.9 × 15.6 cm). 1. The council at Acre during the Second Crusade with Conrad of Germany and Louis VII of France (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

385 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 232v, Book 18, (O)r parleros un petit... (panel: 8.85 × 6.8 cm). 1. Raynauld de Chatillon abuses the Amaury the patriarch of Antioch on a tower of the citadel (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

386 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 255v, Book 19, (R)emes estoit.i. fre le roy Baudoi... (panel: 8.4 × 7.0 cm). 1. The coronation of King Amaury I by patriarch Amaury in Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

387 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 272r, Book 20, (U)ne choze ne veil gie mie laisier... (panel: 7.95 × 7.1 cm). 1. Crusader envoys, Archbishop Hernesius of Caesarea and Eudes de St.-Amand, deliver a message to the Byzantine emperor requesting a wife for the king of Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

388 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 290v, Book 21, (M)out fu grans le duel... (panel: 7.3 × 7.4 cm). 1. Mourning for the dead King Amaury I (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

389 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 307v, Book 22, (B)emons le princes dantioche... (panel: 7.85 × 7.5 cm). 1. Bohemond of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli arrive at Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

390 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 331r, Book 23, ch 6, (D)evant ce que li roys fu mors... (panel: 9.2 × 6.85 cm). 1. King Baldwin IV on his deathbed crowns his nephew king as Baldwin V (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

391 *History of Outremer*, MS fr. 9084, fol. 395v, Book 33, ch 13, (E)n ce point q li empereres se fu partis... (panel: 8.5 × 7.15 cm). 1. The Crusaders send two envoys, Joffrey le Tour and Johan de Bailluel, to Frederick II in Saint-Lorens (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

Boulogne sur Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 142: William of Tyre, *History of Outremer* from Acre

392 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 1r, Book 1, (L)es ancienes estoires dient que eracles... (panel: 8.5 × 16.8 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

1. Christ appears to Peter the Hermit at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Peter the Hermit receives a message from the patriarch of Jerusalem to deliver to the pope in Rome.

393 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 16r, Book 2, (E)l quinsaime ior dou mois... (panel: 9.1 × 7.9 cm). 1. Godefroy de Bouillon and Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy lead the men of the First Crusade to the Holy Land (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

394 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 24v, Book 3, (L)e nicomede, mais lepererez costanu... (panel: 9.1 × 7.65 cm). 1. The council of Nicaea (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

395 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 32r, Book 4, (O)re aves oy comet tacres... (panel: 6.8 × 8.8 cm). 1. Turkish and Armenian satraps offer Tancred gifts to win his favor (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

396 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 40v, Book 5, (D)e faim & de mesaisse... (panel: 10.2 × 8.2 cm) 1. Godefroy de Bouillon leads the First Crusade attack on Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

397 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 49v, Book 6, (L)a estoient bien saoule... (panel: 8.9 × 7.6 cm). 1. The Crusaders enter and take Antioch (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

398 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 60v, Book 7, (C)estes choses furent ensi atirees... (panel: 8.1 × 7.6 cm). 1. Two Crusader envoys to the Byzantine emperor Alexius (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

399 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 71r, Book 8, (V)erites est que la sainte cite... (panel: 8.45 × 7.5 cm). 1. The First Crusaders approach Jerusalem situated between two mountains (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

400 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 80v, Book 9, (S)i com vos aves oy... (panel: 7.3 × 17.4 cm). 1. The pilgrims pray at the Holy Sepulcher while barons and clergy confer on a ruler for Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

401 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 89v, Book 10, (R)ois fu li duc Godefroy de ierlm... (panel: 8.2 × 7.6 cm). 1. Baldwin I is crowned king of Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

402 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 101r, Book 11, (E)ste estoit ia ales li princes Beaumont... (panel: 10.7 × 8.15 cm). 1. Fulk of Anjou is crowned king of Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

403 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 141, Book 14, (L)ors fu apres de ihrlm fouques... (panel: 10.0 × 7.1 cm). 1. Philippe I of France prepares to give his two daughters, Constance and Cecilia, as wives for Bohemond and Tancred (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

404 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 153v, Book 15, (A)pres le mois diver... (panel: 11.0 × 7.2 cm).

1. The emperor of Byzantium and his army attack Shayzar.
2. The prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa remain in camp (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

405 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 168r, Book 16, (N)e demora puis gaires... (panel: 12.5 × 7.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

1. King Fulk hunting as a hare dashes away at right.
2. Fulk, thrown from his horse, is fatally injured.

406 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 183v, Book 17, (C)onras lemperes dalemaigne... (panel: 9.4 × 7.2 cm). 1. The council at Acre during the Second Crusade with Conrad of Germany (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

407 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 199r, Book 18, (O)r parlerons un petit... (panel: 10.7 × 7.2 cm). 1. Raynauld of Chatillon abuses patriarch Amaury of Antioch on a tower of the citadel (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

408 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 218r, Book 19, (R)emes estoit. I. frere le roy Baudoin... (panel: 9.6 × 7.2 cm). 1. The coronation of King Amaury I (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

409 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 233v, Book 20, (U)ne chose ne vueill ie mie leisser a dire... (panel: 12.9 × 7.0 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

1. Two Crusader envoys, Archbishop Hernesius and Eudes de Saint-Amand, are received by the emperor of Byzantium.
2. The Crusader envoys take Princess Maria to become the wife of King Amaury I.

410 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 249v, Book 21, (M)out fu grans le dueill en la terre... (panel: 10.05 × 7.15 cm). 1. The funeral and mourning for King Amaury I (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

411 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 264v, Book 22, (B)eumons li princes dantioche & Reymons... (panel: 8.6 × 7.3 cm). 1. Baldwin IV gives his sister, Sibylle, to Guy de Lusignan in marriage (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

412 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 283v, Book 23, ch. 6, (D)event ce que li roys fu mors... (panel: 8.6 × 7.1 cm). 1. Baldwin IV, on his deathbed, crowns his nephew as King Baldwin V (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

413 Boulogne *History of Outremer*, fol. 337v, Book 33, ch. 13, (E)nce point que li empereres... (panel: 10.1 × 7.2 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne-sur-Mer).

1. Two Crusader envoys give their message to Frederick II at Saint-Lorens.
2. Two Crusader envoys, Joffrey le Tour and Johan de Bailluel, sail to Brindisi.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 10212: *Faits des Romains* from Acre

414 Brussels *Faits des Romains*, fol. 1v, Chascun hom se doit pener.... Rubrics: Ci comense le livre de Cesar comet il conquist plusors tres (panel: 4.7 × 7.35 cm). 1. Caesar's army on the march (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

415 Brussels *Faits des Romains*, fol. 53v, Omienis et publius cledius estoient..., Rubrics: Comt cesar comanda a faire nes apasser en bertaine & coment il prist port en bertaine o ses nes (panel: 5.2 × 7.5 cm). 1. Boats are constructed for Caesar's army to cross the English Channel (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

416 Brussels *Faits des Romains*, fol. 69r, Cesar qui cuidoit atendre.... Rubrics: Coment siaus de treves tindret les sesnes cotre cesar & sa gent (panel: 5.45 × 7.5 cm). 1. Caesar's army arrives at Trier (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

417 Brussels *Faits des Romains*, fol. 121r, Quant cezar qui atongues estoit.... Rubrics: Ci commence le premier livre de lucan (historiated initial Q: 4.35 × 4.85 cm, plus tail, 23.8 cm long). 1. Caesar in camp in Ravenna receives a messenger from Rome (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

418 Brussels *Faits des Romains*, fol. 126v, Quant cezar aparsut que.... Rubrics: Comt cesar assembla siaus de france les vaillans chrs por corre sur siaus de rome (historiated initial Q: 4.0 × 4.35 cm, plus tail, 16.8 cm long). 1. Caesar's army battles Roman soldiers at Rome (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

419 Brussels *Faits des Romains*, fol. 208r, Aps se ptirent sur pulger come.... Rubrics: XI livre de lucan comt pope ot le chef cope p. ii. sers e egipte (panel: 5.7 × 7.7 cm). 1. Pompey is assassinated as Cornelia looks on (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

420 Brussels *Faits des Romains*, fol. 233r, Cex fist entrer ses nes el port... Rubrics: Ci comense li × [sic] livre de luca coment cesar sen ala en alixandre (panel: 5.1 × 7.25 cm). 1. Pompey's decapitated head is brought to Caesar (photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 20125: *Histoire Universelle* from Acre

421 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 2v (panel: 11.6 × 6.5 cm). Creation: 1. God separates light and dark; 2. God separates sky and water (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

422 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 3r, (Q)uant dues ot fer le ciel & la terre.... Rubrics: Ci commence li livres del estoremet dou monde coment nre sires parla a adam .i. Illuminated initial, Q (8.9 × 8.6 cm, plus tail) (panel: 25.4 × 6.8 cm). Creation (continued): 1. God separates dry land and sea, 2. God creates the sun and moon and the fish of the sea, 3. God creates the birds and animals, 4. God creates Eve from the side of Adam, God rests on the seventh day (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

423 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 6v, rubrics: Si com nre sires parla a chaim. viii. (panel: 6.95 × 9.1 cm). 1. God speaks to Cain, Cain kills Abel (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

424 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 9r, rubrics: Ce que noes ot tost fait. xviii (panel: 7.8 × 8.95 cm). 1. The Ark of Noah (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

425 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 29r, rubrics: Coment abrahans herberga nre segnor & si li dist qu'il auroit un fill de sa feme (panel: 8.8 × 8.6 cm). 1. Abraham and the three heavenly visitors (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

426 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 31v, rubrics: Comet la feme loth fu muee en Pierre por ce qu ele trespassa le comat del angele (panel: 10.1 × 8.4 cm). 1. Lot and his family flee Sodom; his wife is turned to a pillar of salt when she looks back (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

427 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 35v, rubrics: Comet li angeles restost ysaac que ses peres ne li ot tolue la vie (panel: 9.2 × 8.2 cm). 1. The sacrifice of Isaac (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

428 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 43v, rubrics: Comet iacob decuit ysaac son pere (panel: 8.75 × 9.65 cm). 1. Jacob deceives his father, Isaac, as Esau returns from the hunt (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

429 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 55r, rubrics: Comet iacob vir a son pere ysaac (panel: 9.9 × 9.0 cm). 1. The death of Isaac (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

430 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 64r, rubrics: Coment la dame triste & dolente se plainst de ioseph a son baron (panel: 9.35 × 8.95 cm). 1. Joseph flees from Potiphar's wife (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

431 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 66v, rubrics: Lor li rois pharaons comanda q les sages homes venisser espodre sa visio (panel: 6.65 × 8.95 cm). 1. The dream of Pharaoh (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

432 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 68v, rubrics: Or li rois dona a ioseph son riche anel dor devant ses pnces par grant segnorie (panel: 8.1 × 9.9 cm). 1. Joseph tours the land of Egypt in Pharaoh's chariot (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

433 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 69v, rubrics: Or li fill iacob pristrent conseill a lor pere d'aler au fromet en egypte (panel: 9.2 × 9.2 cm). 1. Jacob counsels his sons to go to Egypt for grain (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

434 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 70v, rubrics: Or symeon demora en prison por ses freres. & li autre sen raleret (panel: 9.15 × 8.85 cm). 1. Joseph receives his brothers who have come to procure grain in Egypt (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

435 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 75v, rubrics: Or ioseph fist a tote sa maisnee voidier la sale (panel: 8.6 × 9.65 cm). 1. Joseph's brothers plead for grain (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

436 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 77r, rubrics: Que iacob ot grant ioie quat il oi noveles de ioseph son fill (panel 8.2 × 8.6 cm). 1. Joseph's brothers tell Jacob that Joseph is alive and well in Egypt (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

437 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 79r, rubrics: Or pharaons demanda a iacob de son eage (panel: 8.1 × 8.35 cm). 1. Jacob and Joseph's brothers before Pharaoh (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

438 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 81r, rubrics: De la costume des mors con faisoit en egipte (panel: 9.95 × 8.2 cm). 1. The death of Jacob (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

439 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 83v, rubrics: Dou rois ninus qns ans il regna (panel: 8.75 × 7.7 cm). 1. King Ninus enthroned (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

440 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 88v, rubrics: Or li siecles estoit mout mauvais... (panel: 10.8 × 7.7 cm). 1. King Laius and his wife, Jocasta. 2. Oedipus exposed on Mount Cithaeron (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

441 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 91v, rubrics: Del adevinal q spins dist a edippum (panel: 6.0 × 8.0 cm). 1. Oedipus confronts the sphinx (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

442 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 95v, rubrics: Or tideus qui fu fills le roi de calidonie vint la ou pollinices estoit par autel avete (panel: 8.4 × 11.0 cm).

1. Polyneices and Tydeus battle as Adrastus comes to separate them (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

443 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 112r, rubrics: De la tigre de thebes por quoi comensa la bataille & la gns noise (panel: 8.4 × 9.5 cm). 1. The Tiger of Thebes (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

444 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 119r, rubrics: Des dames de sithe qui alerent vegier lor fiz & lor amis as armes esmolues (panel: 6.2 × 10.1 cm). 1. The Amazons, led by Merpesia and Lampetho, ride out to avenge the deaths of their menfolk (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

445 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 119v, rubrics: Or les amazonienes funderet ephese (panel: 8.7 × 9.65 cm). 1. The Amazons are victorious in battle (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

446 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 121r, rubrics: Que li diu chivalier vaillant o laie de lor gens pstret les. ii. puceles (panel: 7.95 × 9.3 cm). 1. The two sisters of Queen Antiope battle with Hercules and Theseus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

447 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 123r, rubrics: Or h'cules ocist un autre iaiant (panel: 8.7 × 8.15 cm). 1. Hercules wrestles with the giant Antaeus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

448 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 123v, rubrics: Ci commence lueure (panel: 6.75 × 9.1 cm). 1. Peleus sends Jason to fetch the Golden Fleece: the sailing of the Argo (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

449 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 133v, rubrics: Coment hector fist merveilles qnt il fu venus al estor & qu' Achilles locist & co gras dolors en fu menee (panel: 7.6 × 9.65 cm). 1. Achilles kills Hector by spearing him from behind (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

450 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 141r, rubrics: Or la roine pantesilee de femenie vit au socors de ceaus de troies (panel: 7.35 × 9.2 cm). 1. Queen Penthesilea and the Amazons on their way to aid the Trojans (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

451 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 142r, rubrics: Or pirrus le fiz Achilles vint en lost por vengier son pere (panel: 6.55 × 8.85 cm). 1. Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, battles Penthesilea (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

452 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 156v, rubrics: Or mout dura la dolors ansois q li cors fust ars & mis encendre qr tint cil de la cite lamoient mout si come lor bone dame dont il estoit gns domages qle avoit ensi perdue la vie. Co eneas revint en sesile (panel: 7.7 × 9.2 cm). 1. Dido impales herself on her sword as Aeneas and his men sail away from Carthage (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

453 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 157v, rubrics: De ce mesmement encore que eneas sen repaira vers Itale (panel: 8.0 × 7.85 cm). (fol. 158r) 1. The Labyrinth (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

454 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 171v, rubrics: Or eneas vint devant la cite de laurente ou turnus estoit a sa chivalerie (panel: 7.35 × 9.8 cm). (fol. 172r) 1. Aneas meets Queen Camilla (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

455 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 185r, rubrics: Or li cocele sosmirent a rome grant partie dou monde (panel: 7.45 × 9.2 cm). 1. Brutus as consul (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

456 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 205v, rubrics: Or nabugodnosor comanda au duc holofernes qu'il alast sor ceaus qui contre lui estoient (panel: 8.65 × 9.5 cm). (fol. 206r) 1. Holofernes, marching against the enemies of King Nebuchanezzar, arrives at Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

457 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 207r, rubrics: Come iudith fu menee devant le duc holofernes (panel: 8.0 × 9.6 cm) (Fol. 207v). 1. Judith is brought before Holofernes (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

458 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 232r, rubrics: Or alixandres sagenoilla contre le non deu (panel: 6.9 × 8.9 cm). 1. Alexander kneels before the high priest Jaddus in front of the Temple in Jerusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

459 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 233v, rubrics: Or la roine damazone vint a alixandre (panel: 7.95 × 9.3 cm). 1. The Wheel of Fortune (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

460 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 234v, rubrics: Or cil qui estoient sor les olifans les grevoient mout (panel: 8.9 × 17.3 cm) (fol. 235r) 1. Alexander's army battles king Porus and his elephants (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

461 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 239r, rubrics: Or la beste que li indiem clamoient deut tirant vit al estanc boivre (panel: 6.6 × 8.35 cm). 1. The monstrous beast with three horns encountered by Alexander's army in India (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

462 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 241v, rubrics: Or la beste a. ii. testes lor coru sore (panel: 6.95 × 9.0 cm). 1. The monstrous beast with two heads also encountered by Alexander's army in India (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

463 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 249r, rubrics: Or li diu roi vindret tuit arme ensamble (panel: 8.55 × 10.0 cm). 1. Alexander and Porus on horseback in a final duel (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

464 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 259v, rubrics: Or li rois porus vint en laie ceaus de tarente & si amena avec lui ses olifans (panel: 8.7 × 9.8 cm) (Fol. 260r). 1. The army of King Pyrrhus mounted on elephants coming to the aid of the people of Tarentum (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

465 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 279r, rubrics: Or adonques fu pais a rome & q nulles gens ne les agreverent (panel: 9.1 × 9.0 cm). 1. Roman soldiers deposit and collect their arms at the Temple of Janus (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

466 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 300v, rubrics: Or les batailles assamblerent des anfriquans & des romais (panel: 8.45 × 11.3 cm). 1. Hannibal and Scipio in battle (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

467 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 339v, rubrics: Or marius abati le roi dou cheval a terre (panel: 8.25 × 9.6 cm). 1. Marius defeats Jugurtha in battle (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

468 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 340r [no rubrics] (panel: 8.5 × 10.15 cm). 1. The captured Jugurtha is paraded through Rome as a prisoner (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

469 *Histoire Universelle*, MS fr. 20125, fol. 396v, rubrics: Or pompeius sen repaira a rome (panel: 8.6 × 10.1 cm). 1. The triumph of Pompey in Rome (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS PLU.LXI.10: William of Tyre, *History of Outremer* from Acre, except for the last miniature from Venice

470 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 10r, Book 1, (L)es ancienes estoires… (panel: 10.1 × 7.25 cm). 1. Pilgrims praying at the Holy Sepulcher. Rubrics: Se est le livre dou conquest de la terre sainte de ierlm (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

471 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 24r, Book 2, (V)enus estoit le mois daost… (panel: 9.85 × 7.7 cm). 1. The bishop of Le Puy, Adhemar, and the men of the First Crusade ride toward the Holy Land. Rubrics: Ce est le segont livre dou conqst de la terre sainte de ierlm en qi se contient coment le duc godefroi les autres granz barons q vos ores nomer se vinret de lor pays por venire la conqrre (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins

University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

472 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 33r, Book 3, (D)e la cite de nique . . . (panel: 8.45 × 7.7 cm). 1. The Crusaders attack Nicaea. Rubrics: Ce est le tiers livre ou quell se contient coment la cite de nique fu prise. Mes premier vo dirons coment elle est assise. & coment notre gent lassegierent (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

473 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 42r, Book 4, (O)r aves oy coment tancre . . . (panel: 8.75 × 7.4 cm). 1. Antioch is attacked by the Crusaders with infantry and siege engines. Rubrics: Ce est li quars livres ou ql se contient coment baudoyn conquest la conte de rohais & coment noz genz alerent devant antioche & lassegierent. & coment il soufrirent grant poine & gnt mesaise einsois quil la conquistrent (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

474 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 51r, Book 5, (V)oiant les seignors dantioche . . . (panel: 8.85 × 7.35 cm). 1. The Crusaders, after defeating the invading Turkish army, chase them to Harim. Rubrics: Ci comense li quins livres ou quel se contient coment noz genz après grant poine & grant mesaise quil quil [sic] orrent souferte; conquistrent antioche. Mes premier ores coment anxious par ces lettres & ces messages avoit fet assembler gnz genz defors la cite por venire combater anoz genz (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

475 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 61r, Book 6, (I)a cestoient bien saoul . . . (panel: 8.8 × 7.5 cm). 1. The Crusaders enter and take Antioch with much carnage in the city. Some Antiochenes take refuge in the citadel of the city. Rubrics: Ci commence li. vi. livre ou quell se contient coment corbagaz asseia noz genz en antioche. & coment la lance dont nre sires ot persie le coste en la crins fu trouvee. & coment après ce quil orrent souferte grant mesaise & grant famine desconfirent corbagaz (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

476 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 70v, Book 7, (C)es choses furent ensi atiriees en la cite . . . (panel: 8.7 × 7.6 cm). 1. Two Crusader envoys deliver a message to the emperor of Constantinople. Rubrics: Ce est li setisme livre ou quell se contient coment noz genz requistrent lempereor de Constantinople de covenances ql avoit a yaus. & coment il murent de la terre dantioche por venire en ierlm & que en leur voie il gaaignierent la cite de tortoise & rames & offrirent rames & liddes a mon seignor seint iorge & coment il vindrent après devant la sainte cite de ierlm (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

477 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 80v, Book 8, (V)ertes es que la saite cite . . . (panel: 8.5 × 7.7 cm). 1. The city of Jerusalem between two mountains. Rubrics: Ci commence li viii livre ou quell se contient coment noz genz conquistrent la sainte cite de ierlm mes premierment vos dirons des ostre de la terre (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

478 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 89v, Book 9, (S)i come vos aves oy li pelerin (panel: 8.45 × 7.6 cm). 1. The pilgrims pray at the Holy Sepulcher. Rubrics: Ci comence li neuvisme livre ou quell se contient coment le duc godefroi fu esleu a roi & a gouverneor dou roiaume de ierlm & coment il trespassa de cest siecle (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

479 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 99r, Book 10, (R)ois fu le duc godefroit de ierlm . . . (panel: 8.5 × 7.5 cm). 1. The coronation of Baldwin I. Rubrics: Ci comense li × livre u ql se contiet coment baudoyn le frere le duc godefroi fu roi de ierlm. Et coment la cite de tortoise fu conquise & douse au conte de tholouse. Et coment li rois baudoyn conquest le chastel darsur & cesaire. [la cite & raiaes] sur les ennemis de la [feimes] premier: vos dirai dou roi baudoyn (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

480 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 111v, Book 11, (E)stes estoit ia passes le prince buemont . . . (panel: 8.6 × 7.35 cm). 1. Bohemond gives Tancred custody of the Principality of Antioch as he sets out for the West. Rubrics: Ci comence li onzeime livre, ou quell se contient coment le prince buemont passa outre mer. & coment noz genz gaaignierent la cite de givelet. & celle de triple & la cite de baruth & de seete (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

481 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 126v, Book 12, (X)erses fu un puissant roi de la terre . . . (panel: 8.6 × 7.5 cm). 1. The funeral and mourning for the dead King Baldwin I. Rubrics: Cest le douzime livre ou ql se contient come baudoyn de borc fu roi de ierlm & come lordre dou temple comesa. Et coment une grant navie de veneciens aveuc lor diex vin en surie & les covenances q les barons de la terre orrent a els por la conqueste de sur (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

482 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 138v, Book 13, (F)ort fu a gnt merveilles la cite de sur . . . (panel: 8.45 × 7.45 cm). 1. The Crusaders sail to the city of Tyre. Rubrics: Ce est le trezeime livre ou quell se contient coment noz genz olave [sic] des veniciens assigierent la cite de sur. & coment elle lor fu rendu & coment le roi baudoyn qui estoit en prison fu deliver morut (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

483 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 149v, Book 14, (R)ois fu après de ierlm fouques le gendre le roi . . . (panel: 8.45 × 7.55 cm). 1. The coronation of Fulk of Anjou as king of Jerusalem. Rubrics: Ce est le quatorzeime livre ou ql se contient coment fouqs li cuens danio fu roi de ierlm & come lemperere iohan do costantinople passa en Surie & assist antioche por mau dou prince & coment il sacorderent puis (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

484 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 162v, Book 15, (A)pres le mois dyver quant li dous tens fu retornes . . . (panel: 8.5 × 7.45 cm). 1. The emperor of Constantinople and his men besiege Shayzar. Rubrics: Ce est le quinzeime livre ou ql se contient coment lemperere de costatinople & le prince dantioche & li cues de rohais assegierent cesaire la gnt & sen partirent sanz riens faire & coment la baye sainte ladre de Bethune fu premier establie & comt le roi fouque trespassa de cest siecle (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea

Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

485 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 174v, Book 16, (N)e demora gaires apres la mort au roi folque... (panel: 8.45 × 7.45 cm). 1. The coronation of Baldwin III. Rubrics: Ce est le sezeime livre ou ql se contient coment baudoyn fiz dou roi fouque fu corone a roi de ierlm & coment les sarrazins pristrent la cite de belinaz. & coment conrat lemperere dalemaigne & le roi loys de france vindrent en surie. Ou il orrent ennui asses a la voie (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

486 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 188v, Book 17, (C)onras lemperere dalemaigne doit ester premier nomes... (panel: 8.45 × 7.65 cm). 1. The Second Crusade: the council at Acre with Emperor Conrad of Germany and King Louis VII of France. Rubrics: Ce est disetisme livre ou quell se contient coment lempere dalemaigne & le roi de france & celui de ierlm assegierent la cite de domas. & coment la conte de rohais fu livree a lempereor de costantinople & coment la cite descalone fu conqse (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

487 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 203r, Book 18, (O)r parlerons un poi de ce qui avint en antioche... (panel: 8.45 × 7.65 cm). 1. The abuse of the patriarch of Antioch by Raynauld de Chatillon. Rubrics: Ce est le disehuitisme livre ou ql se contient coment renaut de chastillo espousa la princesse dantioche. & la devise coment la maison de lhospital de saint iohan fu premierement establie. & coment noz genz pristrent cesaire la grant. Et coment le roy baudoyn trespassa de cest sciecle (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

488 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 219v, Book 19, (R)emes estoit un frere le roi baudoyn... (panel: 7.9 × 7.65 cm). 1. The coronation of Amaury I. Rubrics: Ce est le xviiii livre ou quell se contient coment li rois amauri fu coronez a roi de ierlm. & coment il passa pluisors fois en egypte por aidier & por gueroier cil dou pays. Et coment norredins prist arieres la cite de belinaz (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

489 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 232v, Book 20, (U)ne chose ne viaus g mie laissier a dirre... (panel: 8.5 × 7.7 cm). 1. Two Crusader envoys, archbishop Hernesius and Eudes de St. Amand, deliver a message to the emperor of Byzantium requesting a wife for King Amaury. Rubrics: Ce est le .xx. livre ou ql se contient coment le roi amauri espousa feme. Et coment Salahadin comesa a regner en egypte. Et coment un gnt ost del empereor de costantinople vint en surie por conquerre egypte. Et coment li sires de hassisins se vost faire crestien & sa gent & par q il fu destorbe. Et coment le bon roi amauri trespassa de cest sciecle (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

490 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 246r, Book 21, (M)olt fu grant le duel en la terre... (panel: 7.6 × 7.55 cm). 1. The dead King Amaury is mourned. Rubrics: Ce est le .xxi. livres ou ql se contient coment le roi baudoyn qui fu mesiau fu roi de ierusalem (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

491 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 258v, Book 22, (B)uemont le prince datioche... (panel: 8.5 × 7.85 cm). 1. Baldwin IV prepares to give his sister, Sibylle, to Guy to Lusignan to marry. Rubrics: Ce est le .xxii. livre. ou ql se contient coment le roi baudoyn dona sa seror a gui de lezignan. Et coment & por quoi une taille fu faite lors ou roiaume. Et dune q forst entre la gent dou pays. & coment baudoyn lenfant fu corones a roi. Et coment le roi baudoyn le mesiau trespassa de cest sciecle (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

492 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 275, Book 23, ch. 6, (D)evant ce q li rois fu mors... (panel: 8.8 × 7.65 cm). 1. The patriarch of Jerusalem crowns Baldwin V, the king's nephew, in the presence of King Baldwin IV and a Crusader baron. Rubrics: Ce est le .xxiii. livre ou ql se contient coment le marqs de monferat ayol le iuene roi vint en surie. Et comt le iuene roi morut et coment gui de lezignan fu corone a roi de ierlm. Et coment par the pechie & lenvie as crestiens te te [sic] [laierie] fu perdu fors foulement fui q fu garentie par le fiz au marquis a come vos ores apres (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

493 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 292r, Book 24, (E)n ycel tens q le roi richart mut dengleterre... (panel: 8.1 × 7.7 cm). 1. The Crusaders attack Acre by sea. Rubrics: Ce est le.xxiiii. livre ou ql se contient coment le roi de france & le roi dengleterre passerent en surie. – couvrerent partie – terre. Et coment un contens forst [contre] ces .ii. seignors de quoi grant domage fu a la terre de surie. Et coment le roi richart en fois venir gaaigna fui les grex lisle de chypre qui vendi [tous] au rois gui de lezignan (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

494 Laurenziana *History of Outremer*, fol. 316r, Book 25, (I)l avint chose q li rois beyme q fu mort... (panel: 8.2 × 7.9 cm). 1. The coronation of John of Brienne and his wife. Rubrics: Ce est le vintessinqueime livre ou ql se contient coment le roiaume eschey a la fille au marqs q fu feme le roi iohan & de la feme lempereor federic (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

495 Laurenziana *History of Outremer* [final miniature] fol. 336v, Book 26, (L)i rois de france arriva... (illuminated book initial in conjunction with miniature: panel is 8.55 × 8.85 cm) (photographs by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore).

1. Louis IX and his men set out for Aigues Mortes.
2. Louis IX and his men sail for Cyprus and the Holy Land.

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS fr. app. 20 (= 265): Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre des Assises* from Acre

496 Marciana *Livre des Assises*, fol. 1r, rubrics: Ci commence le livre des assises & des bons usages dou roiaume de iherusalem qui furent establis & mis en escrit par le duc godefroi de buillon. qui lor par comun acort fu esleu a roi & a seignor dou dit roiaume & par lordenement dou patriarche de iherusalem q lors primes fu esleu & sacre & par le conseill des autres rois princes & barons qui après le duc godefroi furent.
[text] (Q)uant la sainte cite de ierlm fu conqse... [illuminated initial below the miniature panel: pink (Q) with long tail and

pinwheel flourish in the lower margin, each scalloped stem of which is embellished with a gold disc]. Miniature panel on fol. 1r, 7.9 × 13.9 cm. 1. The *haute cour* of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem with the king and patriarch presiding (photograph by courtesy of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 19025: Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre des Assises* from Acre

497 *Livre des Assises*, MS fr. 19025, fol. 2r (text page with calligraphic initial) (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat 11907: Credo of Jean de Joinville, from Acre

498 Credo, MS lat. 11907, fol. 231r, 27.9 × 17.7 cm (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

499 Credo, MS lat. 11907, fol. 231v, 27.95 × 17.5 cm (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

500 Credo, MS lat. 11907, fol. 232r, 27.85 × 17.75 cm (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

501 Credo, MS lat. 11907, fol. 232v, 28.3 × 17.75 cm (photograph by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris).

PREFACE

COMMENTS ON THE PROCESS OF RESEARCHING AND WRITING THIS BOOK, WITH ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book forms part of a historical study on the nature and development of Crusader art in the immediate context of the Holy Land on the mainland of Syria-Palestine and in the broader setting of Europe and the Mediterranean world between 1098 and 1291. In the first volume of this study I dealt with the art of the Crusaders between 1098 and 1187. In this volume I have attempted to tell the story of Crusader artistic developments in the turbulent years between the time of the battle of Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 up to the Mamluk conquest of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291.

Because the research for this project goes back to my first visit to the Near East in 1973, there are many persons and many institutions to which I am indebted for assistance, too many to thank specifically or adequately here. I have tried to mention all of them at various points along the way, either in publications produced in the earlier stages of this project or in this volume itself. For everyone who is named I want to express my thanks for their generous aid and support. For others who assisted me but who may not be named, I want to thank them as well and ask their indulgence and patience with a scholar whose intentions were correct but whose execution may be less than perfect.

I started writing this book in the fall of 1998 while appointed as the Allen W. Clowes Fellow at the National Humanities Center in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina. For the academic year 1998–9, the National Endowment for the Humanities had also awarded me a fellowship for university teachers, and this was supplemented by a research leave from the University of North Carolina. Taken together this support enabled me to work intensively on my research and writing for a total of fifteen months, from May of 1998 to August of 1999. The conceptualization of the overall agenda and the development of the main lines of argument of this book, along with the difficult first weeks of getting started with the writing, thus began in the congenial and stimulating setting of the National Humanities Center. The long, exciting process of formulating and evaluating what we know of Crusader art between 1187 and 1291 then followed, and Part One of the book, constituting the discussion of the period 1187–1244, was completed in these auspicious circumstances.

I can state categorically that the early chapters, 1–5, that cover this period were unusually challenging because of the turmoil in the Latin East and the relative scarcity of extant Crusader art identifiable to these years. Furthermore, the fact that whereas between 1095 and 1187 – a period of ninety-two years – there were only two Crusades, but between 1187 and 1244 – a period of fifty-seven years – there were eight Crusades, means that the historical discussion is more complex and encumbered with a much larger and more diverse bibliographical apparatus. I would not have been able to deal with this difficult period as seriously, as efficiently, or as expeditiously had it not been for the exceptional support of the Library Service at the National Humanities Center. I would like to take this opportunity to extend my deep gratitude to Alan Tuttle, Jean Houston, and Eliza Robertson for their wonderful work, day in and day out. Without their help, this book would not be finished now, and it might never have been finished.

Chapter 6, dealing with the years 1244 to 1268, occupies a pivotal position in this book. It is during this period that Hohenstaufen claims to the crown of Jerusalem finally ended, that the power of feudal lords in the Latin Kingdom dominated over royal rule, that mercantile hegemony shifted from Genoa and Pisa to Venice in the Crusader East, that the Ayyubid dynasty succumbed to Mamluk rule in Cairo, and, of course, that Louis IX came on Crusade to the Near East. These developments have a profound impact on the art of the Crusaders, which blossomed under French and Italian stimulus.

For the writing of the art historical section of Chapter 6, I was privileged to be appointed to the Institute for the Arts and Humanities at the University of North Carolina in the spring semester of 2001. In the stimulating circumstances of this faculty seminar, I was able to investigate and complete my interpretation of the crucial artistic developments in the Latin Kingdom associated with the patronage of King Louis IX and executed in the aftermath of his nearly four-year visit.

I thank the institute and its director, Ruel W. Tyson, for making this fruitful semester's work possible. I would also like to thank the various librarians at the University of North Carolina for their help and support in dealing with this project during the summer of 2000 and the spring of 2001. I thank especially Pat Thompson, librarian of the Sloane Art Library, and her able assistant, Rachel Frew. There is also the outstanding Humanities Reference Staff in the Walter Royal Davis Library of the University of North Carolina, including the interlibrary loan librarians, who helped me with the consultation of numerous works not held in libraries in the Research Triangle of North Carolina.

The last three chapters of this book – Chapter 7, dealing with the years 1268 to 1289; Chapter 8, covering the years 1289–91; and the concluding Chapter 9 – were effectively written in the auspicious circumstances of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA) at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. I am grateful for the appointment as an Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Research Fellow during the spring semester of 2002, which gave me the opportunity to complete my study in a timely manner. The library, staff, and Fellows of the center were very helpful to me in various ways, and I thank especially the dean of the center, Elizabeth Cropper, for welcoming me to CASVA, and my colleagues M. Shreve Simpson, Margherita Azzi, and Lamia Doumato for helpful suggestions drawn from their areas of expertise as I worked. I was also fortunate to have had my office on the friendly confines of the third floor in the East Building where my friend and colleague Andrew Robison, curator of prints and drawings, has his curatorial offices. Finally, there at CASVA my research needs also depended heavily on the services of the Library of the National Gallery of Art and the interlibrary loan services. I would like to express my warm gratitude to the reference librarian, Lamia Doumato, for her help and interest in my project, and to Thomas McGill, Jr., and his able staff of interlibrary loan librarians for cheerfully and efficiently helping me to find the books at the Library of Congress and elsewhere that I needed to press on with my work. In those cases when my requirements could not be met in normal circumstances, I resorted to the library at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies. I would like to thank the director of Byzantine studies there, Alice-Mary Talbot, and the Byzantine librarian, Irene Vasleff, for their valuable help and support whenever needed. Finally my thanks to Fr. Seamus Finn for the hospitality of the OMI House during my six months in Washington, D.C.

I hope that the National Humanities Center, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Institute for the Arts and Humanities of the University of North Carolina, the Center for Advanced Study of the Visual Arts, and the University of North Carolina, along with other agencies that support research in the humanities and that have assisted me over the years, will find their generosity to me at least partly rewarded by the publication of this book. I am truly grateful to these institutions for their confidence in my work and their willingness to invest their financial resources in this large, long-term project that has now stretched over thirty years since my first visit to the Holy Land in 1973.

Needless to say, I have benefited from the intellect, talents, and assistance of a large number of colleagues in diverse fields. Among those whom I can thank here for substantial help at some point in this large project that has taken me nearly five years to write, I express my gratitude to the many colleagues in the fields of archaeology, art history, history, medieval studies, numismatics, and other fields who have helped me with my work on this study. The footnotes indicate who many of these scholars are, but I also want to mention certain colleagues with whom I have had especially fruitful interchanges over the years: François Avril, Malcolm Barber, Martin Biddle, Paul Binski, T. S. R. Boase (†), Elizabeth Bolman, Alan Borg, Caroline Bruzelius, Hugo Buchthal (†), Annemarie Weyl Carr, Carolyn Connor, Giles Constable, Rebecca Corrie, Anthony Cutler, Anne Derbes, Erica Dodd, Peter Edbury, Helen Evans, Ilene Forsyth, George Galavaris (†), David Ganz, Sharon Gerstel, Dorothy Glass, Philip Grierson, Bernard Hamilton, Harry Hazard (†), Angela Hero, Norman Housley, Lucy-Anne Hunt, R. B. C. Huygens, Benjamin Kedar, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, Herbert Kessler, Bianca Kühnel, Gustav Kühnel, David Jacoby, Hans E. Mayer, Michael Metcalf, Doula Mouriki (†), Robert Nelson, Robert Ousterhout, Valentino Pace, Richard Pfaff, Michele Piccirillo, John Porteous, Joshua Prawer (†), Denys Pringle, Susan Rankin, Scott Redford, Jean Richard, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Nancy Ševčenko, Alison Stones, Lee Striker, Kurt Weitzmann (†), John Wilkinson, Joseph Wittig, and Barbara Zeitler.

Of the scholars presented in this list, I would like to single out three for special mention as being instrumental in making it possible for me to do this study. The first is Kurt Weitzmann, who, as my undergraduate teacher, first inspired me to enter the field of medieval art history. It was Professor Weitzmann who did such pioneering work on the study of Byzantine icons and laid the foundations for scholarly research of the icons associated with the Crusaders now in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. It was his work along with that of George Forsyth as part of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria expeditions to Mount Sinai in the 1950s and 1960s that resulted in the establishment of the Sinai Photographic Archive at the University of Michigan.

Although Professor Weitzmann was unfailingly generous in sharing his knowledge of the icons and in allowing me to consult the photographs in his office at Princeton for my research, he died before I began the phase of my project in which thirteenth-century icons play such a major part. At his death Professor George Galavaris, one of Kurt Weitzmann's most outstanding former graduate students, stepped forward to assume the mantle of his mentor. It was Professor Galavaris, then at the University of Montreal, who assumed responsibility for the Sinai icon research project founded by Weitzmann. It was my great good fortune that Professor Galavaris kindly continued Kurt Weitzmann's scholarly generosity toward me. This was manifested in his willingness to write to Archbishop Damianos at St. Catherine's Monastery on my behalf, leading to my second visit there, and, in a letter dated 14 February 1997, he granted me the opportunity to assemble a full working collection of photographs of the Western-influenced icons in the collection at the Monastery of St. Catherine from the Sinai Archive at the University of Michigan, curated by Gertraud Reynolds.

Finally, Hugo Buchthal also deserves special mention as well because of his crucial role in introducing me into the world of Crusader manuscript illumination. Not only did he encourage me to pursue my doctoral research on the illustrated manuscripts of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*, a subject in which he, of course, had broken the first ground, but he also personally supervised the writing of my dissertation, standing in as an act of generous friendship for my major professor at the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, who had died suddenly in the fall of 1964. The lessons I learned about researching medieval manuscripts as the result of his mentoring have substantially undergirded my work over the years. In conclusion, I can say forthrightly that this volume, which brings icon painting and manuscript illumination together in various ways, owes a huge debt to all three of these scholars.

Among the excellent graduate students I have worked with over the years, I should like to thank the following persons for their stimulating seminar presentations that pertained to thirteenth-century art in the medieval Mediterranean world: Shannon Cottin-Bizonne, Molly Cronenwett, Ann Driscoll, Mary Fournier, Irene Gates, Jennifer Germann, Evan Gatti, Elizabeth Howie, Elizabeth Hudson, Kimberly Judge, Art McClendon, Gloria Park, Kirstin Ringelberg, Jessica Sponsler, Camille Tewell, Pamela Whedon, Elle Winsor, and Lila Yawn. I would also like to thank my research assistant, Allison Fox, who was cheerfully and unfailingly helpful during the final months of preparing this study for production in the fall of 2003.

My research on Crusader material has been facilitated by many people in many institutions at many places. I thank the following institutions for assistance and access to their collections: the American Schools of Oriental Research with centers in Jerusalem, Amman, and Nicosia; the American University in Beirut; the Archive Nationale in Paris; the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford; the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Vatican City; the Biblioteca Capitolare in Perugia; the Biblioteca Capitolare in Padua; the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence; the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice; the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples; the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence; the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie (Fondation Doucet) in Paris; the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris; the Bibliothèque Municipale in Boulogne-sur-Mer; the Bibliothèque Municipale in Clermont-Ferrand; the Bibliothèque Municipale in Dijon; the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyon; the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels; the Bodleian Library in Oxford; the British Library in London; the British Museum in London; the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; the Byzantine Library of the Collège de France in Paris; the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris; the Jewish Museum and the Rockefeller Museum of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem; the J. Pierpont Morgan Library in New York; the Library and Collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge; the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.; the Library of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C.; the Library of the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem; the Library of Gonville and Caius College in Cambridge; the Library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem; the Library of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; the Library of the Institut Catholique in Paris; the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive; the Library of the Musée Condé at Chantilly; the Library of the National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in Washington, D.C.; the Library and Collections of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore; the Library and Photo Archive of the Warburg Institute in London; the National Library of Russia (formerly the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library) in St. Petersburg; the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai; the Musée des Monuments Français in Paris; the Musée du Louvre in Paris; the National Museum in Damascus; the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge; the Rockefeller Library of Princeton University in Princeton; the Semitic Museum of Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass.; the Sinai Archive at the University of Michigan; the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem; the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; and the Walter Royal Davis, Louis Round Wilson, and Joseph C. Sloane Libraries of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

Among these institutions, I acknowledge with special gratitude the generous hospitality of the abbot, Damianos, archbishop of Sinai and Raitho, and the fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, in particular Father Daniel and Father Justin, who assisted me during my most recent research trip to Sinai. These holy men face a tremendous challenge in that they follow the centuries-old and rigorous spiritual life of the monk but still find ways to make it possible for pilgrims and travelers to visit their monastery and for scholars to work on their incomparable artistic treasures. I thank Archbishop Damianos and the fathers of the monastery for facilitating my research on the icons in their collection and for their permission to publish the "Western-influenced" icons so crucial for this study.

The photographic documentation is one of the essential elements of this book, and I am especially indebted to those persons and institutions mentioned earlier for helping me to assemble the needed materials. My thanks are especially due to Gertraud Reynolds, curator of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria "Sinai Archive" at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, who has unfailingly responded to my many requests for photographs of Sinai icons. I am also extremely grateful to the University of Michigan for its courtesy to scholars in waiving fees for permission to publish photographs in its archive.

Another important aspect of the photographic documentation of this study is the compact disk that accompanies this book and contains illustrations of all extant decorated manuscripts known to be Crusader. For the production of this CD I thank the director, Douglas Mokaren, and his able staff in "Medical Illustration," which is the Photographic Laboratory of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. I particularly want to thank Doug Mokaren for the preparation of the documentary CD; I owe its ease of access and all of its "user-friendly" features to his excellent design and execution.

For assistance with other photograph documentation and certain illustrations of this book, additional thanks are due. I thank especially Jennifer Bauer, head of visual resources in the Department of Art at the University of North Carolina, for her assistance, and Kimberly Judge, who worked carefully on the production of a large number of photos on my behalf. Finally, I want to express my gratitude to Patricia Neumann for her excellent work on the maps in this book at her Geo-Graphics studio in Manhattan Beach, California.

The text of this book has benefited from a critical reading by several of my colleagues. I especially thank Annemarie Weyl Carr, Anne Derbes, and Jonathan Riley-Smith for reading the entire text and making copious comments and suggestions, the implementation of which has greatly improved the end result. Jonathan Riley-Smith in particular critiqued the text in great detail and urged me to compress the historical introductions as much as possible. I have truly attempted to follow that advice, but mindful of what I perceive to be the needs of art historians reading this book, no doubt what remains will be somewhat more than he hoped for. I express my thanks also to Dorothy

Glass for reading Chapter 4 and to Daniel Weiss for reading Chapter 6. These scholars have all assisted me enormously in my efforts to write clearly, directly, and effectively – making my points clearly, presenting the state of the question directly, and arguing my interpretations effectively. For substantial help with compiling the bibliography at the end of this study, which pertains to this volume only, I am grateful for the able and efficient work of Dr. Lilla Kopar. For the valuable index of manuscripts, I am once again indebted to Roberta Englemann for her meticulous and excellent work in the XML format. Let me state enthusiastically how much I appreciate the contributions that all of these colleagues have made to the successful completion of this study, and let me also state clearly that any remaining errors or blemishes are, of course, my responsibility alone.

Cambridge University Press and my excellent editor, Dr. Beatrice Rehl, did an outstanding job in publishing the first volume of this study, so I was enormously pleased when they accepted this second volume as well. I want to thank Beatrice Rehl warmly for her able and enthusiastic leadership in guiding this work through the long process to final publication. Alan Gold is to be thanked for his excellent work on the design of this book. Michie Shaw, my production manager at TechBooks, deserves my warm thanks for her prompt and efficient work.

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I dedicate this book to my family: to my wonderful wife, Linda, without whom there would be no book, and to the children and grandchildren with whom the future of our family belongs: Lisa Kristin; Natasha Katherine and her husband, Dr. Farrell O'Gorman; and my grandchildren, Anna Clare and Jaroslav Connelly.

Jaroslav Folda
Chapel Hill
March 2004

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations appear throughout the book.

AB = *The Art Bulletin*, New York.

AOL, 1, 2 = *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ed. P. Riant, vol. 1, Paris, 1881; vol. 2, Paris, 1884.

BAR = British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.

Buchthal, *MPLKJ* = H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957.

Carr, *Lysi* = Annemarie Weyl Carr and Laurence J. Morrocco, *A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered, the Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus*, Austin, 1991.

Continuation = continuation to the original twenty-two books of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre; see Florence Eracles (Continuation), Lyon Eracles (Continuation), Noailles Eracles (Continuation), Paris Eracles (Continuation), Rothelin Continuation.

Morgan, *La Continuation* = M. R. Morgan, ed., *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, Paris, 1982.

Crusade and Settlement = *Crusade and Settlement*, papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R. C. Smail, ed. P. Edbury, Cardiff, 1985.

The Crusades and Their Sources = *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, eds. J. France and W. G. Zajac, 1998.

Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire* I, II, III = J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1300)*, 3 vols.: vol. I (1100–1200), Paris, 1879; vol. II (1201–1260), Paris, 1897; vol. III (1261–1300), Paris, 1899.

Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers* = P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte: Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, vol. XIX, Paris, 1934, text and album.

DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Washington, D.C.

EKEE = *Epeterida Kentro Epistemonikon Ereunon* (Nicosia)

Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, I, II = Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, vol. I (with two albums) and II, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, vols. VIII and IX, Paris, 1925–28.

Eracles = Livre d'Eracles, the original twenty-two books of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre. Many manuscripts also have continuations:

see Florence Eracles, Lyon Eracles, Noailles Eracles, Paris Eracles, Rothelin Eracles. See also Continuation.

Ernoul, *Chronique* = Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1871.

Florence Eracles (continuation) = Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS PLU.LXI.10, fols. 291–303v, in Morgan, *La Continuation*, pp. 108–98 (even-numbered pages).

Folda, *ACHL 1* = Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: 1098–1187*, Cambridge and New York, 1995.

Folda, *Crusader Art* = *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Jaroslav Folda, BAR International Series, 152, Oxford, 1982.

Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination* = Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at St.-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, Princeton, 1976.

Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals* = Jaroslav Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, CAA Monographs, XLII, University Park and London, 1986.

France and the Holy Land = *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, *Acta* of the Symposium held in Baltimore, 2000, eds. D. Weiss and L. Mahoney, Baltimore and London, 2004.

HC, 1,2,3,4,5,6 = K. M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I, ed. M. W. Baldwin, 2nd edn., Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969; vol. II, eds. R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard, 2nd edn., Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969; vol. III, ed. H. W. Hazard, Madison and London, 1975; vol. IV, ed. H. W. Hazard, Madison and London, 1977; vol. V, eds. N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard, Madison and London, 1985; and vol. VI, eds. H. W. Hazard and N. P. Zacour, Madison and London, 1989.

The Horns of Hattin = *The Horns of Hattin*, Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, ed. B. Z. Kedar, Jerusalem and London, 1992.

Intercultural Contacts = *Intercultural Contacts in the Mediterranean, Medieval Mediterranean Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, ed. B. Arbel, London and Portland, 1996.

Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204 = *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after* 1204, eds. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, and D. Jacoby, London and Totowa, 1989.

Lyon Eracles (continuation) = Lyon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 828, fols. 286–343, in Morgan, *La Continuation*, pp. 17–107, 109–99 (odd numbered pages).

Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* = H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte*, publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin, Série Géographique, III: Itinéraires Français XIe–XIIIe siècles, [Geneva] 1882, rpt. Osnabrück, 1966.

Montjoie = *Montjoie: Studies in Crusader History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, and R. Hiestand, Aldershot, 1997.

Morgan, *La Continuation* = see *La Continuation*.

Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting" = Doula Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, n.s. 1–2 (1985–86).

Noailles Eracles (continuation) = Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9082, base manuscript, in *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 47–77, 144 ff.

Outremer = *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, presented to Joshua Prawer, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail, Jerusalem, 1982.

Paris Eracles (continuation) = Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 2628, base manuscript, in *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 1–481.

RHC: Doc. Arm. II = *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens*, vol. II, Paris, 1906.

RHC: Hist. Occid. II = *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. II, Paris 1859.

RHC: Lois I, II = *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Lois*, vol. I, Paris, 1841; vol. II, Paris, 1843.

Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John* = J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, A History of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, ed. L. Butler, vol. 1, London, 1967.

Röhricht, *Biblioteca Geographica Palaestinae* = R. Röhricht, *Biblioteca Geographica Palaestinae*, Chronologisches Verzeichnis der von 333 bis 1878 Verfassten Literatur über das Heilige Land, Berlin, 1890, rpt. Jerusalem, 1963.

Rothelin Eracles (continuation) = Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9083, base manuscript, in *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 489–639.

Rouse, *Manuscript Makers* = M. A. Rouse and R. H. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, Turnhout, 2000, 2 vols.

Weitzmann = Kurt Weitzmann Studies on Crusader Icons:

1. 1963: KW, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *AB*, 45 (1963), pp. 179–203.
2. 1965: KW et al., *Fruhe Ikonen-Sinai, Griechenland, Bulgarien, Jugoslawien*, Munich, 1965.
3. 1966: KW, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *DOP* 20 (1966), pp. 51–83.
4. 1966: KW, "An Encaustic Icon with the Prophet Elijah at Mount Sinai," *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski*, Warsaw, 1966, pp. 713–23.
5. 1972: KW, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai: New Aspects in Crusader Art," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972), pp. 279–93.
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8. 1978: KW, *The Icon*, New York, 1978, passim.
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10. 1980: KW, *Ikonen aus dem Katherinenkloster auf dem Berge Sinai*, Berlin, 1980.
11. 1982: KW et al., "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," *The Icon*, ed. KW et al., New York, 1982, pp. 201–35.
12. 1982: KW, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, Princeton, 1982, with "Annotation (1980)," pp. 423–37, especially for the articles on Crusader Icons published in 1963 (1), 1966 (3) (pp. 291–386), and two in 1972 (5 and 6), pp. 387–422.
13. 1983: KW, *The Saint Peter Icon of Dumbarton Oaks*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications, no. 6, Washington, D.C., 1983.
14. 1984: KW, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," *Byzanz und der Westen*: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters, ed. I. Hutter, Vienna, 1984, pp. 143–70.
15. 1986: KW, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai," *Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society* (Athens), 12 (1984), pp. 63–116, published in 1986.

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Aspra-Vardavakis, "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych" = M. Aspra-Vardavakis, "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych Representing St. Procopios, the Virgin Kykkotissa and Saints along the Border," *Byzantine Icons: Art, Technique and Technology*, ed. M. Vasilaki, Heraklion, 2002, pp. 89–104.

Byzantium: Faith and Power:1261–1557 = *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, ed. H. Evans, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004.

Cyprus, The Holy Island = *Cyprus, The Holy Island: Icons through the Centuries*, ed. S. Sophocleous, Exhibition organized by the A. G. Leventis Foundation, the Hellenic Centre (London), and the Centre of Cultural Heritage, Nicosia, Nicosia, 2000.

Folda, *ACHL* 2 = J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, Cambridge, 2005.

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INTRODUCTION

APPROACHING THE QUESTION OF THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS BETWEEN 1187 AND 1291

Iam non licet ambigere quod ad impar opus inprudenter enitimur et quod ad rerum dignitatem nostra non satis accedit oratio. Non nichil est tamen quod egimus. Nam et in picturis rudes et ad artis archana nondum admissi luteos primum solent colores substernere et prima liniamenta designare, quibus manus prudentior fucis nobilioribus decorem consuevit addere consummatum: prima enim cum summo labore iecimus fundamenta, quibus sapientior architectus, observata veritatis regula quam in nullo deseruimus, egregrio tractatu artificiosa magis poterit superedificare triclinia.[1]

There can be no doubt that we have rashly undertaken a work far beyond our powers, in the accomplishment of which our language is entirely inadequate to the grandeur of the subject. Nevertheless, we have accomplished something. For just as those who are inexperienced in painting and not yet admitted to the secrets of the art are allowed usually merely to trace out the first design of a picture and apply the rough colors, while later the hand of a more skilled artist adds, with nobler colors, the finishing touches of beauty, so we ever adhering strictly to the truth from which we have in no wise departed, have laid, at the expense of much effort, the foundations upon which a wiser builder by his excellent treatment may erect a more finished structure.[2]

These admirable words, written in the 1180s, by William, archbishop of Tyre, with which I began the first volume of this study discussing the art of the Crusaders between 1098 and 1187, are even more appropriate here at the beginning of this volume dealing with the turbulent years, 1187–1291. Not only is our individual and collective knowledge of artistic monuments in this later period much less extensive, but the historical developments pertaining to the Crusades are also much more complex: politically, constitutionally, militarily, economically, socially, culturally, and ecclesiastically. There were many more Crusades between 1187 and 1291 than between the years 1095 and 1187, and the artistic monuments that can be assigned to this period are more diffuse, unevenly distributed, and, in many cases, less fully studied.

With this in mind we can usefully contemplate a comment made by Matthew Paris in his *Historia Anglorum*. At the point where he is discussing the First Crusade in 1097, he writes:

> Nec mihi videtur a meteria cronicorum et historiarum super eventibus Angliae confectarum alienum, si inceptum opus hoc prosequar subarratum, et bellum hoc inclitum sub brevitate describam castigata; praesertim cum ex hoc totius ecclesiae universalis status et conditio, immo etiam fidei Catholicae ipso tempore dependeret.[3]....
>
> The Crusade was "the common enterprise of all Christians.... It does not seem to me irrelevant in chronicles and histories of English affairs... to describe briefly this glorious war, especially because on this depended at that time the whole state and condition of the entire Church, or indeed of the Catholic faith itself."[4]

This passage can be paraphrased here in the following manner with reference to our study:

> Because the Crusade was the common enterprise of all Western Christians and Franks resident in the Holy Land, it does not seem to me irrelevant in our inquiry into Crusader artistic activity to describe briefly this glorious war, especially because on this depended at that time the whole state and condition of the entire Church and the Crusader States in the Near East, or indeed of the Catholic faith itself.

Because of the growing interaction among the political, economic, military, religious, and artistic developments in the Crusader States, the kingdom of Cyprus, the Byzantine Empire, the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Frankish Greece, the kingdom of Armenia, and western Europe, it is indeed essential to provide a basic framework for our study in terms of the historical discussion of the Crusades. On this foundation we can then investigate the basic art historical issues, that is, what work was commissioned and executed for whom? What can we identify and discuss according to archaeological finds, to existing monuments, to indirect indications from other works of art, to the written documents, and to the narrative historical sources? What extant artistic work can be identified, evaluated, and contextualized in the circumstances of the Crusader East either in situ or in collections around the world? What major artistic developments can be recognized that may help us to construct a meaningful picture of Crusader art between 1187 and 1291 on its own terms and in relation to developments in Romanesque and Gothic art as well as the art of the *maniera graeca* in Europe, of Byzantium, and of the Near East, both Christian and Muslim?

I want the reader to know that I have endeavored to keep my historical narrative to a reasonable minimum, but the narrative perforce exists and has four important, indeed essential, aspects. First, the narrative is meant to provide a context for discussing the works of art: When such works exist, how do they relate to then-current events? When they do not exist, why do certain works of art and architecture not survive? Ideally, the choice of narrative could be directly related to extant works, but sometimes other narrative is required to carry the story along. Second, the narrative is intended to locate references to works of art that survive only in the written sources, mentioned either in the chronicles or certain other documents. What light can our knowledge of the existence of these works of art shed on our overall picture of the development of the art of the Crusaders from 1187 on, even if we do not have the work of art itself to study? Third, the narrative is meant to provide a framework for the complicated historical developments between 1187 and 1291, which although well-known to those who study the history of the Crusades, are not nearly so familiar to other medievalists or scholars in general. By attempting to put together a narrative of the historical events with questions about artistic monuments always in mind, I hope to be able to make the existence of certain works of art more understandable and to see them in proper perspective. Finally, the historical narrative, with its emphasis on the telling of the story of the Crusades and the Crusaders, and their art, based on the fundamental works of Steven Runciman, Hans Mayer, Jean Richard, and Jonathan Riley-Smith, among others, aims at a discussion that always emphasizes the view from the East. Although this kind of narrative and the issues it addresses may not necessarily reflect the current interests of research in Crusading history, I have endeavored to use the most up-to-date bibliography possible to provide the fullest account of events and the most enlightened options for historical interpretation in light of current scholarly opinion. In sum, the narrative history presented in my discussion is directed mainly at art historians who will find in it a guide to the complex context in which the works of art and architecture must be studied.

It is evident that the art of the Crusaders from the twelfth century is best known and recognized; indeed, until comparatively recently, developments in the thirteenth century have been little known and studied, except in terms of architecture. It is remarkable that the revival of study in the field initiated by Hugo Buchthal and Kurt Weitzmann in the period from 1957 through the 1960s shed important light on thirteenth-century material in terms of manuscripts and icon painting, respectively. Other scholars since that time have made contributions in many areas, including especially architecture, metalwork, numismatics, and monumental painting. There has also been unprecedented discussion of new material stimulated by the presentation of new studies in papers at national and international meetings of medievalists, including, in particular, conferences of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East.

The bibliographies by H. E. Mayer, especially *the Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (1965) and in volume 6 of *A History of the Crusades* (1989), provide an invaluable point of departure (up to 1988) for all scholars of the Crusades in dealing with the historical and the art historical material essential for research in this field. The essential supplement to this bibliography is the annual publication of the *Bulletin* of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, which started in 1981 and entered its twenty-first volume in 2001. In 2002 the *Bulletin* and its bibliographical record were incorporated into a new publication, *Crusades*, which also includes new scholarship in the form of articles and reviews. Other indispensable annual bibliographies for scholarly readers in Crusader studies include those found in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and the *Revue d'histoire écclésiastique*.

The overall shape of my study is largely determined by the historical developments in the Crusader States between 1098 and 1291 as found in the written sources with relevance to the arts. For the period 1187–1291, however, the chronological divisions by kingship, so useful for the twelfth century, cannot be continued systematically for various reasons. Besides the political turmoil that will unfold in the retelling of the story, there are substantial portions of our period in which there was no king, or, to put it more accurately, the nominal king of Jerusalem was not resident in the Latin Kingdom. Thus the organization of our discussion is shifted to a structure that combines identifiable political segments in the Crusader States with the various Crusade expeditions. These Crusades not only become more numerous in this period, but they also have a major impact throughout this period on the circumstances of the Frankish East in general, and on the embattled Latin Kingdom in particular.

This change in the organization of the discussion reflects essential changes in the historical realities of the Crusader East in the thirteenth century. It does not, however, mean that our point of view has been altered: Our vantage point on the artistic developments of the Crusaders continues to be maintained from the perspective of the Latin Kingdom. We must understand, however, that the territorial, political, and ecclesiastical configuration of the Latin Kingdom and the other mainland Crusader States in the period from 1187 to 1291 is considerably changed from that of 1099 to 1187, and it changes continuously throughout the thirteenth century. I have endeavored to illustrate some of these dramatic changes by commissioning a set of maps that will help the reader envision how different the political and military circumstances were.

Structuring our discussion in accord with the sequence of the various Crusades as related to the Crusader States is meant to enable me to present the artistic material in an intelligible and specific historical context. I of course focus on major monuments, patrons, artists, and events and argue for such developments in the art of the Crusaders as can be seen and documented. Because, even in the thirteenth century, we know the names of so few "artists," and the identifiable "hand" of an individual artist rarely appears for more than one or two major works in the highly transient world of the Crusader East, I have continued to resort to the traditional categories of artistic "media," that is, architecture, sculpture, painting, and the "minor arts" of metalwork, enamels, coins, seals, pottery, and textiles. Although perhaps undesirable in principle, I originally adopted this approach with several aims: to balance considerations of architecture with those figural arts that have in the past been given less importance; to integrate significant "minor arts" (especially coins, seals, metalwork, ivory carving, and textiles) within the framework of discussion of the main – larger – media; to clarify the characteristic elements of Crusader art as it evolves; and to identify, analyze, and discuss the various arts extant within each chronological phase of development. I should also reemphasize two other important points. First, the so-called minor arts have been treated here as major media, as befits their importance in the medieval period, quite in contrast to their somewhat marginalized categorization in modern times (i.e., in the eighteenth century and later). Second, bearing in mind that the medieval idea of "art" in the thirteenth century (rooted in the monastery and church, the guilds and the newly developing commercial workshops, and the notions of craftsmanship and function) was substantially different from and more inclusive than art as discussed and practiced in the European academies of the 1600s and later, I have sought to give attention to any and all important Crusader art for which there is evidence from the objects themselves or, failing that, from reflections of this art in other works or in the written sources.

It is clear that the historical circumstances of the Crusader States in the period 1187–1291 differed fundamentally from the earlier, twelfth century, and furthermore they changed rapidly. At the time of the Third Crusade following Saladin's conquests, the Crusaders held only small pockets of territory along the coast around Tyre, Tripoli-Crac des Chevaliers-Marqab, and Antioch (Map 1). The Third Crusade briefly restored the coastal holdings of the Latin Kingdom from Ascalon to Tyre, including the new capital city of St. Jean d'Acre, where most of the major institutions of the Latin Kingdom were transferred and relocated from Jerusalem. The Holy City itself and the other two major holy sites, Bethlehem and Nazareth, remained in Muslim territory. The Third Crusade also restored coastal control from Beirut to Gibelet and Botron, that is, the northern part of the Latin Kingdom that was eventually united to the southern part by military action of a later German expedition in 1197 that captured Sidon (Map 2).

This precarious situation was not otherwise much improved by the brief "German" Crusade, nor by the Fourth Crusade, which was, of course, diverted to Constantinople, nor by the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), which concentrated its efforts on an ill-fated attack on Damietta in the Nile delta (Map 3). Significant if brief expansion occurred in the period, 1229/39–41 with the Crusades of Frederick II, Thibaut of Champagne, and Richard of Cornwall. As a result of Frederick's diplomatic negotiations with the Muslims, access to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth was regained; Thibaut and Richard also regained Ascalon by treaty, along with territory east of Nazareth and Toron, including Belvoir, Tiberias, and the Sea of Galilee (Map 4). This was the high-water mark of Crusader holdings in the thirteenth century, but the tide soon turned. In 1244 the Khwarismian Turks swept down from the north, took Jerusalem in August, and then together with the Egyptians inflicted a crushing defeat on the Crusaders at La Forbie near Gaza in October. Jerusalem was never again controlled by the Crusaders, and despite the valiant efforts of Louis IX in the early 1250s (Map 5), with the rise to power of the Mamluks in Cairo, the Crusader States began to shrink under their relentless attack from 1263 on (Maps 6 and 7).

In these circumstances the holy sites that had played such a preeminent role in the twelfth century would not, indeed could not, maintain the same artistic importance in the thirteenth. This does not mean that pilgrimage to the holy sites was less valued or desirable or that pilgrimage necessarily diminished. Pilgrims still came to the Holy Land and wrote accounts of their visits to the holy places. Indeed along with the traditional sites, certain pilgrimage centers became newly prominent in the thirteenth century, such as St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai or Saidnaya in Syria, as well as the shrine of Our Lady in the Cathedral of Tortosa/Tartus. Because many of these pilgrimage sites were, more often than not, behind Muslim lines, Crusader art could only be alive in the major holy sites during the comparatively limited times of open access. Crusader art developed differently at other open sites. We must attempt to understand how and when Crusader art was produced in these other sites, especially at Sinai. Certainly one focus of Crusader artistic production shifted to the coastal cities, most of which were not pilgrimage centers with holy sites, especially Acre. It is only toward the end of the thirteenth century that a systematic route for pilgrims was established in Acre itself, apparently to fill partially the void left vacant by lack of access to the major recognized holy sites. One of the challenges of studying Crusader art in the thirteenth century is identifying where the centers of new artistic production were located in pilgrimage, commercial, and political and military centers and strongholds and how these centers functioned.

The changes in the Crusader circumstances mentioned earlier indicate that Crusader artistic production was very different after 1187 from what we encountered in the Latin Kingdom, 1098–1187. It means, for example, that the major castles become more important centers of production, and because a number of these castles are located in the north, that is, in the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch, the mix of extant Crusader art will be different. It means that the major port cities with their distinctive commercial-political-religious multicultural character will play a much more important role as the setting for the production of Crusader art compared with the inland pilgrimage sites. It means that because Constantinople came under Crusader control from 1204 to 1261, and Cyprus under Lusignan French control from 1192 on, contact with the Byzantine artistic tradition changed to a position of greater direct access for the Crusaders in the East, and we will evaluate the results in Crusader art from the Latin Kingdom. Because the political fortunes of the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch become intertwined with the kingdom of Armenia especially in the years after 1252, we shall look to see what contribution the venerable Armenian artistic tradition makes to Crusader developments. Most of what we know as extant Crusader art in the thirteenth century is much less well studied compared with that produced in the twelfth, and thus our voyage of discovery here will be filled with new perspectives as we attempt to find out what happened artistically – that is, how, when, where, why, by whom, and for whom?

The reader should be aware that in dealing with the Crusader developments of the thirteenth century, we enter a different and complex period in the Frankish East. Our focus must be maintained on the mainland Crusader States in Syria-Palestine. I do not attempt to discuss developments in Lusignan Cyprus, in the Latin Empire of Constantinople, in Frankish Greece, in the Kingdom of Armenia, or later on Rhodes, except insofar as they have direct relevance to our story. A brief preliminary survey of much of this material was included in Volume 4 of *A History of the Crusades* (1977), and much important work has been done on the artistic developments in those regions since then. Indeed each of these other areas deserves a full and separate study, but this will have to await the contributions of other scholars currently at work. It will become obvious nonetheless that developments on Cyprus, in Latin Constantinople and the Morea, and in Armenia will have great importance for our understanding of Crusader art in Syria-Palestine between 1187 and 1291.

My goals have not changed from those stated in the first volume even though the art and the historical circumstances that surround that art are very different. The history that follows is an attempt to discuss what we know about the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, using art historical method to its fullest potential for synthetic interpretative study. The evidence is notably fragmentary and incomplete, even more so for the thirteenth century than for the twelfth. The scholarly work – archaeological reports on and art historical studies of the monuments, editions of the written sources, historical studies, and interpretative essays and monographs in all fields – leaves gaps, large questions, and many excruciatingly vague and tantalizingly provocative developments to be dealt with. In these circumstances rigorous care and precision are required and are much to be prized. The facts that can be known with certainty have been clearly stated and differentiated from other less secure hypotheses that perforce carry the story along. These hypotheses, however attractive, must be recognized as only possible or probable at best, as the case may be. I again beg the reader's indulgence in coping with a story that deserves to be told but sometimes seems to have so little to sustain it.

In the thirteenth century especially, certain periods and certain places contain little Crusader art; extant work seems to be extremely limited at times, but these fallow periods are necessarily part of the story as well. Sometimes there seems not to be any work that can be discussed. Sometimes Crusader work is known to have been done, such as the architectural work on fortifications or major buildings, but there is no written evidence to specify what exactly that work was, nor can it be identified in the archaeological record of the site. In those cases for which the evidence is slight, hidden, and unrevealed, or does not exist, I have chosen to refer to what is known briefly and judiciously, but not to speculate excessively on what cannot be demonstrated with hard evidence.

Historiographically it is evident that previous scholars have focused on certain periods in the history of Crusader art, as I have already noted. In the twelfth century it was the period 1130–87. In the thirteenth century it has been the period 1250–91. This leaves a significant hiatus in the years 1187 to 1250. Not only did the situation of the Crusaders change dramatically in 1187, but the settings for the production of Crusader art also changed. To what extent did Crusader art continue in the dark days after 1187, and then in the face of the Third and later Crusades up to the time of the arrival of Louis IX in the Holy Land? After the Third Crusade, how did the Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom view the shift in military strategy which identified Egypt and Cairo as the primary target for attack as a means to regain the Holy Land? How did that shift affect the Latin Kingdom? How did the production of Crusader art in the Latin Empire of Constantinople compare to that of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem after 1204? What roles do Latin Constantinople and Frankish Greece, Lusignan Cyprus, and Armenia play as stimuli for Crusader art on the mainland in comparison to artistic, military, ecclesiastical, commercial, and cultural interchange with western Europe? I can only attempt to comment on these questions insofar as evidence presents itself in the art and written sources of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. In the face of what appear to be increasing links with the West, through numerous Crusade expeditions, through trade, through political and ecclesiastical appointments, even through the importation of western European works of art and Western artists, how does Crusader art change and develop? In fact, how and to what extent does Crusader art maintain its multicultural character established in the twelfth century? These are all important questions that, as opaque as they may seem, must be penetrated, opened up, and explored to the extent possible. Can it be that overwhelmingly the main artistic developments in the Latin Kingdom after 1187 are found only after 1250, at a time when the political and military circumstances of the mainland Crusader States – after a brief respite through the efforts of Louis IX – were headed into a steep decline? Seen against the outpouring of work hypothesized in the period 1250–91, the relatively meager production identified between 1187 and 1250 must be reassessed. There is no doubt there were major changes and developments in the artistic production, the artistic patronage, the functions of the art, the economics of the art, the audience, and the reception of the art in the Latin Kingdom from 1187 to 1291 compared with the years 1098–1187. Our project here is to investigate these changes and try to understand the salient characteristics of this Crusader art seen against the background of historical and art historical developments in the Frankish East and Gothic Europe.

In attempting this study, I am, of course, the beneficiary of a rich outpouring of recent scholarly work, especially since 1957. As part of that corpus of inquiry and interpretation, certain important issues have been raised and debated: "What is a Crusade?" and "What is a Crusader?" The discussion about the idea of the Crusade also stimulates the discussion about the nature of the art of the Crusaders on mainland Syria-Palestine. Just what is "Crusader art"; in what ways are we justified in referring to Crusader art and what does the concept mean? How does Crusader art in the thirteenth century differ from contemporary Byzantine art; the art of the Mediterranean lingua franca; Armenian art; East Christian art of the Syrians, Maronites, and Copts; Muslim art; Italian art; the Italian art of the *maniera graeca*; and Gothic art? How does Crusader art in the Crusader States of Syria-Palestine differ from Crusader art in Constantinople, in Frankish Greece, or in Cyprus? Without denying the existence of different versions of Crusader art in these other places, I want to be clear and state once again that I am only attempting to discuss Crusader art in the Holy Land, that is, on the mainland of Syria-Palestine. It is there that the art of the Crusaders was born in the wake of the First Crusade, and there that it died as the result of the loss of Acre in May 1291. Other studies by other scholars will explore the important variants of Crusader art in Constantinope, in Frankish Greece, and in Cyprus. Here I am only dealing with the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land.

Several scholars have meanwhile challenged the idea of Crusader art wherever it may be found on different grounds, some historical, some art historical. I propose to reply to these challenges in my concluding remarks, after attempting to discuss the historical development of this art from 1187 to 1291. With these challenges in mind, however, I provisionally define Crusader art as pilgrimage art; ecclesiastical art; royal art; art for the military orders, especially the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights; religious and secular art for knights, nobles, bourgeois, and merchants individually and in confraternities; and art done for the Crusaders who took the Cross and settlers and traders who came to the Crusader Levant in the wake of the great expeditions, be they Frankish kings, queens, nobles and aristocrats, soldiers, ecclesiastics, members of the military orders, pilgrims, travelers, businessmen, merchants, farmers, or whoever, in the Crusader States of Jerusalem, Tripoli, or Antioch.

In sum, I propose that there can be no doubt that Crusader art existed in the thirteenth century on mainland Syria-Palestine, just as it existed in the twelfth, but it is significantly different and more diverse. Understanding how it changed from the twelfth to the thirteenth century and articulating what these changes were comprise a major part of our challenge. What we understand by Crusader art in the thirteenth century must be very clearly identified, analyzed, defined, and interpreted. Although on the one hand I do not wish to make excessive claims or be overly inclusive in regard to this idea, I seek to recognize it comprehensively and to understand it as fully as possible. On the other hand Crusader art by our working hypothesis does not include the art of indigenous Eastern Christians done for their own communities. Whereas the art patronized and produced by the Orthodox Greeks or Arabs, Syrian Orthodox or Jacobites, Maronites, Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians, or other oriental Christians from their own artists is relevant and important to the understanding of what was done for the Crusaders and the Frankish settlers in the Crusader States, the art of these Eastern Christians is distinct from the art of the Crusaders. Nonetheless we should realize that sometimes "Crusader" patrons employed and "Crusader" clients bought from local Christian artists as well as from "Crusader" artists. Therefore, I am suggesting that sometimes what is "Crusader art," whoever its artist may have been, is that art which was made to function for a Crusader in a context or setting identified by a Crusader.

In these terms a "Crusader" patron or artist can obviously mean a *crucesignatus* or a first-, second-, or third-generation Frankish settler. A Crusader patron or artist can also mean an Italian merchant or the offspring of a Crusader and a local Christian, the child of a Crusader and a "converted" Muslim, or the progeny of a turcopole and a Frankish woman, in the Crusader States. Mostly what is Crusader art is a work made by a Crusader artist, whoever the patron or the recipient may have been. I shall address the idea of a Crusader artist, and Crusader style, as I attempt to define how a Crusader artist is distinct from other artists. Most Crusader art, I propose, was produced by a Crusader artist, not by a Byzantine or a Byzantine-influenced Italian or French artist.

Our proposition at the outset, therefore, is also that the major art produced in the territory of the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine for Crusader patrons between 1098 and 1291 was Crusader art. On this basis it merits being called "the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land," rather than "colonial art in the Crusader States" or "the art of the Frankish settlers." Indeed, in approaching the art this way, we insist on seeing it from the vantage point of the Crusader East, through the eyes of its patrons and artists. This means that our points of departure are places such as St. Jean d'Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, Margat/Marqab and Crac des Chevaliers, and St. Catherine's, Mount Sinai, instead of artistic centers in western Europe.

My hopes in preparing this study are many. I wish to remedy the obvious and essential problem that, for many persons, Crusader art does not exist because there is no study that attempts to present it as a coherent chapter in the history of medieval art with adequate photographic documentation. I wish to present the art of the Crusaders on its own terms, as something unique and different, not as the mere derivative of something else. I wish to formulate and articulate an idea of Crusader art in terms of its nature and development in the period 1187–1291 that will give it substance and meaning, not only with regard to the art of the Crusaders in the twelfth century but also in regard to the Romanesque and Gothic art, to the art of the *maniera graeca*, and to the Byzantine, Armenian, and Muslim art to which it can be compared. I wish to confront the major questions about Crusader architecture and figural art in this turbulent period, ranging from the enormous output of architectural work in the first half of the thirteenth century, to the apparently curious and conspicuous lack of extant works of figural art between 1187 and 1250, to the veritable explosion in art production of figural works, both religious and secular, during the last forty-some years of the Latin Kingdom. Finally, as the beneficiary of important work done by many scholars in recent years and bearing in mind that there are no doubt many new discoveries yet to be made, I wish to set out to the best of my ability the essentials of what we now know about the art of the Crusaders, synthesized in historical context.

My goals then are the following. First, I want to identify, contextualize, analyze, discuss, and interpret the art of the Crusaders between 1187 and 1291 in Syria-Palestine. Second, I wish to understand how the art of Crusaders after 1187 differs from that before 1187. Third, I would like for this analysis to enable us to see more clearly what questions remain to be addressed and what gaps in our knowledge will need to be filled.

Finally, our story of the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land ends in 1291 when Acre falls and the Mamluks expel the Crusaders from mainland Syria-Palestine. But recalling the words of William of Tyre with which we began, we hope, "at the expense of much effort," to have laid "the foundations upon which a wiser builder by his [or her] excellent treatment may erect a more finished structure."

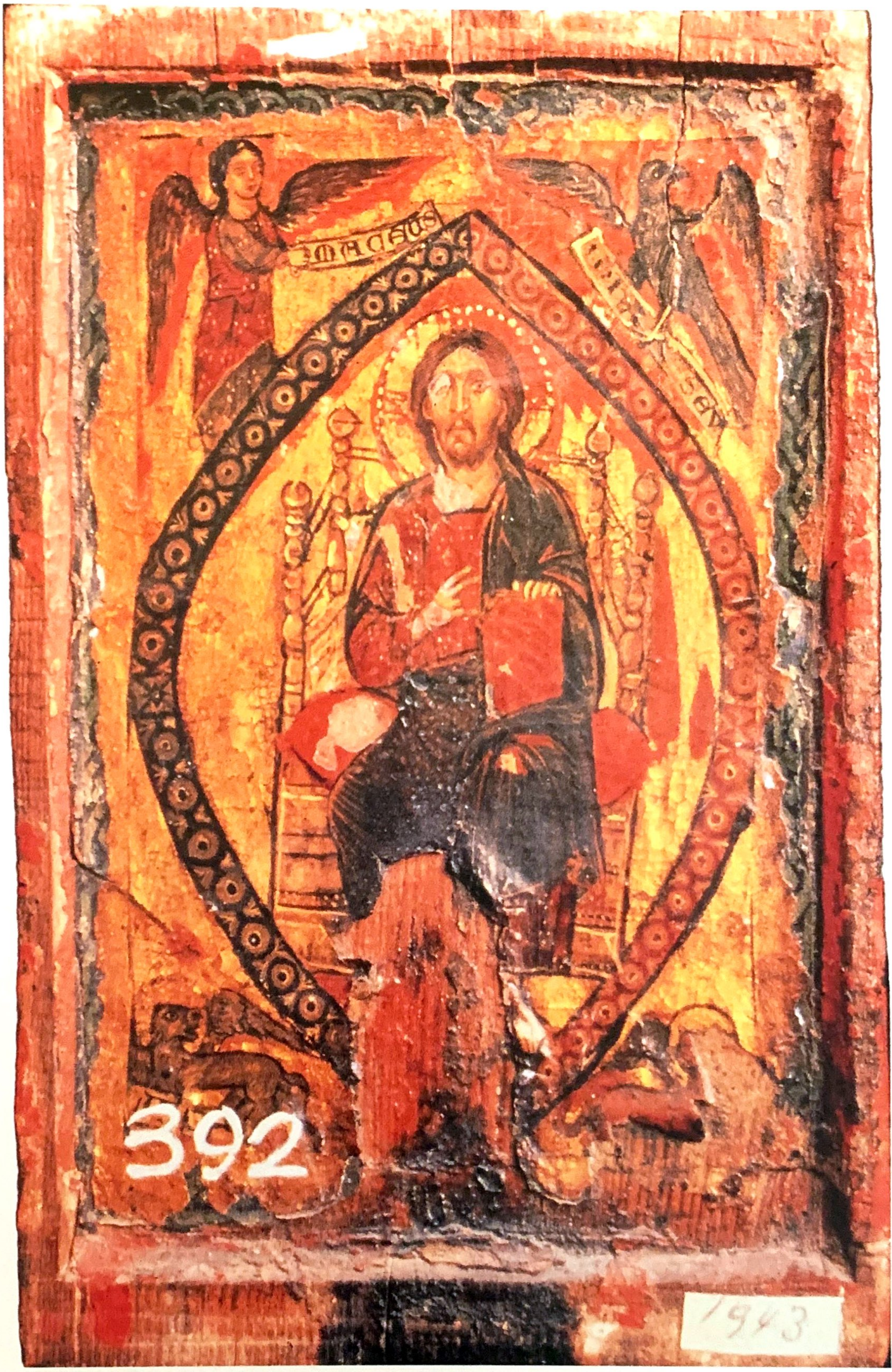


Plate 1. Christ in Majesty, "Crusader" Icon now at Sinai: App. no. 34/308 (Fig. 51). (photo by courtesy of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai)

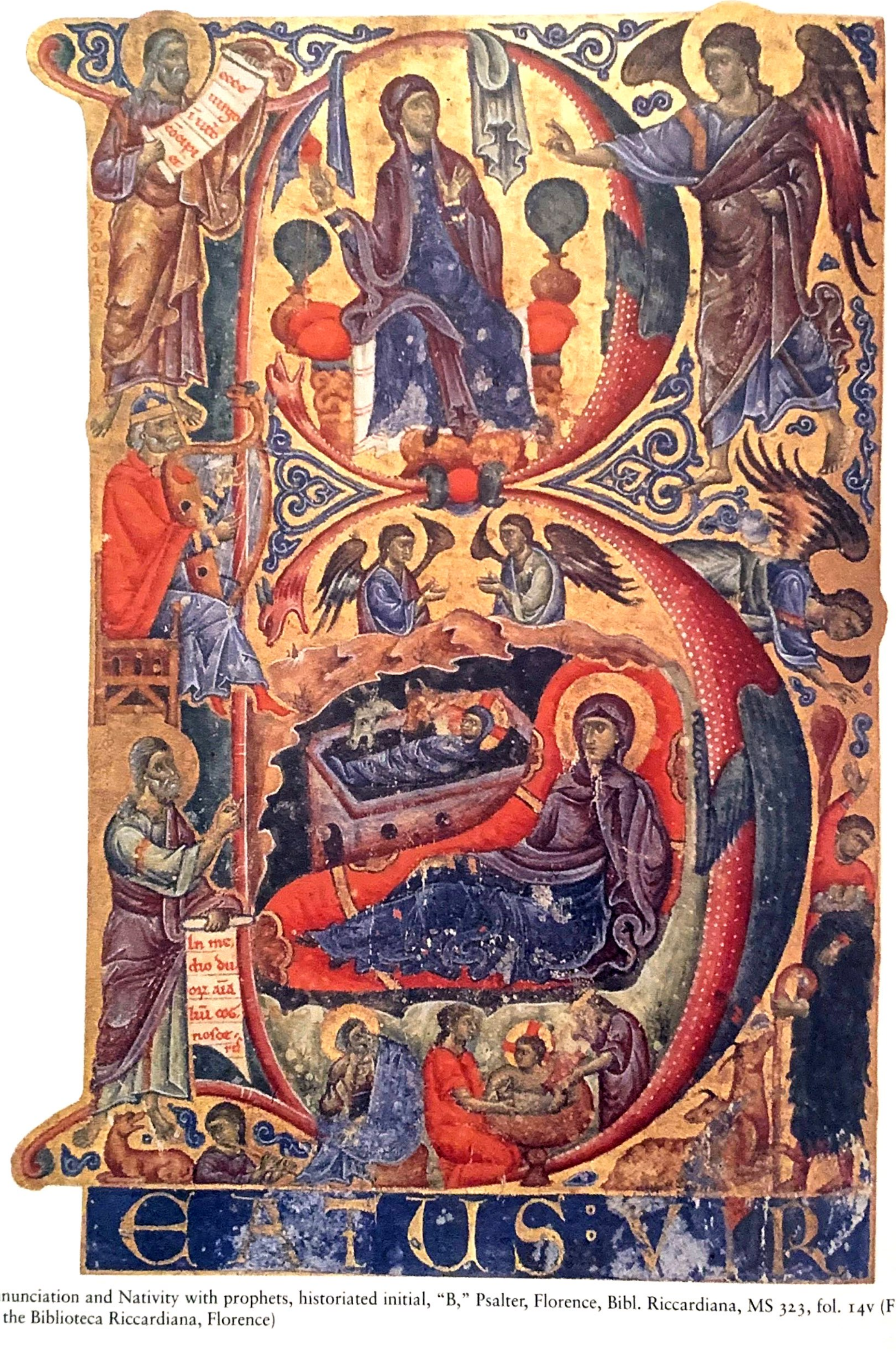


Plate 2. Annunciation and Nativity with prophets, historiated initial, "B," Psalter, Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, MS 323, fol. 14v (Fig. 120). (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence)

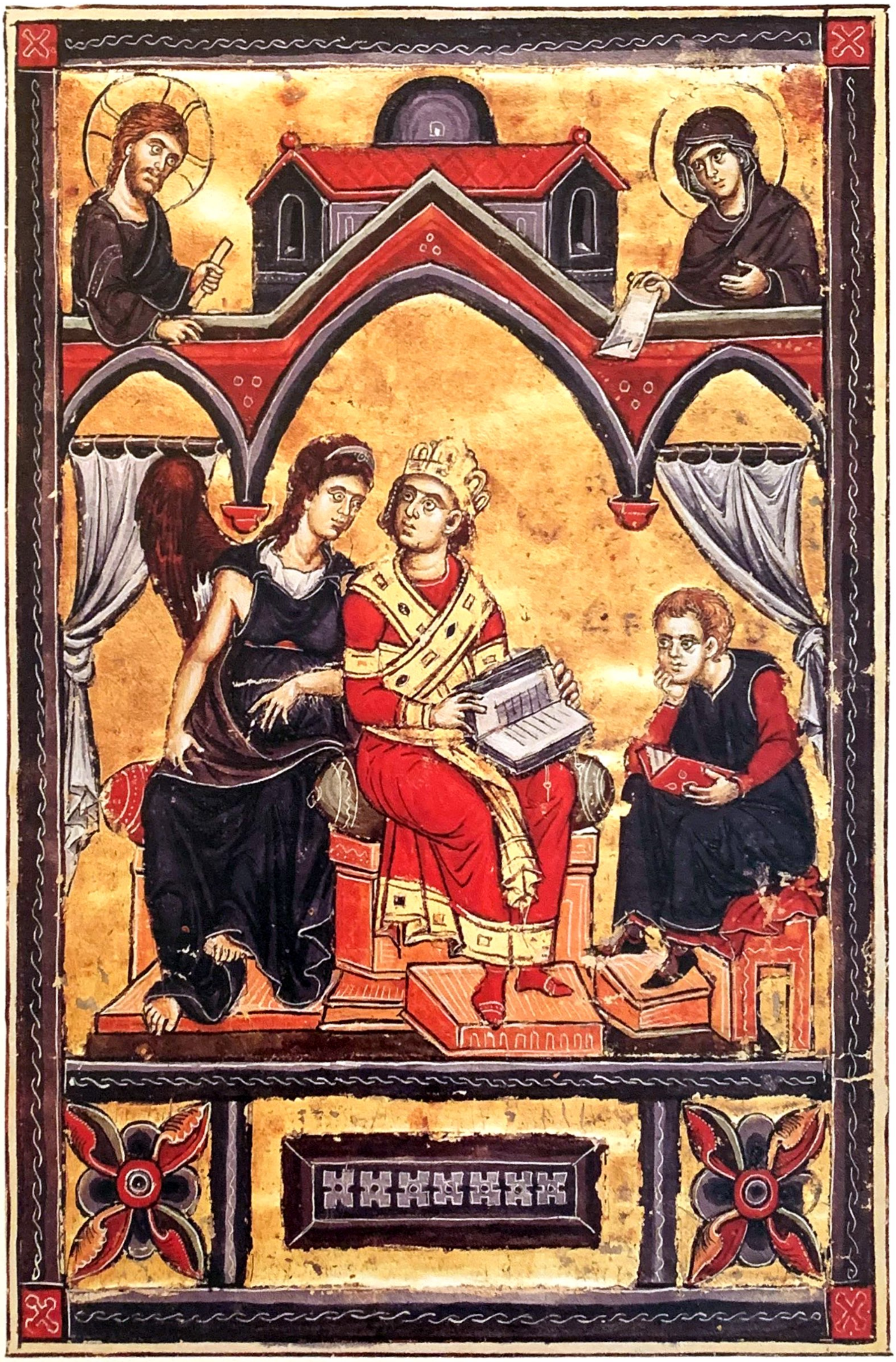


Plate 3. King Solomon with Holy Wisdom, panel miniature, Bible, Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5211, fol. 307r (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris and Daniel Weiss)

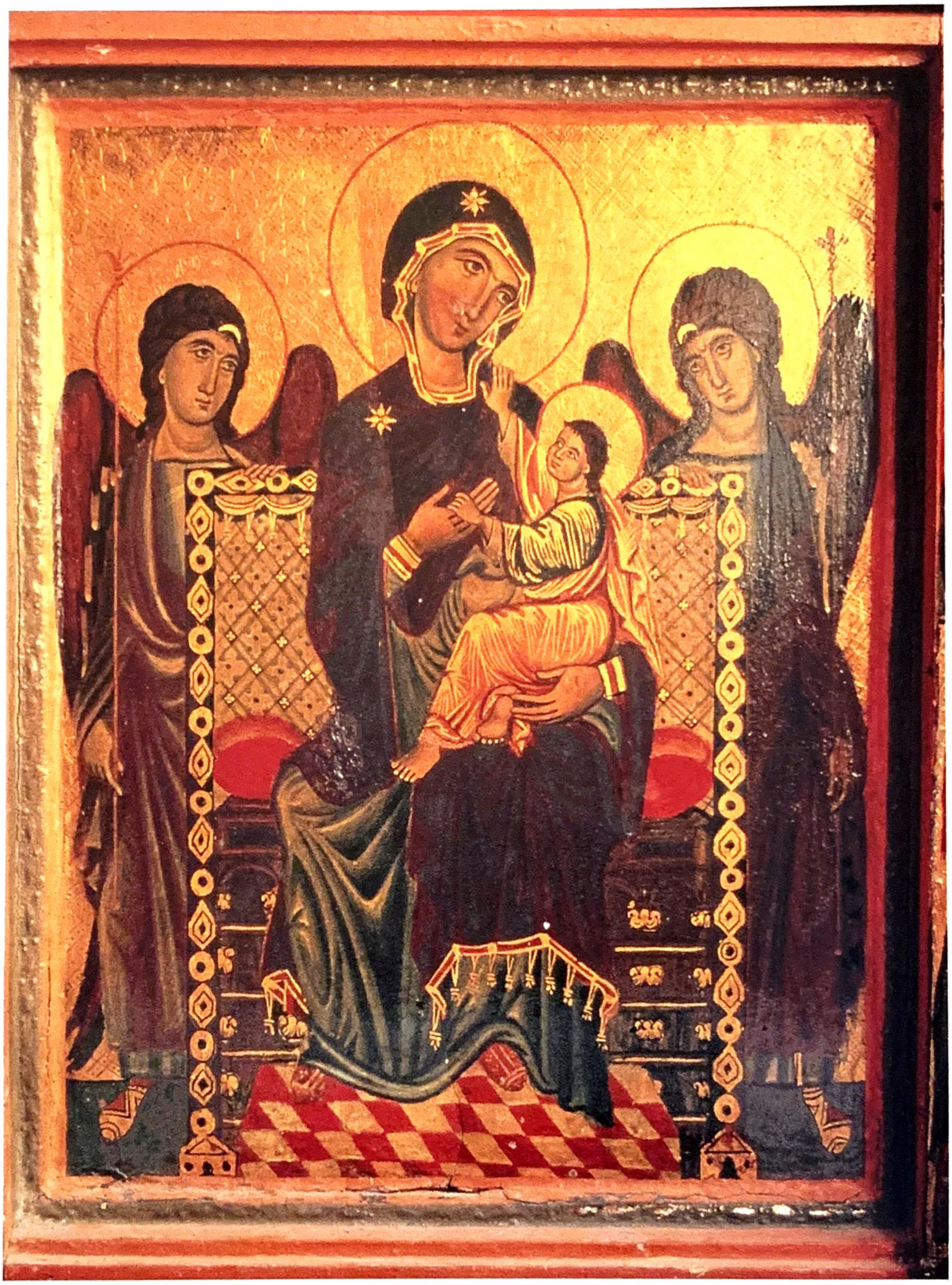


Plate 4. Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels, Central Panel of Triptych, "Crusader" Icon now at Sinai: App. no. 66/753 (Fig. 156). (photo by courtesy of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai)

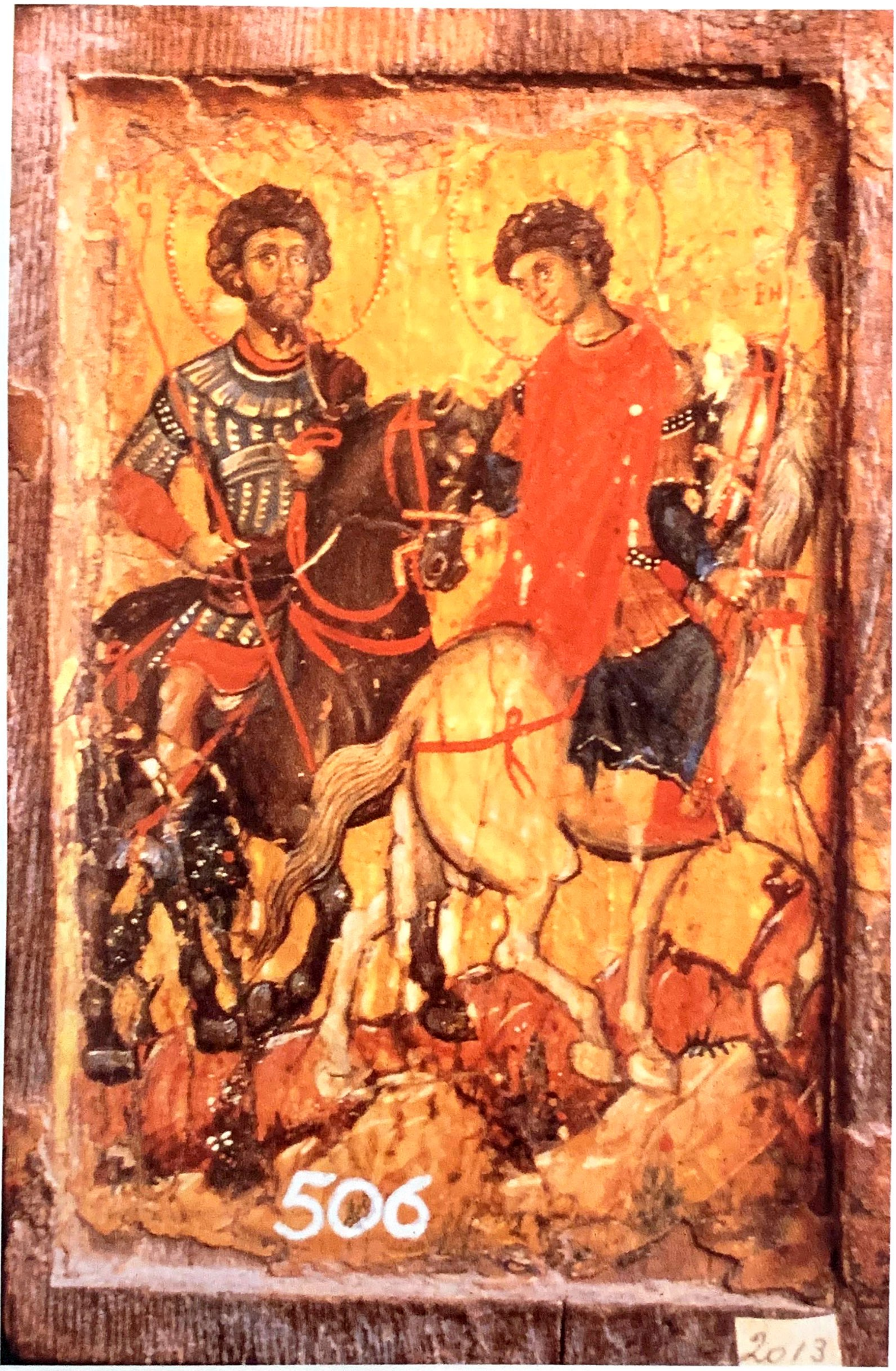


Plate 5. Saints Theodore and Demetrios, "Crusader" Icon now at Sinai: App. no. 40/386 (Fig. 184). (photo by courtesy of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai)

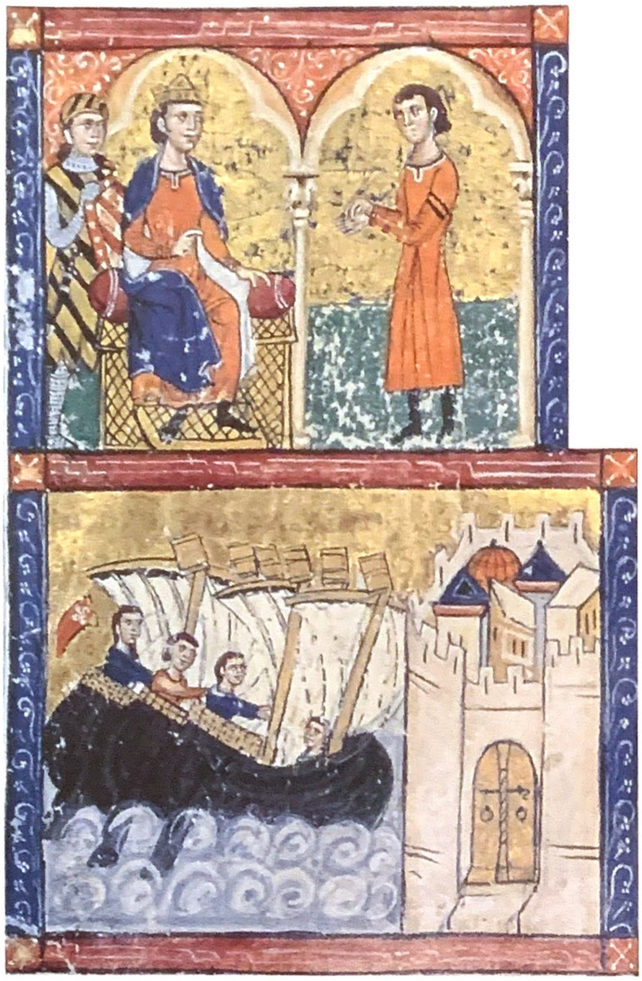


Plate 6. Pelias and Jason, and the Sailing of the Argo, panel miniatures, *Histoire Universelle*, Dijon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 562, fol. 89v (Fig. 212). (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon)

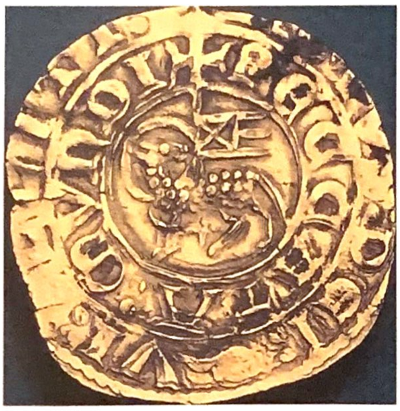


Plate 7. Acre: golden *Agnus Dei* bezant (Fig. 215). (photo: after the Slocum catalogue)

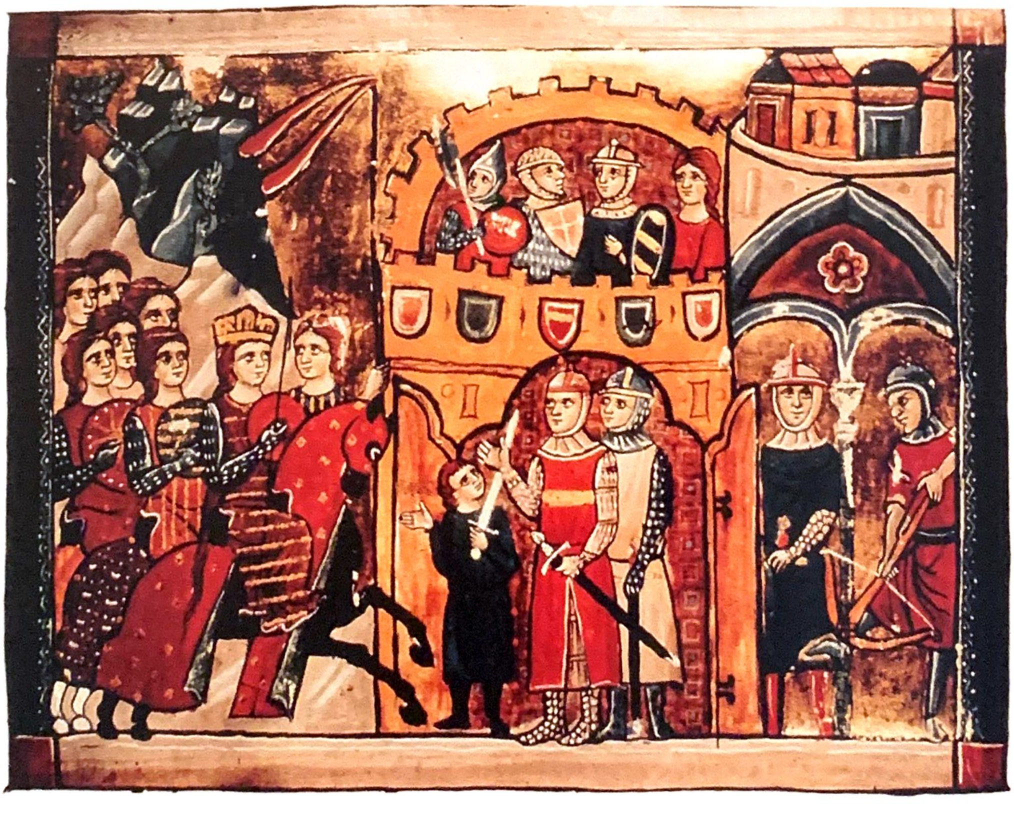


Plate 8. Queen Penthesilea leads her army to aid the Trojans, panel miniature, *Histoire Universelle*, London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, fol. 122r. (photo by courtesy of the British Library, London)

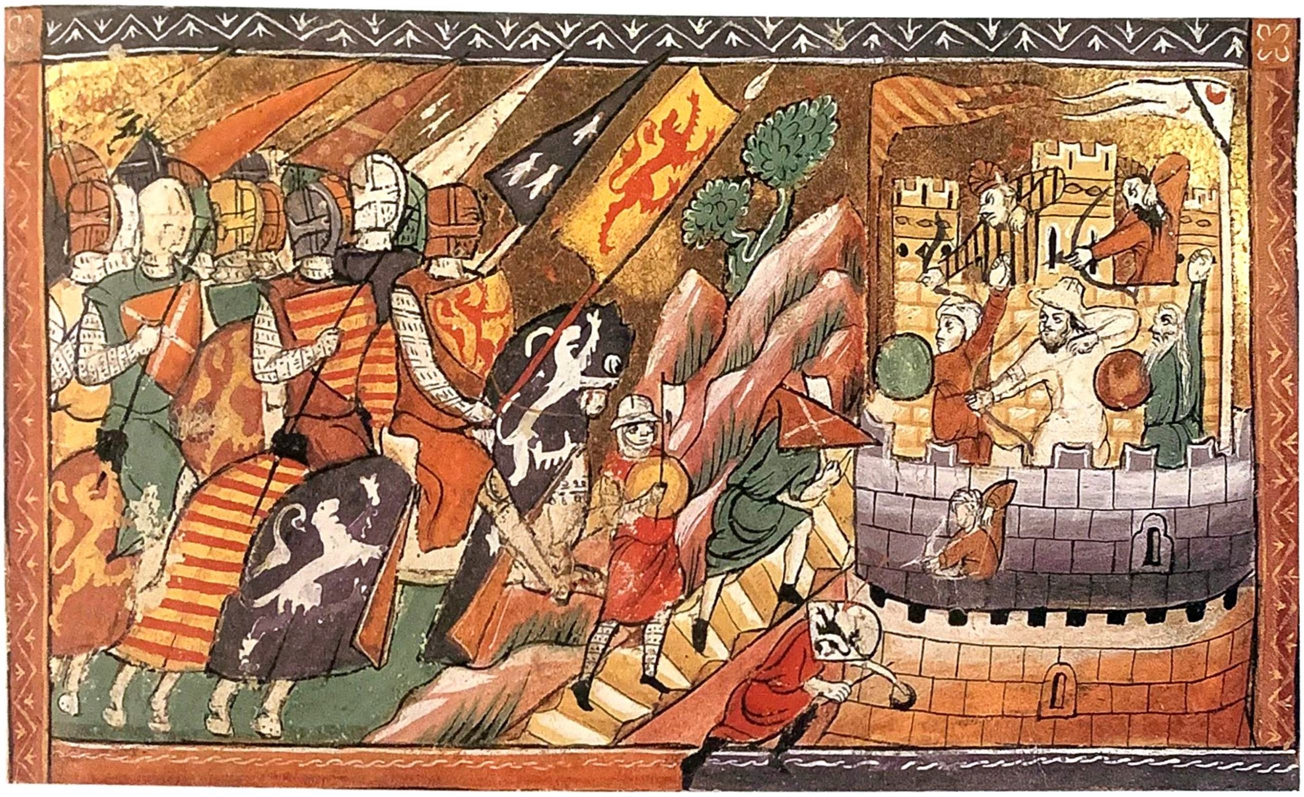


Plate 9. The Crusaders attack Antioch, panel miniature, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084, fol. 53r (Fig. 249). (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

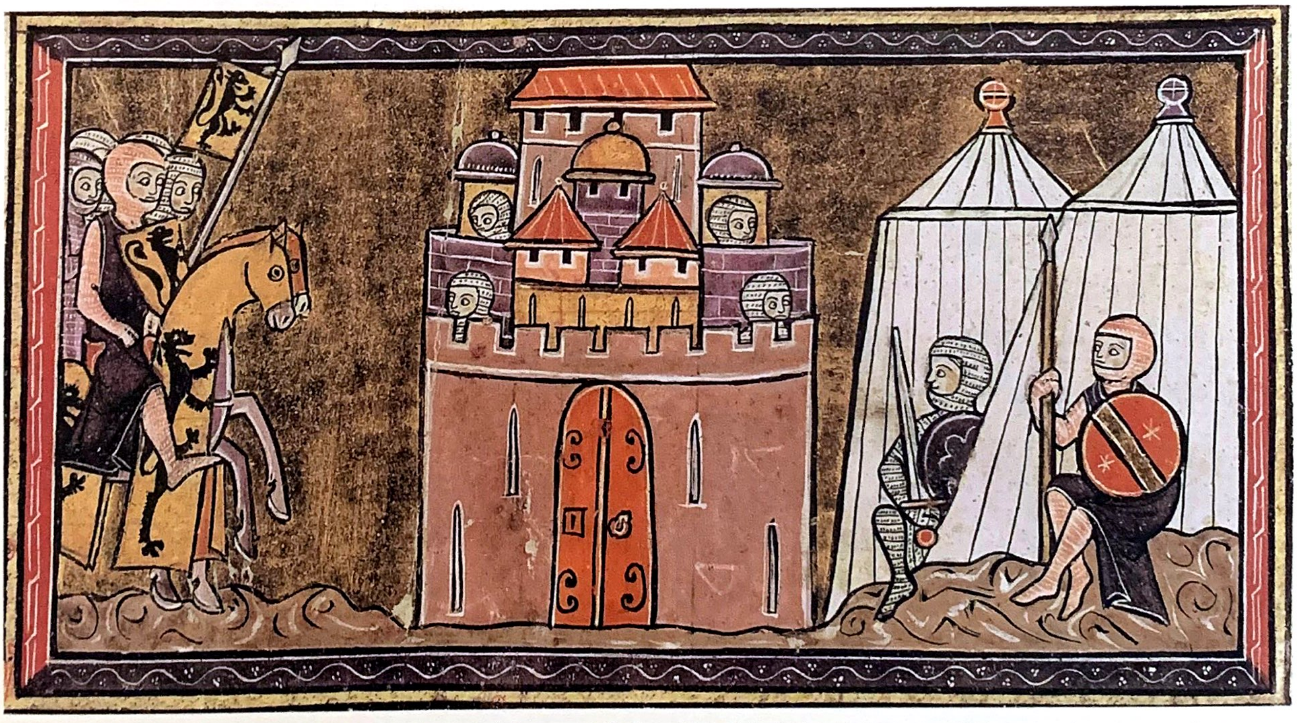


Plate 10. The Byzantine emperor John attacks the city of Shayzar while the prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa stay in camp, panel miniature, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084, fol. 182v (Fig. 250). (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

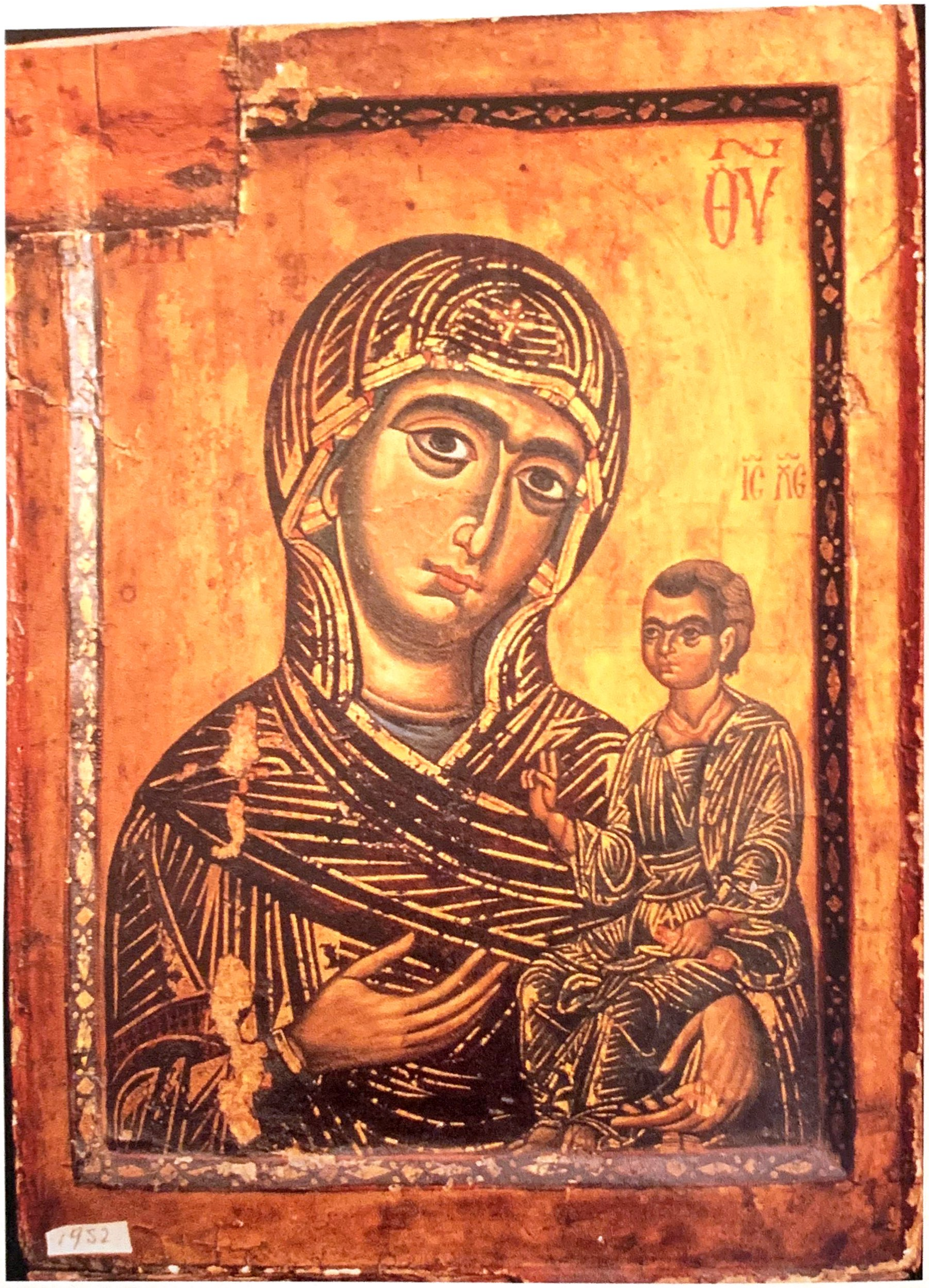


Plate 11. The Virgin and Child Hodegetria, “Crusader” Icon from Sinai: no. 22/200 (Fig. 289). (photo by courtesy of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai)

I

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The beginnings of the modern European, and especially French, rediscovery of Syria-Palestine can be conveniently dated to Napoleon's campaigns in the Near East from May 1798 to August 1799. Shortly thereafter, J. F. Michaud began publication of his *Histoire des Croisades*, starting in 1811, drawing attention to the history of the Crusaders in the Levant.[1] This was followed by the great project sponsored by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres to publish the major medieval texts dealing with the Crusades, starting in 1841.[2] Study of the material culture of the Crusaders was begun in terms of coinage and the first attempt at a comprehensive study appeared in 1847 by Louis Felicien de Saulcy.[3] Interest in the Crusaders was indirectly intensified in France during the Crimean War (1853–6), in which one of the major issues was French protection of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem and Catholic rights and privileges at the holy sites under the Capitulations of 1740.[4] Four years after the war ended, in 1860, the count Charles-Jean-Melchior de Vogüé, eventually the Marquis de Vogüé (1829–1916), published a pioneering study titled *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*. This book marked the beginning of modern research into the art and architecture of the Crusaders in the Holy Land.

Historiographically, therefore, the origins of the study of Crusader architecture and art can clearly be located in the context of French scholarship of the nineteenth century. The issue relevant to our current inquiry is, to what extent did these early scholars recognize both Crusader architecture and Crusader artistic work of the thirteenth century and how did they differentiate this work from that of the twelfth? What criteria did they use to identify the work? How did they date it? In view of the fact that the holy sites of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, even when accessible, were largely out of Crusader control in the period between 1187 to 1291 and that these sites had been major centers for the production of the art of the Crusaders in the twelfth century, how did scholars characterize the nature and development of Crusader art in the thirteenth century?

I

De Vogüé's father was a friend of Alexis de Tocqueville, the French minister of foreign affairs, and through this connection he was able to launch his son on a diplomatic career. It was while he was posted in St. Petersburg in 1850 that the young de Vogüé discovered his interest in archaeology. He first went to the Levant in 1853–4, just at the time of the Crimean War in which France was a major protagonist against Russia. One of the issues in dispute, of course, concerned privileges at the holy sites in Palestine. On 19 November 1853, Melchior saw the Holy City for the first time. It made a tremendous impression on him, as he records in a letter to his father:

> J'ai aperçu pour la première fois . . . la ville sainte . . . et je n'ai pu contenir mon émotion à la vue de ses murailles vénérées. Depuis le matin j'avais comme une fièvre qui me poussait en avant, à la grande stupéfaction de ma monture dérangée dans ses allures pacifiques: et sitôt que j'ai vu poindre au loin et briller au soleil les dômes de Sion, l'émotion a éclaté et je me suis jeté en bas de mon cheval pour remercier le Seigneur de m'avoir amené jusqu'ici.[5]

Thereafter he returned frequently to Jerusalem up to his last visit in 1911, only a few years before he died.[6]

I have already discussed the context for and the argument in de Vogüé's book elsewhere, as well as his methodological approach.[7] The view he took of the Crusader experience is summed up as follows:

> Les Croisés avaient transporté en Palestine la société du moyen âge tout d'une pièce, avec ses hiérarchies militaires et ecclésiastiques, ses coutumes féodales, et jusqu'a ses dénominations. Les constructeurs venus à leur suite ou pris dans leurs rangs firent de même; ils transplantèrent au milieu des édifices byzantins et arabes les églises françaises de la mère patrie, avec leur nefs hautes et allongées, leur bas cotés, leur systèmes de voûtes, enfin tous leurs éléments essentiels.[8]

But what is especially relevant to examine here is his perception of thirteenth-century architecture, its nature, and its development, in contrast to that of the twelfth century, in the Crusader States. De Vogüé approached the study of Crusader churches as the work of French architects who produced buildings in three phases: phase 1, from 1099 to 1187; phase 2, from 1187 to 1291; and phase 3, on Cyprus from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Essentially he argues for the importation of Romanesque architecture from western Europe as the basis of Crusader architecture, and he sees the development of Crusader art as controlled by French artistic ideals. Although he championed the view that the Crusaders brought Romanesque architecture with them he was, however, well aware of two aspects that influenced it in its new setting. He noted that the local climate, materials, and local masons were different from those of France; he also recognized that local Christians had their own architectural traditions that were quite distinct from those of the Crusaders. One, of course, was the tradition of Byzantine architecture with domed centralized churches, at that point little studied, and the other derived from the Early Christians with longitudinal, basilican-plan churches. Nonetheless, his idea was that however certain parts or details of Crusader architecture were altered by local conditions, the basic character of the Romanesque was not.

De Vogüé identifies the great period of church building in the Latin Kingdom as the years between 1140 and 1180. The bulk of his large and impressive book deals with that phase. By contrast, on the basis of pilgrim's accounts, chronicles, and letters, he says that little was built between 1187 and 1229. He points out that it was only in 1192, at the intervention of the bishop of Salisbury with Saladin, that permission was given for two Latin priests and their deacons to return to the towns of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, who served in these locations along with a small number of indigenous clergy. In 1211, he notes that four Syrian priests alone said their office in the church of the Holy Sepulchre according to Wilbrand von Oldenburg, and in 1217, Thietmar found Jerusalem closed to Christian access. De Vogüé also cites a collective letter written *c.*1220 to King Philippe II Augustus from the refugee bishops and abbots of the Latin Kingdom living in Acre. They said the Holy Land was deserted and destroyed, reduced to a poverty that could not be expressed in words. The Crusaders, they said, only possessed two cities, Tyre and Acre, and what few resources they had were being diverted to Damietta.[9]

In 1229, with the treaty arranged by Frederick II, Christians were once again granted open access to Jerusalem. De Vogüé interprets certain sources as indicating that Frederick made successful efforts to erase the effects of the earlier destruction. Despite what sources favorable to the emperor may say, however, de Vogüé thinks that all he could have done was to have rebuilt some chapels. Pointing to the ongoing conflict between Frederick and the pope, the interdict placed on the city of Jerusalem, and the absence of resident Crusader clergy in the Holy City, de Vogüé doubts that much Crusader construction could have occurred there between 1229 and 1244.[10]

From 1244 to 1291, Jerusalem was again lost to the Crusaders, and Christian access was difficult. De Vogüé therefore characterizes architectural activity as "quelques constructions se firent" in the cities along the coast, but most of it was military fortification in nature. "Les sources de l'art étaient taries, . . . et, malgré le dévouement de saint Louis, malgré les efforts des ordres militaires, elles ne devaient plus se rouvrir." After 1291 until the nineteenth century, he says that nothing was built at the holy places by European hands except some Franciscan convents, "massive constructions dans lesquelles l'art n'a rien à voir, et dont par conséquent nous n'avons pas à nous occuper."[11]

As to the nature of Crusader architecture in the thirteenth century (and later on Cyprus), he says the following:

> Les édifices du second et surtout du troisième groupe ont un caractère tout différent; ils offrent un imitation parfaite, comme construction et comme ornementation, des églises élevées en France à la même époque, avec cette seule différence: que les toits pointus sont remplacés par des terrasses horizontales.[12]

De Vogüé is important because he gives us our first historical perspective on the developments in Crusader architecture in the period from 1187 to 1291, remembering always that church architecture was his focus. It is evident that in doing this he depends heavily on the written sources, not archaeological examination for these buildings, but he is mindful of the need to study the standing monuments where possible. He focuses methodologically on the churches in terms of architecture and interior decoration, and he also sees his basic approach to be one of comparing churches in the East with those in the West as a source of dating and development. Nonetheless, he finds little important Crusader church architecture in this period and asserts that fortifications constituted most of what was being built by the Crusaders. Unfortunately he does not seriously discuss the major, mostly thirteenth-century church still largely intact at Tartus, and apparently he was unable to investigate in any detail the old city of Acre with its numerous thirteenth-century buildings, including some churches. He apparently assumed that the churches were destroyed by the Muslims. His focus is maintained on the holy places in the thirteenth century, as it was in the twelfth, and he finds nothing new in these locations.

On the issue of thirteenth-century Crusader architectural style and design for churches, de Vogüé deals with the problem of the ogival arch and French Gothic style with a perceptive argument. He proposes that the ogival arch originally developed in France independent of Eastern influence but that it also was found in early Arab architecture in the East. He asserts that the Gothic architecture found in the Levant was primarily that which is found today on Cyprus and was derived from French Gothic sources. He maintains that what the Crusaders found in Syria-Palestine was basically Byzantino-Arab in terms of basilicas, rotundas and cupolas, centralized Byzantine churches, and the ogival arch in the Arab school of Cairo.[13]

J. Wigley had argued that it was the encounter of Crusader Romanesque architecture with the ogival arch in the context of Arab architecture in the Holy Land that engendered the new Gothic architecture.[14] In his counterarguments, de Vogüé focused on Wigley's issues of the ornament and the pointed arch. He observed that arabesque ornamentation does exist in Crusader architecture, but he argued that the basic architectural vocabulary of cornices, capitals, moldings, and so forth came from the West, deriving either from classical Roman sources or from French Romanesque. The arabesques were applied to this system as details, and in any case Gothic ornamentation was largely based on natural forms, not Arab models. For the pointed arch, de Vogüé maintains first that it was developed in western Europe long before the Crusades, for structural reasons but that it also existed in the Levant in Arab architecture, mainly for general usage. De Vogüé proposes, therefore, that the ogival arch the Crusaders found in the Holy Land and employed in, for example, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the mid-twelfth century, reinforced their interest in the new Gothic style developing in France. Succinctly put, he says: "L'ogive n'est pas née des croisades, mais les croisades ont pu hâter le jour où elle a été employée exclusivement en Occident." The important issue for de Vogüé was to understand that the ogival arch was not the cause of Gothic architecture; it was a means. In accepting the idea that "l'architecture gothique dérive naturellement de l'architecture romane par une transformation lente dans la science de batir," de Vogüé understood that Gothic was a system of architecture. Nothing of the Gothic system of architecture, he asserted, was borrowed from the Near East.[15]

Thus, de Vogüé stoutly denies what he calls "l'origine orientale de notre architecture."[16] According to him, Gothic architecture was born in France; neighboring countries, including even the Crusader States, were prepared to receive this movement. To some extent de Vogüé sees the Gothic churches in the Near East to have been built by French hands, especially those in Cyprus. Thus he concludes that "dans le domaine des idées, l'influence des Croisades avait été considerable, dans le domaine matériel des faits architecturaux, elle avait été presque nulle."[17] De Vogüé nonetheless sees Crusader architecture as a distinctive phenomenon. To this end he expresses himself in quite emotional terms at the end of his study. Even though in his view the Crusader churches may not change our understanding of the development of Gothic architecture, he sees the Crusader buildings as unique from the point of view of a pilgrim, in their functions marking holy sites.

De Vogüé thereby opened the discussion of thirteenth-century Crusader architecture in the Holy Land, focusing on ecclesiastical architecture. Emmanuel Rey followed shortly thereafter with the first extended discussion of Crusader castles and fortifications.

II

Baron Emmanuel Guillaume Rey (1837–1916) was another prominent French aristocrat who took a passionate interest in the Crusaders. He made three visits to Syria, in 1857–8 in the Hauran, in 1859 at Crac, and in 1864 at Margat, examining most of the major Crusader fortifications in the course of these travels. On the basis of this fieldwork he published a series of studies on the Frankish East between 1860 and 1901. In 1871 his important book on Crusader military architecture appeared.[18] This was the first study that attempted to survey the Crusader fortifications systematically, and it was followed in 1879 by a study of the topography of St. Jean d'Acre, which also broke new ground.[19] Rey, unlike de Vogüé, did not hold a government position but seems to have been a gentleman of means who pursued his Crusader interests vigorously as a member of the Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.[20]

Rey began his 1871 study by surveying the Crusader States geographically with reference to the main Crusader fortifications. He then introduces the main characteristics of the castles, differentiated as he interprets the origins of their design into two schools. These two schools or types appeared and developed more or less simultaneously according to Rey; they form the subject of the first two parts of his book.

The first school included the castles of the Hospitallers and had for its prototype fortifications constructed in France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries along the western coast and along the banks of the Loire and the Seine. These castles were built on steep, isolated hills to facilitate defense. Their plan corresponded to the shape of the site and featured walls with round towers; inside the western donjon is replaced with heavily fortified entrances through the outer walls into the inner courtyards. From Eastern sources, these Crusader architects borrowed the Byzantine double surrounding wall where the second line of walls commands the first. They developed the stone watchtower, which only appeared in the West at the end of the thirteenth century. They also constructed enormous taluses or glacis in masonry, which as much as tripled the thickness of the base of these walls and formed an effective deterrent to mining and reinforcement against the frequent earthquakes.[21]

The second school was that of the Templars. Here the plan of the surrounding walls mostly followed that of the large Arab fortresses constructed after a design that seems to have been inspired by Byzantine fortifications. In these castles the towers are generally rectangular and advance very little in front of the walls. Thus these defensive constructions depend more on the deep fosses or steep escarpments and the high, thick walls rather than on the protrusion of the towers to deter attackers. These walls are typically built with extremely large blocks of rusticated stone and shallow loopholes comparable to Arab fortresses. Despite the parallels with Eastern fortifications, however, the Latin masons' marks clearly identify these works as Crusader construction.[22]

Rey goes on to identify a third type of castle, which combines the first two types, with emphasis on the second, and which retains the Western donjon in the castle. Rey calls these the feudal type and identifies a series of major examples, including Saone, Giblet, Beaufort, Shaubak, Kerak, and others.[23] Finally he also studies the fortified walls of major cities including Antioch, Tyre, Caesarea, and Ascalon, as well as fortified ports, as the final section of his book on the mainland monuments.

Thus here in this first serious survey, we can identify the source of one of the most long-lived interpretations pertaining to Crusader castles, namely, that of separate Hospitaller and Templar schools of Crusader architecture, which he extends into the thirteenth century. Although modern archaeogical investigations have invalidated many of the perceived distinctions that Rey advanced, in particular the contrast of rounded versus rectangular towers, showing instead that many round towers were rectangular towers with rounded exteriors added later, as at Crac des Chevaliers, Rey nonetheless made several important contributions through his analyses. First, he introduced a framework of discussion based on analysis of the standing monuments and raised the issue of Eastern and Western origins for various design features. Second, he produced important measured drawings including plans, elevations, and sections and produced some isometric views of the castles; there are also twenty-four engraved plates that collectively provided the first set of research documentation to be published for these castles.[24] Third, Rey provides the most comprehensive archaeological study of these castles that had been carried out to that point. In his archaeological approach, however, he omits the discussion of architectural sculpture and other decoration that de Vogüé had included for the churches. And although he focuses on the northern part of the Crusader States and conspicuously omits any serious discussion of Jerusalem, his emphasis is understandable because the great majority of major Crusader castles, if not fortifications, are located in the north, not in the Latin Kingdom. Finally, Rey's archaeological approach is rooted in the same notion of Christian archaeology that we find earlier in de Vogüé and later in Enlart, but it is tightly controlled, intensively descriptive, and linked with historical research to provide some bases for dating major parts of these complex buildings. The picture that results in terms of the history of architectural development for these major Crusader fortifications is important. Even though it contains certain historical errors and differs in certain specifics from the picture we have today, in its day it broke new ground as a paradigm for this kind of study.

To return to the specifics of his survey briefly, following his introduction Rey proceeds to discuss a series of major castles and fortifications, in the following order:

Margat (Margab) is the Hospitaller castle on the coast two hours south of Lattakieh.[25] The triangular plan of the huge castle is determined largely by its site. Rey describes the main standing features of the castle, commenting occasionally on their dating and parallels with fortifications in France. The important chapel inside (23.64 × 9.9 meters with two bays) he dates as contemporary to the churches at Tortosa, El-Bira, Jubail, and Lydda. He describes it as faithful to the construction system and the plan of French churches along the Loire and in Burgundy during the eleventh century. Rey visited Margat twice, separated by four years.

Crac des Chevaliers (Kalaat-el-Hosn) was the Hospitaller castle that guarded the passage from the interior to the cities of Tripoli and Tortosa on the coast, forming one of the main bastions in the system of defense for the County of Tripoli.[26] Like Margat it was a major defensive castle, not a feudal habitation to secure the lands of surrounding fiefs. Crac had two surrounding wall systems, with a fosse between partly filled with water. There was one easily defended entry; the towers and loopholes were organized in a manner in advance of what was found in France. Rey described the castle in some detail starting with the large square south tower, the complex bent entrance, and the wall systems with their massive taluses and round towers, ending with the machicolated rectangular north tower; he records a number of extant inscriptions. He notes that the chapel is smaller than that at Margat but proposes that it was done by French architects trained in the same style as those who constructed Cluny, Vézelay, and Autun. For the dating Rey can only say that the chapel (21.0 × 8.4 meters with four bays) was done at the end of the twelfth century; most of the castle was constructed after the 1202 earthquake; the square tower was rebuilt by Baybars. He follows his descriptive analysis with a historical outline. Rey asserts that after the Crusaders occupied the castle, it suffered damage in a series of earthquakes, in 1157, 1169, and 1202. In 1229 the castles of Tripoli and Antioch, including Crac and Margat, were exempted from the treaty signed by Frederick II with Sultan Malek al Kamil. Finally Crac was captured in 1271 by the strategem of a forged letter that ordered the garrison to surrender.

Tortosa (Tartus) was a Templar stronghold, a fortified town on the coast, south of Margat and almost due west of Crac.[27] As their principal military base in the north, the Templars fortified the castle heavily with a double enceinte in the form of a quarter circle strengthened by fosses, and a colossal donjon.[28] Inside the city walls is found the venerable twelfth-century cathedral, a major place of pilgrimage, which even Jean, sire de Joinville, visited. The castle is found at the northwest corner of the city walls; the latter follow a more or less trapezoidal plan. Rey follows this introduction with a more detailed description of the identifiable remains of the main fortifications including the grande salle, characterized as a European importation to the Near East. This was the main meeting place in the castle where chapters of the order were held. It was "décorée de panoplies, de trophées et d'étendards pris sur l'ennemi, ainsi que de riches tentures qui en complétaient l'ornementation."[29] It was a vaulted room 44 meters long with six bays organized as paired aisles. The castle chapel nearby is only briefly described as having four bays and no apse. The style of both the grande salle and the chapel was seen as quite elegant, with the use of marble capitals and archivolts that were decorated with interlaced arabesques, suggesting Byzantine influence to Rey. On the keystone of one archivolt he observed a paschal lamb holding the oriflamme à la croix.

Chastel-Blanc (Safita) is another Templar castle east of both Tripoli and Tortosa en route to Crac, dominating the hills one enters riding inland from the coast.[30] This castle is a large, heavily fortified tower keep with an outer enceinte; the inner walls around the base of the tower are fragmentary. The outer enceinte is in the form of an irregular polygon. The inside magazines and the interior system of walls are largely gone, transformed into the Arab village at the base of the tower. The donjon is 31.0 × 18.0 meters, with the castle chapel on the ground level. Measuring 25.0 × 10.5 meters, and vaults 17.3 meters high, this large chapel has three bays and an apse; it is quite analogous to the chapels at Crac and Margat with certain changes caused by its location at the base of the tower keep. Stairs lead up to the vaulted grande salle above the chapel, consisting of four bays organized in paired aisles, comparable to that at Tortosa. Although the date of the erection of this castle is unknown, it was captured by the Mamlukes in 1271.

Château Pelerin ('Atlit) was built by the Templars to protect the coast road south of Mount Carmel between Caesarea and Haifa.[31] The castle is built on a natural peninsula surrounded by deep water on three sides and fronted by a circuit of land walls. Rey quotes the text of Jacques de Vitry, which describes how these fortifications came into being. The city walls are anchored with a tower at the southeast corner. The castle has massive paired land walls, but little remains of the complex vaulted chambers described by Jacques de Vitry. Château Pelerin was one of the last castles held in the Latin Kingdom by the Templars in 1291. It was in good condition until the 1830s when it was mined by Ibrahim Pasha for materials to strengthen the defenses of Acre.

These first five castles presented by Rey constitute the most important of the extant examples associated with the Hospitallers and the Templars that he could have known. Through his pioneering efforts, Rey in effect laid the basis for these works to be seriously cleared or excavated during the years of the French and British mandates after World War I. The differences between his analysis and his plans, compared with the extended discussion and the numerous and elaborate plans of Deschamps at Crac des Chevaliers or of C. N. Johns at 'Athlit, are significant, as we shall see. But it was Rey who first, in effect, prioritized these castles, established the methodological bases for discussing them, and attempted to identify their characteristics in relation to their historical connections with the Hospitallers and the Templars, respectively. For all of the works, the dating is attributed largely on the basis of what Rey perceives as the relationship between the remains of the standing monument and the information provided by the relevant historical texts. One must also be cautious in using Rey's dates because his information is "littered with historical errors," to quote one prominent modern scholar.

What follows in his book thereafter is a series of much briefer presentations on a variety of types of fortifications. Rey presents the isolated fortified tower, an important component of Crusader defenses mostly ignored until very recently.[32] After this we find the enigmatic castle of Saone, which Rey sees – along with Kerak – as the quintessential feudal type of fortification that never belonged to one of the orders. He calls it one of the oldest specimens of Frankish architecture, but one the Crusaders only held to 1187.[33] Following Saone, he offers a series of examples that exemplify in his mind the diversity of castle designs executed by the Crusaders based on Byzantine models, work not done for either of the two major orders. It is an interesting series including Gibelet (1107–97),[34] Blanche-Garde (*c.*1140–87), Beaufort (1139–1268),[35] Kerak (1120s–88),[36] Le Toron (1104–87/1219, 1229–91),[37] Montfort (1229–71),[38] Sajette (Sidon, 1227/8–91),[39] and Maraclée (1260–85).[40] Then come defensive systems for ports (Tyre, Acre, Beirut, Gibelet, Laodicea).[41] Rey places these maritime cities in the hands of Italian and southern French merchants and sees the fortifications often to have been erected on ancient Phoenician foundations. For each port city he comments on a notable feature, for example, at Tyre, the chain across the port entrance, at Acre, the Tour des Mouches, and at Lattakia, there was a light tower. Rey has little to say, however, about the city fortifications of Acre or Tyre in general and hardly anything specific about their central importance in the thirteenth century. Finally we find the fortification systems for the major cities, including Antioch, Ascalon, Tortosa, Gibelet (Jbail), and Caesarea.[42] Antioch is given the most discussion, although its walls were essentially Byzantine; Acre is not mentioned in this context. There follows a brief section on three major castles on Cyprus.[43]

Among the interesting aspects of this survey is not only what is included, but also what is omitted. Almost nothing is said about the city walls of Jerusalem or the port of Jaffa. Many inland fortifications in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem are largely ignored, with the exception of Montfort, for example, Safed, Hunin, Baniyas, and Belvoir, along with Shaubak in trans-Jordan. But Rey's achievement is very important. He basically locates and visits most of the main monuments, then he lays out the agenda for the discussion of all of the most significant Crusader castles and fortifications, many of which were followed up by later scholars. He does this both in terms of what monuments he discussed, their dating and their historical significance for the Crusaders, and in terms of his methodology of descriptive analysis of their salient characteristics. It is fair to conclude however, that as far as Crusader military architecture of the thirteenth century is concerned for Rey, he views it largely as a continuum with the twelfth century, architecturally and culturally.

M. Rey in fact produced a number of publications on the Crusader Levant, including also a study on the topography of Acre and a book titled *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie au XIIe et XIII siècles*, both published some years after his study on the military architecture.[44] The book clearly presents the Crusaders in the Holy Land as a colonial experience in a multicultural setting,[45] and, as far as the military architecture is concerned, Rey makes no major new contributions to his earlier survey. However, he does provide a comprehensive historical geography that comments on all the major known Crusader sites.[46] Even more importantly for our current concerns, he expands the picture of Crusader artistic interests in the Levant significantly, based especially on written sources, particularly the *Assises de Jérusalem* and the diplomatic documents of the chanceries of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch, and Sis, joined by a selection of the Arab chroniclers. Furthermore, he has interesting and comparatively extensive comments on thirteenth-century Crusader art. Which references to artistic production does he cite?

He expands on the military art in terms of arms and armor, citing changes in the armament of the Crusaders as found especially in images on the seals of the knights, as, for example, the seal of Jean d'Ibelin in 1261.[47] There is also the question of heraldry, which he finds in the Levant as much with the Franks as with the Arabs.[48] Again the major sources are the seals. He expands on the architecture by mentioning the urban architecture of private townhouses and palaces, comparing Wilbrand von Oldenburg's 1212 account of the Ibelin palace in Beirut with the Mediterranean inspired Arab-Norman buildings in Palermo and mentioning the grand salle of the episcopal palace in Tripoli.[49] In the palace in Beirut there was fresco painting on the vaults, mosaics on the floors, and a marble fountain in the courtyard, and in this connection Wilbrand praises the excellence of the Syrians, the Greeks, and the "Sarraceni" as artists.[50] Even more remarkable is his claim that Arab carpenters decorated important rooms in castles with panelling and wainscoting, fine woodwork similar in its high quality to what we find on the minbars of major mosques in the Muslim world of the Near East. Furthermore, the interiors of the living quarters of noble Franks would have had hangings of Eastern silks.[51] There would have been painted pottery,[52] quite possibly even some porcelains from China, and also painted glass.[53] Finally one would find metalwork in copper, and even silver and gold. Rey cites the important inventory of the Count de Nevers from Acre in 1266 with its quantity of notable objects, secular and sacred, including metalwork in precious gold and silver and more utilitarian substances.[54] Clearly much of this material he thought to be the work of Near Eastern artists, not necessarily Crusaders.

Rey cites as an equivalent ecclesiastical inventory of a church treasury the 1209 document from Antioch which lists gold and silver liturgical vessels decorated with precious and semi-precious stones as well as liturgical vestments.[55] Parallel to this inventory Rey also cites the existence of the "evangeliaire [sic] de la reine Melisende." Its binding, "formée de deux magnifiques plaques d'ivoire sculptées et garnies en argent [?], est du plus beau style bysantin [sic]; le dos du livre est fait d'une splendide étoffe de soie brochée de croix d'or [?]."[56] He also mentions a large patriarchal cross of cedar covered in gold and other ornamentation, which contains a number of relics; it is a cross, which Rey says Jacques de Vitry brought from Acre to the West where it is now preserved in the abbey of Oignies.[57] Along with the regular Latin clergy who may have commissioned works of art, there were also of course the members of the military orders, and it is very interesting that Rey cites members of confraternities, half religious and half military organizations known especially in Italy, but also found in the Crusader East, such as the Societas Vermigliorum, the Pisan association at Tyre.[58] Rey also surveys the great variety of Eastern Christians who interacted with the Latin clergy in the Crusader States.

The issue of manuscript books raised by the existence of the Melisende psalter, and referred to in the 1266 inventory in terms of secular "romanz" and "chançonners" codices, stimulates Rey to consider what the Crusader men of letters read and wrote. Rey points out, "ce fut surtout pour l'étude du droit et des coutumes féodales que se passionnèrent un grand nombre de chevaliers d'outre-mer." He says further, "le goût des lettres semblait héréditaire dans la maison des seigneurs de Sagette [Sidon]... Renaud de Sagette était un des hommes les plus instruits dans sciences et les lettres orientales." Even more surprisingly, he asserts, "la plupart des seigneurs francs cultivaient l'étude de la langue arabe."[59] Other fields of lively interest to the Crusaders were medicine, philosophy, mathematics, geography, and astronomy. In medicine, Rey even cites Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem as centers, referring to Theodore of Antioch, Basil of Aleppo at Tripoli, and Abu Mansour in Jerusalem.[60] As evidence for his points, Rey frequently cites Arab medieval writers and in regard to the matter of geography, he even cites specific manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and in the Vatican Library in Rome which contain maps that precede the well-known works of Marino Sanudo in representing the Frankish East in detail, even including distances between specific sites in the Holy Land.[61]

What is interesting and relevant from this remarkable assemblage of material that Rey presents in his groundbreaking work is that, with the exception of the Psalter of Queen Melisende, everything cited here is either to be dated to the thirteenth century or is directly relevant to or derived from the Crusader States in the thirteenth century. Thus in effect, Rey makes a strong case for investigating further the art of the Crusaders as well as the architecture. This art is basically defined as commissioned or acquired by them from Near Eastern artists – he never really entertains the idea of "Crusader" artists – or as imported by them from the West.[62] What is also evident is that Rey is looking at the Crusaders and their art largely along class lines. Not surprisingly, to some extent he seems to be seeing the Crusader aristocracy the way the nineteenth-century French upper class wished to see them. For example, he says: "Nous devons, d'ailleurs, reconnaitre que la noblesse franque fixée en Syrie était généralement beaucoup plus lettrée, plus sage et plus prévoyante qu'on ne l'a cru jusqu'à ce jour."[63] It is after all members of this same upper class who admired the pictures of their Crusader ancestors in history paintings of events in Crusader history produced in the first half of the nineteenth century by a number of artists (including Delacroix) and hung in the Salles des Croisades at the palace of Versailles by order of Louis-Philippe I after 1832.[64]

III

De Vogüé and Rey are important because they effectively begin the systematic discussion of Crusader architecture (and art, to some extent) including work from the thirteenth century. They were the European scholars who first made contact with the standing monuments as archaeologists, art historians, and historians, as distinct from pilgrims; Rey also identified some important examples in the figural arts, either existing works or textual evidence about such works. Together they set out the agenda for future scholars.

Meanwhile, interest in the Crusades continued to grow. In 1877 a new edition of Michaud's *Histoire des Croisades* appeared, illustrated with a large set of engravings by Gustave Doré. This publication marked "a high point in the religious and nationalistic enthusiasm for the crusades in France."[65] In fact, work on the history of the Crusades, the culture of the Crusaders, and Crusader monuments continued in the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century by English and German as well as French scholars. With a few exceptions, however, comparatively little attention was directed specifically at Crusader monuments or works of Crusader art understood to be from the thirteenth century. One of the most important publications was a new and remarkably comprehensive study of Crusader coins by Gustave Léon Schlumberger. Published in 1878 with a supplement in 1882, this work remained a standard text into the latter part of this century and can still be consulted with profit.[66] Many of the other publications we have are found in the form of archaeological reports, for example, the Survey of Western Palestine.[67] By this means the repertoire of sites published is enlarged somewhat, but the focus of the survey was on antiquity, biblical and classical, and there are relatively few Crusader monuments. Also, Hans Prutz published a work of cultural history hard on the heels of Rey's later (1883) work, but he is not as interested in the artistic material and contributes more to the study of the military orders in the Crusader States, especially the Teutonic Order.[68]

Not surprisingly, it would continue to be French archaeologists who most intensively addressed the Crusader monuments in the early twentieth century. It was they, and especially Camille Enlart, who introduced important new distinctions between the twelfth- and the thirteenth-century art and architecture in the Crusader States. In 1896, however, there was Charles Diehl, a scholar of quite a different background, an orientalist who studied Byzantium and Byzantine art and addressed "Les Monuments de l'Orient Latin." He summarized and epitomized the French view of the Crusaders at the fin de siècle.

Just as de Vogüé and especially Rey had done before him, Diehl sketched works of art and architecture associated with the Crusaders. He refers to churches and castles, monumental art such as mosaics, frescoes, and sculpture, and small-scale art such as coins; other media are omitted. But in particular he again appropriated the Crusaders as medieval Frenchmen, even more emphatically than Rey if that be possible. The specificity of his language is unmistakable:

> Civilisation féodale, civilisation française aussi. Parmi les chevaliers qui prirent part à la croisade, parmi ceux-là surtout qui demeurèrent en Palestine, la plupart étaient des Français. C'étaient des Normands, et qui gardèrent en Syrie toutes les qualités de la race, que ces princes d'Antioche, les Boémond, les Tancrède, si vaillants et si avisés tout ensemble, si bons chevaliers et si fins diplomates; c'étaient des Provençaux que ces comtes de Tripoli, Raymond de Saint-Gilles et ses successeurs; et sur le trône même de Jérusalem quelle succession de princes français, Angevins comme le roi Foulques,

> Poitevins commes les Lusignan, Champenois comme cet héroique Jean de Brienne,.... Parcourez la liste des grands barons du royaume; tous ou presque tous sont français, Ibelin, La Roche, Dampierre, Montbéliard et bien d'autres; parcourez la liste des frères de l'Hôpital et du Temple; les grands ordres militaires sont presque exclusivement des ordres français: et dans ce morceau d'Europe féodale, transporté sous le ciel blue de la Terre-Sainte, bien vite le français devint la langue officielle de l'administration et le langage courant des relations sociales.[69]

What is striking about this view of the Crusader East is that France and the Frankish Levant are linked so closely. The Crusader States are conceptualized as almost more than a French colony; it is as if they are a massive projection of medieval French civilization directly into the Near East. Yet Diehl characterizes Crusader society as "composite et curieuse," and he perceptively understands that "dans cette société si complexe l'art prit le même caractère." He gives the following interpretation in rather poetic language:

> surtout dans ces petites églises de la Ville Sainte, à Sainte-Anne, au tombeau de la Vierge, nous comprendons comment l'art latin s'est combiné avec l'art oriental, et quelle fleur architecturale, au parfum légèrement exotique, les architectes de France, durant des deux siècles de domination latine, ont fait naître sous le ciel brûlant de la Syrie.[70]

What is also striking from this point of view is that, for Diehl, effectively the "Crusader artist" or the "Crusader architect" was French. Furthermore, there is no essential distinction drawn between the Crusader society, the Crusader experience, or certainly Crusader art in the twelfth century and in the thirteenth century. It is as if they formed a continuum, unbroken, unchanged from 1099 to 1291.[71] To some extent Camille Enlart would eventually challenge that position, while maintaining and explicating the idea of the Crusader artist as a French artist.

IV

French archaeologists worked intensively in the Holy Land in the first third of the twentieth century. Of particular interest for Crusader monuments was the work of Fathers Hugues Vincent and F.-M. Abel in Jerusalem,[72] and that of Father Prosper Viaud in Nazareth.[73] Vincent and Abel devoted a substantial part of their investigations to the Crusader monuments and, in particular, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for which they provided the first comprehensive study with detailed plans and measured drawings. In Nazareth, Viaud produced a similar study of the foundations of the Crusader Church of the Annunciation and combined that with the dramatic discovery of the famous Nazareth Capitals. It was on the solid foundations of these and earlier works[74] that Camille Enlart (1862–1927) arrived in the Holy Land, in the period of the French and British Mandates, to pursue his investigations. His research, carried out between 1921 and 1927, resulted in the publication of *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, the first comprehensive study of the art and architecture of the Crusaders in the Holy Land.[75]

Camille Enlart was an archaeologist and an art historian who had studied at both the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Ecole des Chartes in Paris; he was also a member of the Ecole Française in Rome. From 1903 he was the director of the Musée des Monuments Français at the Trocadéro in Paris, known then as the Musée de Sculpture Comparée. Thus by training and by career profession, Enlart was different from de Vogüé and Rey. In addition, Enlart's approach to the study of the Crusader monuments was distinct from that of his distinguished predecessors in three important ways. First, Enlart came to the study of Crusader art and architecture as a mature scholar at the height of his powers toward the end of his career, someone who had extensive experience working in Europe and the Near East.[76] Second, Enlart was commissioned to study the Crusader monuments by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Thus he was able to proceed with the full support and cooperation of the Mandate authorities. Third, Enlart defines his agenda at the start of Chapter 1:

> En écrivant ce livre, j'ai voulu étudier dans le royaume de Jérusalem, comme autrefois dans celui de Chypre, l'influence de l'Occident en Orient, et ceci est un dernier chapitre de la vaste enquête que j'ai commencée il y a trente ans sur l'expansion de l'art français du Moyen-Age à l'étranger.[77]

With this introduction, Enlart makes clear that he is pursuing his historical inquiry more or less backward in chronological time. Having started with the Frankish art, culture, and history of Lusignan Cyprus (1191–1474), to which he had devoted a major study published in 1899,[78] he was now addressing the Frankish art, culture, and history of the Crusader States on mainland Syria-Palestine, 1098–1291. By taking this approach, certain questions immediately arise. What relationships will Enlart see between the art of the Crusaders on the mainland and that on Cyprus? What distinctions will Enlart discern between the later art of Lusignan Cyprus and that of the Crusaders which preceded it? How will Enlart characterize the thirteenth-century art of the Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom and distinguish that from the art of thirteenth-century Cyprus? How will he distinguish between Crusader art and the art of the Eastern Christians in the Latin Kingdom?

One important aspect of Enlart's approach was that, in the context of the early years of the twentieth century, he was arguing against the idea that artistic creativity and its influence basically flowed East to West.[79] Furthermore, though he was intensely Francocentric in his outlook, he nonetheless saw and understood some of the complexities and independent characteristics of the art of the Crusaders on the mainland. These components in his discussion can be seen vividly in the following comments. On the importance of France in the Middle Ages, East and West:

> L'art, néanmoins, comme le langage, le droit public et privé furent français chez les Croisés, parce que la France, depuis la fin du XIe siècle jusqu'au XVe, fut le centre et la tête de la civilisation occidentale.[80]

On the character of art in the Crusader East:

> Comme leur civilisation en général, l'art des Croisés est, de toutes pièces, importé d'Europe mais parfaitement acclimaté.[81]

Basically, Enlart saw the architecture of the Crusaders as Romanesque French in origin, but he recognized the Eastern character of much that he found in French Romanesque and was willing to say:

> Tout au plus l'adoption de l'arc brisé, de la coupole sur pendentifs, des voussures à godrons et autres motifs notés au cours de la croisade par l'art roman, fut-elle simultanée chez nous et dans le royaume de Jérusalem....
>
> Qu'ils soient de création occidentale ou d'origine orientale, je me suis appliqué à analyser les éléments de l'architecture des Croisés et à les comparer... avec les monuments similaires d'Occident, surtout en France. Le résultat de cet examen est que, si l'on excepte l'absence presque générale des toitures, les édifices des Croisés ne diffèrent de nos églises romanes, même par une adoption plus fréquente de motifs arabes, arméniens, syriens, coptes ou byzantins.[82]

As a context for this architecture, it is evident that Enlart clearly understands the Crusader States to be essentially French colonies and that the basic development of the political, ecclesiastical, commercial, economic, and military institutions took place in the twelfth century before 1187. He also sees Cyprus and the Crusader States as fundamentally and closely interconnected after 1191/2. The one essential difference between the Frankish population of the Latin Kingdom and Lusignan Cyprus in the thirteenth century is the fact that in the Holy Land the Franks were mostly transient, temporary; they were pilgrims and merchants. But on Cyprus the Lusignans consciously sought to build a resident population both numerous and permanent. Their Frankish settlers, Enlart says, came partly from the West, but they also came in important numbers from the Crusader States and even from Armenia.[83]

Enlart identifies the years of greatest prosperity for the Latin Kingdom as between 1131 and 1174. Soon after that, in 1187, the disasters start, and he finds little in the thirteenth century, after the Third Crusade in 1192, that is positive or notable. Only Frederick II, who reopened the holy sites to Christians between 1229 and 1244, and Louis IX, who rebuilt fortifications and churches while in residence in 1250–4, are identified as bright spots in the deepening gloom. Between 1265 and 1291, he sees the history of the Crusader States as an unbroken stream of losses and defeats at the hands of a series of powerful Mamluk sultans, chief among them, Baybars and Kalavun.[84]

Despite this bleak picture, however, Enlart recognizes the existence of significant Crusader artistic work in the thirteenth century, churches and fortifications, some executed by specific artists and architects. He is the first to think in terms of Crusader work by individual, identifiable artists, but he thinks of them essentially as Frenchmen working in the Holy Land. He identifies Philippe Chinard, *c.*1230, who worked on Cyprus before going to Apulia to work for Frederick II. He names Master Assaut and Garnier de Cordes who worked for Alphonse of Poitiers in 1268. Between 1250 and 1254, he says Louis IX employed certain masters brought from France, including Eudes de Montreuil. Not surprisingly, however, the number of artists identifiable by name is small. Furthermore, Enlart imagines that most were transient; few came East as settlers.[85]

On the issue of Eastern art and artists, Enlart does, however, recognize several ways they were known to the Crusaders. He thinks that Christians were certainly taught about Syrian, Byzantine, Armenian, Copt, and Arab art, by observation and by lessons. He entertains the idea that some artists were Muslim slaves or prisoners, that they could have been given direction, instructed in style, and shown examples in details by Western masters. The Western masters may not have been numerous, but Enlart thinks that just as they can be shown to have worked that way with Muslims later at Rhodes, they must have been found in the Crusader States as well. He does not however, entertain the idea of resident Frankish settlers who were artists despite his recognition of the use of masons marks, some with signatures, indeed in one case with Armenian signatures.[86]

The result of his introductory discussion is the following conclusion:

> 1. qu'il existe une école d'outremer;
> 2. qu'elle est aussi française qu'aucune des écoles romanes de la France;
> 3. qu'elle se distingue très nettement des écoles romanes de France, tout en se rattachant non moins nettement au groupe qui comprend la Bourgogne et les provinces situées au sud de la Loire.[87]

On the problem of how Crusader architecture develops, he has the following to say:

> L'évolution se perçoit peu, les monuments ayant tous été bâtis en un court espace de temps; on remarque une transition du style roman au gothique au Saint-Sépulcre et à Sébaste; elle est la même qu'en France. On constate à Tortose, comme souvent dans le centre et le midi de la France, une alliance de la structure romane à la sculpture déjà pleinement gothique; enfin, l'art français dit gothique réalise les même progrès qu'en France jusqu'en 1291.[88]

Here Enlart's basic conception of the nature of architecture (and in effect the art) of the Crusaders in the thirteenth century is revealed. The same basic stylistic change seen in France from Romanesque to Gothic is found in the Crusader East. For Enlart, the developments in the East are parallel to those in the West; he basically sees the Latin Kingdom and Lusignan Cyprus as part of a French cultural continuum linked to France.

Because Enlart addresses Crusader architecture so thoroughly, he is the first to identify and discuss the notion of Gothic architecture as a part of Crusader developments, something de Vogüé had not really pursued. Enlart accepts de Vogüé's observations on Gothic beginnings at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (1149) and in the Church of St. John at Sebastia (*c.*1160) in terms of ogival arches and vaults. He also understands the dating and the stylistic characteristics of these churches in the Crusader East to be linked directly and parallel to those of French Gothic churches in the West, even though, one might mention, the export of French Gothic style in architecture did not proceed in this manner in England, Germany, or Spain. But for him, as for de Vogüé, the Gothic style comes from France, not from the Holy Land.[89]

Enlart saw the blossoming of Gothic architecture on Cyprus in the thirteenth century and later to be possible by its preparation in the Latin Kingdom on the mainland, where he finds a series of "édifices de transition." He cites the various Gothic churches of St. Jean d'Acre, the polygonal Church of Chastel Pelerin (1217), the cloister of Belmont (mid-thirteenth century), and the two upper stories – now destroyed – of the campanile of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Even though none of these buildings survives intact, he imagines they could have had the large lancet windows, the flying buttresses, and the gargoyles found in the churches that do survive on Cyprus (e.g., in Nicosia and Famagusta). He also thinks that thirteenth-century Gothic architecture on the Crusader mainland shared certain regional characteristics with Gothic in France. For example, he refers to the Provençal bell tower and the Burgundian façade and portals at Belmont, or the Burgundian character of the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Tortosa (started 1140s, completed after interruptions in the 1250s). (The northern Gothic vaults in the Cenaculum in Jerusalem he thought to be dated *c.*1240, but we now know they date from the 1180s.)[90] On the other hand, some Gothic churches in the Latin Kingdom (e.g., St. André in Acre, 1240s), were modified "pour s'adapter aux conditions et aux goûts du pays" – Enlart sees this as characteristic of the way Gothic was also adapted in western Europe.[91]

A basic assumption of Enlart's is that the development of Gothic architecture on the Crusader mainland followed the same evolution that we find in France. Indeed, Enlart's basic methodology in *Les Monuments des Croisés* is exactly the same as he employed in his monumental *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, volume one of which deals with "architecture religieuse."[92] Early Gothic is found in terms of "la croisée d'ogives" at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, at Nazareth, and at Sebaste, where it is combined with a décor purely Romanesque just as we see at Sens, or at Saint Denis. At Tortosa then we find the structure to be Romanesque with the best Gothic-style sculpture, just as we find in the Midi of France (e.g., in the Auvergne). Enlart admits that the Cathedral of Nicosia (started in 1209) inaugurates "le style français intégral," in structure and in ornamentation, what we might call "high Gothic." St. André in Acre was also an example, and it constituted the model for the Greek Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul in Famagusta.[93]

At this point, Enlart turns to detailed analysis of architectural parts and components and to what extent they may change in thirteenth-century buildings.[94] What is truly fascinating is that he finds minimal alteration in certain basic aspects of the architecture. The "appareil" and the plans effectively change not at all. Bell towers are more numerous in the thirteenth century than in the twelfth, but are found in both. Six-part vaults are believed to have appeared at the Church of St. John at Sebaste and at the Well of Jacob Church. After the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (1149), four-part vaults with ribs of various forms are proposed for St. André at Acre (1240s), the Hospitaller grande salle at Acre (thirteenth century), at Chastel Pelerin (1217), and in the grande salle at Crac des Chevaliers (thirteenth century). Enlart says, "tous les arcs sont en tiers-point," but we may wonder if perhaps the form of the arches is not more variable and somewhat distinct from the pointed arches developed and used in France in the course of the thirteenth century. Projecting wall buttressing is continued from the twelfth century in some churches, and flying arches are rare, but Enlart claims that the latter surely existed in the churches of St. John and of St. André, both in Acre. Gothic corbels introduce new sculptural decoration in the form of human heads (Chastel Pelerin or Tortosa) or naturalistic foliage (Crac or Belmont). Windows change into lancets, some with limited tracery. Oddly enough, whereas three examples of smallish rose windows are found in the twelfth century, Enlart says none is found in the thirteenth among mainland Crusader buildings. Nonetheless the seventeenth-century engraving of St. André by C. de Bruyn shows three small rosettes above the lancets over the main entrance.[95] Church façades, however, typically have only grouped lancet windows, as seen in this example below the roses. The portals have pointed arches and vertical proportions like the lancet windows, but curiously there seem to be no tympana with sculpture, in contrast to certain twelfth-century churches (e.g., the west façade of the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth). Finally, the moldings and decorative sculpture on these Gothic buildings seem to be either a continuation of Romanesque types or lovely naturalistic foliage and even animal- and human-headed decorations. The capitals exhibit similar decoration but their shapes sometimes change into complex forms, like certain polygonal examples at Sidon and Acre.

In the final section of his discussion on Crusader architecture, Enlart comments on architectural decoration.[96] There are some surprising findings. Enlart entertains the possibility of stucco revetments in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Crusader buildings, but his main evidence for the thirteenth century is found on Cyprus. He also refers to marble revetments and other kinds of incrustation. Wall paintings are well known from the twelfth century, but for the thirteenth Enlart has only references to examples from Cyprus, either Byzantine or Sienese! Mosaics are equally important, but because most of what survives is Byzantine in style, Enlart does not discuss them. He says, "je n'aborde ici ni l'étude des peintures, ni celle des mosaiques parce que leur style n'est pas français comme celui de l'architecture."[97] This is a telling comment that has major implications far beyond architectural painting; it explains how Enlart approached his study and helps us to understand that Crusader art essentially looks French to him.[98] Certainly some Crusader art is remarkably French, indeed French Gothic in style in the thirteenth century, but our problem will be how to recognize and evaluate important and numerous works of Crusader art that are done in other styles as well.

In surveying the ecclesiastical accessories for these churches, Enlart considers altars, baptismal fonts, episcopal thrones, sanctuary enclosures, and tombs. Again his findings are of great interest. Few altar tables survive, but the examples he cites were preserved in Muslim hands; two are now in Damascus, one in Vienne, on the Rhône River.[99] It remains to be seen if any extant example belongs to the thirteenth century. For both the baptismal font and the episcopal throne, the question is the same: are any of the few examples cited relevant to developments in the thirteenth century? The notion of the decorated sanctuary enclosure is one of the most remarkable of Enlart's ideas. There can be no doubt about the extraordinary wrought-iron enclosure produced for the *Templum Domini* in the mid-twelfth century in Jerusalem, which partly survives today.[100] Enlart also claims there were also similar wrought-iron works for the sanctuaries at Tabor and at Sebaste. These examples constitute one type of enclosure, which is strongly linked to Western church decoration in central France. Much more interesting is the idea of a different sanctuary enclosure for a regular church, which Enlart proposes for the cathedral at Tripoli in the thirteenth century. This type is made of gold and silver, includes figural imagery, and "se rapporter à une cloture de sanctuaire analogue à celles qui restent en usage dans l'Eglise orthodoxe."[101] Athough his source is arcane, to say the least – a sixteenth-century poem by a Syriac bishop on Cyprus about the cathedral church in Tripoli at the time of its capture by the Mamluks in 1289 – this is an important idea worth further investigation.[102] Enlart, of course, knew nothing of the existence of icon painting done for the Crusaders at the time, which strengthens the importance of this idea.

Finally, we have the Crusader tombs among which Enlart proposes five types: a sarcophagus on colonettes, a sarcophagus at floor level, a vertical cross monument, an epitaph set in the wall, or an inscription with or without image on a plaque set in the floor. The first three types are particularly well represented among twelfth-century monuments. Enlart cites numerous examples of type four, which seem to be found in both the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Clearly, however, the fifth type is the type of choice in the thirteenth century as found in the mainland Crusader States and on Cyprus.[103]

In the last section Enlart deals with furniture and minor arts. This is a very important discussion because here he defines the possible origins for such work: either imported from Europe or made in the Crusader States by local artisans or by those who have come from Europe and established themselves in the Holy Land. These possibilities result in three categories and two styles; Enlart does not, however, consider the idea of a style made by a resident Frank in the Levant who combines Western and Eastern aspects. The material he discusses is as follows: costume and luxury fabrics, domestic furnishings, iron work, copper and bronze metalwork, bells, the Bethlehem wash basins, silversmith work and enamels, a reliquary found in St. John's in Jerusalem, a processional cross from Belmont, ivory carvings, ebony carvings, and works in "mortier de marbre."

The sources for knowledge of secular costume according to Enlart are the images on gravestones and on seals or clothing referred to in the texts. In the category of liturgical costume he mentions the miter of Jacques de Vitry, now preserved in the treasury at Oignies. Enlart decides this miter is made in western Europe, without saying where, and he does not think it was taken with Jacques de Vitry when he went to the Latin Kingdom between 1216 and 1228.[104] Other interpretations must be considered.

For domestic furniture such as beds and similar objects, Enlart imagines that such carpentry in the East conformed to items familiar to him in the West. However, his example is to compare the bed carved on the St. Peter capital from Nazareth (1170s) to works known to him from Chartres and Moissac. By addressing only Western-style objects, he predictably comes to such conclusions. Here, as in other cases, original objects are necessary to assess the impact of the Levantine context on the Crusaders.[105]

Enlart assumes the ferronerie is imported from France – objects such as sanctuary screens, candelabra, and chandeliers. There is no evidence for this in the twelfth century. For thirteenth-century work, Enlart cites documentary evidence suggesting that it was imported from the West. But even if some specific objects were imported as resources changed, there is no reason to assume that everything not accounted for otherwise must have come from the West. On the contrary, it is more likely, based on current knowledge, that either the artisans came East to do their work or that the work was done in the East by Crusader artisans, that is, fully trained resident Franks.[106]

The metalwork overall is an extremely important category because it includes such diverse material: not only plaques, decorated armor, and enamels, but also reliquaries, seal matrices, bulles of lead, episcopal croziers, and the famous bells of Bethlehem.[107] In these cases, clearly some of this work was imported from the West – there is every indication that more portable art objects were imported in the thirteenth century than in the twelfth – but not necessarily all of it. The Bethlehem bells are a controversial case in point; where were they cast? From our current perspective, the challenge will be to differentiate the imported work from objects done in the East by Western-trained artisans, and other work done in the East by resident Crusader or Eastern Christian artisans. Distinctions of this kind are now possible in terms of painting, which, of course, Enlart did not know and could not consider. Our formidable task will be to attempt this kind of distinction in the metalwork, as well as in other artistic production.

Among the sculptured objects, the ivory covers from the Melisende Psalter are clearly Crusader work of the twelfth century.[108] Despite Cahier's interpretation that they were done in Jerusalem, however, Enlart resists the idea, and he doubts that there were good Western ivory carvers established in the Latin Kingdom. On the other hand, for reasons that are unclear except that he finds the style "attardé, un peu bizarre," Enlart suggests that the ivory crozier of Jacques de Vitry now in the treasury of Oignies is more likely to have been done in the Latin Kingdom.[109] The other special sculptural work Enlart mentions – encriers in ebony and capitals made of "mortier de marbre" – is clearly specialized work that is found mostly in the East.

The various sections of Enlart's introduction to the art of the Crusaders are rooted firmly in research that he published many years earlier when writing his *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*. Methodologically and in terms of individual analyses and interpretations, therefore, there is clearly much in Enlart's overall characterizations to value, but there is also much to challenge. We have already found that when Crusader art and architecture of the twelfth century is looked at today on its own terms, we see it as an independent not a colonial development, it cannot be studied only or even primarily in terms of architecture, it is usually not linked directly to Western developments, its chronology rarely parallels Western chronology, and its multicultural features demonstrate that it is not fundamentally French. Although it is strongly influenced by French developments, there are also strong influences from Italy and Byzantium not to mention the artistic traditions of the indigenous Christians. In fact, it is not French art in the East; it is Crusader art. We must apply the same criteria to thirteenth-century Crusader art and see what we find; and we must look at all of the art: everything that Enlart included, as well as the manuscript illumination, panel painting, and monumental painting that he could not or did not consider.

Whatever our reinterpretation of the nature of thirteenth-century Crusader art may be, however it may differ from his work, Enlart's important achievements in the 1920s cannot be overstated. He surveyed the major architectural material – seventy sites in all – in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the County of Tripoli – Margat to Gaza and the Dead Sea.[110] He is able to give full attention to the important sites of Jerusalem and Acre with their myriad structures. He introduces certain other major sites and monuments into the discussion, mostly in Syria and Lebanon, hardly mentioned by his predecessors, such as the cathedral at Tortosa, and major churches in Tripoli, Gibelet, Beirut, and Tyre. He is the first to address seriously the idea of Gothic art in the Frankish East. Along with the architecture he is able to introduce important discussions of sculpture and metalwork to go with the monumental painting that de Vogüé had mentioned.

> Finally, the level of sophistication of Enlart's analysis and method enormously enlarged and deepened the terms of the art historical discussion. Not only did he begin the ongoing examination of the nature of Crusader artists and workshops, and mason's marks, based on concrete evidence, but he also brought Crusader art into the forum of discourse on larger issues such as East-West problems, the nature of artistic "schools," and ideas of artistic development in medieval art.... In sum, Enlart introduced Crusader art as a potential new chapter in the history of European medieval art. It was a phenomenon he dramatically revealed with the aid of 196 plates and 598 figures. It was also an art he argued to be much more complex than previously suspected. It is important to realize further that he recast the shape of the argument from one that focused on the art of the Crusaders as the art of the pilgrimage sites to that of a colonial French (and Italian) art in the Crusader states with a focus on "architecture religieuse et civile." His achievement was such that he must be regarded as the founding father of the study of Crusader art. What de Vogüé had begun, Enlart brought to a full conceptual and evidential realization, but the architectural work remained incomplete in regard to Crusader castles.[111]

V

When Enlart "passed the baton" in 1927 to his younger colleague, Paul Deschamps (1888–1974), handing him the opportunity and the responsibility to study the Crusader castles in Syria-Palestine, the younger man at thirty-eight began a project that would occupy him for the rest of his life. The first of his three volumes, on Crac des Chevaliers, came out in 1934; the last, although dated 1973, appeared posthumously after Deschamps died in 1974.[112] Paul Deschamps, like Enlart, was a product of the elite French art history and archaeology establishment. Furthermore, Deschamps followed Enlart as director of the Musée de Sculpture Comparée. About the time he was commissioned to undertake this task in the Near East, Deschamps's most important work had been on Romanesque sculpture.[113] While he was engaged in his research on the Crusader castles, he also published on French mural painting.[114] Of all his publications, however, perhaps his study of Crac des Chevaliers remains his best-known work. Together with the two subsequent volumes, Deschamps studied nearly fifty fortified Crusader sites, and his published presentation goes well beyond the basic history and descriptive analysis found in Rey and Enlart.

Like Enlart, Deschamps recognized his place as following in the footsteps of distinguished French savants before him. Furthermore, as Hugh Kennedy specifically points out, when Deschamps started his work at Crac, he used Rey's drawings.[115]

> Deschamps clearly saw his predecessors to be Rey and Max Van Berchem, students of military architecture, but he understood his task, as he says, as making "un important développement à l'étude de Rey," and, he adds elsewhere, "rectification" of Rey's work in certain cases. One of the important ways he enlarged on Rey was in the rigor of his method and the intensiveness of its application. For the investigation of any individual castle, Deschamps systematically studied and prepared the following: an analysis and characterization of the castle in detail and as a type, on its own terms and in terms of what the Crusaders found when they arrived at the site and nearby; a consideration of relevant models the Crusaders could have used, comparative developments of Crusader castle building and its features, accurate plans and elevations of site and architecture (carried out by his project architects, Anus, Coupel, and Lauffray), and precise identification and location of the site as part of the system of Crusader defenses at any given time. The aim of these investigations is a serious effort to distinguish the various phases and campaigns of the building, and to differentiate the Byzantine, Crusader, and Arab parts of the fabric. Furthermore it was possible for Deschamps as an eminent art historian to expand on art historical considerations about which Rey had had little to say.[116]

The achievements of Deschamps and his architects were remarkable. Not only did their fieldwork produce the most accurate and useful measured drawings of these complex constructions, but also the photographic documentation – including dramatic aerial photos of the sites – is invaluable in light of the subsequent history of these buildings. Photographs for the study of Crusader art had become a reality in the mid-nineteenth century, and the remarkable work of Louis de Clercq, who produced four albums on Antioch and the Holy Land, included one entire volume on Crusader castles.[117] Yet even though Enlart included a number of photos in his two albums, it was Deschamps who really was the first to make full use of photographs for documenting his work.

Another achievement was the fact that in some cases, major clearing work was undertaken. At Crac in particular, the work of clearing took years to accomplish on the part of nearly two hundred men all told. As a result Crac was completely restored with the Kurdish villagers who had lived inside the castle being relocated outside the walls, where they are found today. It is curious in light of this vigorous study and the major clearing activities that no serious excavations of the Crusader castles were undertaken by the French antiquities service at this time. Despite the fact that other excavations on sites from earlier periods were underway at about this time, including the French campaigns at Dura-Europas, Deschamps never initiated a dig. As a result, there has been no French excavation of a major Crusader castle, and most of the few important excavations that have been carried out were done by English (e.g., 'Atlit, etc.) and Israeli (e.g., Belvoir, etc.) archaeologists, along with one American project (Montfort).

The work of Paul Deschamps as *archéologue*, art historian, and historian fully repaid the trust placed in him by Enlart and by René Dussaud, the great French scholar of ancient and medieval Syria who was in charge of the antiquities service under the French Mandate. By 1939 Deschamps had published two major studies on Crac des Chevaliers and on the system of castles organized for the defense of Jerusalem in the Latin Kingdom, both of which remain basic works for scholars today. Thus just before World War II broke out, Deschamps was able to complete his research on the fortifications from Crac des Chevaliers to the south. What he achieved still serves to help guide us in identifying thirteenth-century masonry from that of the twelfth. Even though the work of Paul Deschamps represents for the larger world of Crusader studies the culmination and final flowering of the pioneering French view that Crusader and French were equivalent in the medieval Near East, his legacy along with that of Camille Enlart was to provide us all with a fully structured historical paradigm of Crusader architectural and artistic developments. Even if the French approach consistently subordinated the figural arts to architecture in methodology and the material on Crusader castles only reinforced this modus operandi, the work of Enlart and Deschamps is still the essential and critically important entrée into the task the present study addresses: what Crusader art and architecture can be identified in the period from 1187 to 1291?

New views and different perspectives on Crusader art and architecture had begun to emerge, however. Already many years before Deschamps published his first two volumes, T. E. Lawrence had written a thesis, mainly on twelfth-century Crusader castles, as an undergraduate at Jesus College, Oxford. Lawrence espoused an independent but, as it turns out, not antithetical point of view to that of Deschamps. Lawrence's work was eventually published posthumously, in 1936.[118] Lawrence basically knew nothing of Deschamps's work, and although Deschamps had read Lawrence's study, he only referred to it once in passing in his volume on *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem* in 1939.[119] Lawrence's thesis is still worth reading, but it is more celebrated in the English-speaking world than elsewhere, partly because of the fame of the author, and it is certainly not a scholarly work at anywhere near the same level of quality as that of Deschamps. More pertinent here is the fact that only Deschamps seriously addressed the full range of Crusader military architecture from 1099 to 1291, that is, he deals with thirteenth-century architecture as fully as possible, whereas Lawrence concentrated on the twelfth century. Lawrence was, however, a bellwether for another prominent Englishman and fellow Oxonian whose historical work would approach the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land from a completely new point of view. T. S. R. Boase, writing in 1939, proposed the following idea: "in sculpture, painting and architecture, the West and the East meet and effect exchanges in Palestine: there was also a similar interaction in literature."[120]

VI

Thomas Sherrer Ross Boase (1898–1974) was, in the academic world, along with Kenneth Clark in the museum world, a pivotal figure around the time of the Second World War for advocating the study of art history in England.[121] He came to the study of the Crusades and to the study of the art of the Crusaders as a scholar of medieval history in the English manner. While holding a series of major positions including director of the Courtauld Institute and professor of art history at the University of London (1937–47), and president of Magdalen College, Oxford (1947–68), Boase turned his attention to Crusader art with increasing intensity from the late 1930s until his death in 1974, the same year as Paul Deschamps's death. Boase broke new ground in his 1939 article by interpreting the art of the Crusaders against a European rather than primarily a French background. He also proposed the idea that there was give and take, a genuine exchange of artistic ideas between the Western art the Crusaders brought with them and the art of the Levant which the Crusaders found. Boase was the first in effect to suggest that what was "Crusader" about Crusader art was the multiplicity and diversity of its sources. Although he himself never used the term "Crusader art," he did pave the way for others to coin it.

In 1939, Boase wrote about Crusader art almost exclusively in terms of the twelfth-century examples. He refers to post-1187 developments only in the briefest terms with regard to Crusader castles at 'Atlit (Chastel Pelerin, 1218) and the thirteenth-century phases at Crac des Chevaliers. Shortly after World War II, however, in 1950 Boase wrote the first version of a study that would not be published until 1977, in volume 4 of *A History of the Crusades*, three years after his death. In the meantime, between 1950 and 1974, Boase would also publish two books on the art and history of the Crusaders that clearly indicate how dramatically the field was enlarging with significant new finds of Crusader art, and in what important ways Boase's view of Crusader art was changing.[122]

By contrast with his introductory article in 1939, Boase attempted a comprehensive survey of the material in his later chapters for volume 4.[123] Whereas he does not in effect enlarge the corpus of monuments published by Enlart and Deschamps in architecture – he discusses more than sixty churches and nearly forty castles – he does enlarge it significantly in terms of other media in the chapter titled "Mosaic, Painting, and Minor Arts," reflecting the fruits of recent scholarly work. He also presents a basic introductory attempt at a narrative chronological discussion, even while saying that "it is difficult to trace any clear chronology in crusading building."[124]

It is evident there were major changes in the study of the art of the Crusaders between 1939 and 1977. Which aspects did Boase contribute and who else was instrumental in effecting these changes? Among the important contributions made by Tom Boase himself, we can cite first the extensive use of color plates to illustrate his wide-ranging 1967 text.[125] These plates are effective in conveying a real sense of the building materials and the sites, the texture and color of the stone, the terrain and the overall setting.[126] Secondly, Boase explores the idea of East-West interchange that he introduced, arguing how Crusader figural works were influenced by Byzantine and even Arab art. Boase continued his use of color illustration in his second book, making this work an illustrated narrative history focussed on the Crusaders in the Holy Land instead of on the Crusades, including two of the earliest color plates of Crusader manuscript illumination.[127] Third, although Boase generously acknowledges the pioneering work of de Vogüé and Enlart, he expands on their work by enlarging on their French frame of reference and spending a quarter of his discussion on figural arts they did not know. In dealing with the new material, Boase is cautious, but he focused on the importance of Byzantine influence for painting, unlike the church architecture. Finally, Boase attempts to distinguish thirteenth-century work from that of the twelfth century in all media.

In sum, Tom Boase provided in his series of publications an introduction to the new corpus of Crusader art in formulation, to go along with the known corpus of Crusader architecture. He also made the first attempt to integrate the two and to understand them as Crusader production. To some extent, this endeavor is carried on in the present study. Boase himself was not, however, the investigator who introduced the new manuscript painting or the panel painting to the scholarly world. From the 1950s to 1974, Boase attempted to bring the issues of this important new research into focus for the wider world of

Crusader and medieval studies. Part of the significance of these issues resided in the new importance which manuscript and panel painting gave to Crusader art in the thirteenth century.

VII

It was Hugo Buchthal (1909–96) and Kurt Weitzmann (1904–93), two prominent German scholars trained as Byzantinists, who were responsible for introducing Crusader manuscript illumination and Crusader panel painting, respectively, into the discourse on Crusader art and architecture. Buchthal built a corpus of twenty-one illustrated Crusader manuscripts starting with the well-known but little studied Psalter of Queen Melisende.[128] Fourteen of these manuscripts are dated in the thirteenth century: four in the period *c.*1200–44, ten in the period 1250–91. Not only did Buchthal thereby contribute major new material into the discussion of Crusader art, but he also had important things to say about the nature of this art and the artists in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries:

> Miniature painting in the Crusading Kingdom ... was not a colonial art. It had a distinctive style of its own, which was not derived from any single source, but emerged as the result of copying illuminations from a variety of Byzantine and western manuscripts, and of developing certain features of these models in a highly original and individual manner.... The masters of Jerusalem or Acre were either foreigners themselves, Frenchmen or Italians who had been specially recruited for work in Outremer, or Frankish natives who had perhaps served part of their apprenticeship at Constantinople, or in some well-known scriptorium in the Latin West. Not only did they work in their own native tradition but, more often than not, they were also given models to copy which had been imported from a different region of the Latin West, or from Byzantium. They were thus bound to produce works in which several different styles are superimposed on one another.... Thus miniature painting in the Crusading Kingdom developed into a very composite art, subject to influences which were the result of local conditions, and which differed with each succeeding generation.... The surprising thing is ... that, in spite of the obvious lack of continuity, something like a local style and a local tradition of unmistakable identity should have emerged at all.[129]

This "local style" and "local tradition of unmistakable identity" is what Buchthal meant by "Crusader art."

Buchthal also has specific observations on Crusader book painting in the thirteenth century:

> It is ... surprising to find that miniature painting in the Crusading Kingdom is much more varied, and of infinitely greater vitality during the thirteenth century than in the twelfth. Its beginnings are entirely traditional: when the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is revived for a short period during the second quarter of the century, it works on exactly the same lines as before the catastrophe of 1187....[130] The main chapter does not start before the middle of the century: the new impetus derives from the presence in the Holy Land, from 1250 to 1254, of St. Louis and the French court. The scriptorium of Acre has at first sight very little in common with its predecessor at Jerusalem. The western elements are much stronger than ever before; they are predominantly French, and assert themselves not only in the style and iconography of the miniatures and initials, but also in the choice of the texts selected for illustration.[131]

What irony there is in Buchthal's interpretation in which, far from starting out as a French-inspired production, Crusader manuscript illumination reaches its most productive phase at the end of its existence when Western, especially French, aspects assert themselves most strongly. Would that de Vogüé and Enlart could have known this!

Weitzmann also discussed Crusader painting shortly thereafter, in two pioneering articles on Crusader icons.[132] In these two publications Weitzmann presented forty-three images from a total of twenty-six newly attributed Crusader icons on Sinai, combined with two model books and two other icons, one on Cyprus and one now in Grottaferrata, which he called possibly Crusader. In the earlier 1963 article Weitzmann compared a crucifixion image in one of the Acre manuscripts published by Buchthal to a crucifixion on an iconostasis beam from the selection of icons at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai he was presenting. He concluded with an important formulation of the artistic phenomenon that also built on Buchthal's earlier comments:

> Attempts to distinguish the nationalities of the icon painters may not always be successful, simply because Italian and French artists working side by side and apparently having models from both countries available, gradually developed a style and iconography which, when fused with Byzantine elements, resulted in what one might simply call Crusader art.[133]

Thus Buchthal and Weitzmann effectively first conceived or coined the terms "Crusader manuscript illumination" and "Crusader art" in the publications just mentioned. It is significant to note that these innovations hinged on the study of painting, a medium heretofore little associated with the Crusaders in the thirteenth century. Furthermore, most of the painting discussed – two-thirds of the manuscripts and twenty-three of the twenty-six icons – was attributed to the thirteenth century. It is not too strong to say that this new material revolutionized the study of Crusader art and the publications by these two scholars marked the turning point to what we might describe as the current state of the question.

Along with the introduction, analysis, and interpretation of these new works of Crusader painting, these two authors noted that a comprehensive assessment of Crusader painting had yet to be attempted. They expressed the expectation that more material could well exist and remained to be identified and evaluated. They also raised important problems that needed to be explored. Buchthal wondered about the larger relationship between Crusader and Muslim art while noting the presence of Muslim influence in thirteenth-century Crusader book painting. He also commented on the issue of the influence of Crusader manuscript illumination on the West. Noting that thirteenth-century book painting in the Crusader Kingdom did not find as strong and enthusiastic a response in Europe as vice versa, he suggested certain reasons to explain this. First is the general decline of interest and what he calls the growing apathy of Latin Christendom for the fate of Syria-Palestine. Second is his claim that Westerners now had "the beginnings of a more mature appreciation of the humanist message of Byzantine art ... and this message could now be learned more profitably from a study of Greek metropolitan works: no provincial Latin clearing-house was needed to transmit it."[134]

Finally, he thinks that the three greatest Crusader manuscript painters of the thirteenth century were not representative of the mainstream of Western painting: "they did not help to prepare the way for the achievements which towards the end of the century became the turning-point in the history of European art."[135] These are important points that will each need to be reevaluated. Yet despite his surprisingly strongly provincial view of Crusader art, Buchthal also had a remarkably strongly positive statement to make about the achievement of Crusader book painting. Speaking of the three main masters referred to above, he says:

> Their achievement must be judged not so much for the dissemination of ideas fertile for the future as for a sensitive comprehension of the cultural and human potentialities presented by the Latin East. To this the manuscripts from Acre added a reflection of its wealth and vitality, and mirrored, too, a multi-racial society whose character, at the same time cosmopolitan and super-national, was so far ahead of its time. This art was far more deeply rooted in the country and in the atmosphere to which it belonged than that of the masters of the twelfth century, but it was not destined to survive the noble cause which it had served.[136]

It is evident that Crusader manuscript painting and Crusader icon painting developed parallel to each other to some extent and were very closely linked, the latter a phenomenon that Weitzmann discovered and explored with convincing results. It is also evident, however, that Crusader icon painting is preserved only fragmentarily. Weitzmann himself points out that St. Catherine's was on the geographical margin of the Crusader Kingdom and that the greater number of icons produced for the Crusaders must have been intended for the churches of the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine. Obviously most of this material now must have perished, but some of it may have been taken to Cyprus or even to the West, as was done with the manuscripts. Weitzmann hopes that seen in this light, new panel paintings from the Crusader East may be identified in the West.

Kurt Weitzmann for his part also proposed the following about Crusader artists:

> One of the conclusions to be drawn from our study of the Crusader icons is that a considerable number of painters – many of them highly qualified – were attracted to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and later to Acre, from various parts of Europe, and that workshops were established which became exceedingly prosperous. The close relation of icon painting to miniature painting suggests that these workshops were in intimate contact with the scriptoria of Jerusalem and Acre; indeed, there may have been collaboration even to the extent that some of the artists produced miniatures as well as icons.[137]

The work of Buchthal and Weitzmann followed by others has shown that art flourished in the Crusader States on mainland Syria-Palestine, especially in the period from 1250 to 1291. This is clearly a problem to understand in light of the political, military, and economic decline of the Crusaders in Syria-Palestine in these years. However,

> Even more important than the problem of the proliferation of this Crusader art is that of the impact it must have had on the Latin West. The thirteenth century is a period of intense influence of Byzantine style on almost every country of Europe. Only an astonishingly small number of original Byzantine manuscripts and icons of the thirteenth century has been found on Latin soil, and even granting that some may have perished, we have good reason to doubt that their number ever could have been very great.[138]

In light of this puzzling situation, the understanding of which has not changed in the interim, Weitzmann makes several suggestions. One is that in some way or other, what he calls "the sizeable group of Crusader artists" played an important intermediary role bringing knowledge of Byzantine artistic forms to the West. We may ask in regard to this proposal, if what these artists were bringing back to the West was not in fact knowledge of Crusader art, in which byzantinizing forms were imbedded to some extent?

Another suggestion he makes is that one of the means for transmission of byzantinizing forms was through model books, such as the Freiburg leaf and the Wolfenbüttel sketchbook. Other possible means were through sketches of icons in manuscripts or even the importation of actual icons, such as the Virgin and Child at Grottaferrata or the head of an archangel on Cyprus.[139]

There can be no doubt that the basis of our picture of thirteenth-century Crusader painting – and many of its important details – in terms of its nature, chronology, and development, relatively slim though it is, is primarily due to the contributions of Buchthal and Weitzmann. In the period from 1187 to 1244, until Hugo Buchthal attributed a psalter in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence and three service books now in Naples and London to the period between the Third Crusade and the loss of Jerusalem to the Khwarismian Turks, little figural artwork was identified to have been produced in the Latin Kingdom beyond the coinage and what may have been done to decorate the mainly defensive architecture of castles and fortified towns. In the period from the 1244 to 1291, the most dramatic contributions to our knowledge of Crusader art in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem have been made since 1957 with three phenomena. First, we have the identification of an important corpus of manuscripts attributed to Crusader Acre.[140] Second, we have the identification of an important corpus of panel paintings in the form of icons now in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.[141] They are seen to have Western influence such as Latin inscriptions or Western iconography and are attributed as Crusader icons; their painters are associated in some cases with the school of Acre, although many of the panels seem to have been painted at St. Catherine's. Third – an entirely new contribution – the production of art associated with Louis IX, the king of France, in Paris has been directly linked with the revival of Crusader painting in St. Jean d'Acre.[142]

Overall this figural art is interpreted as having been sponsored by the Church, by Crusader lords,[143] by members of the military orders, and by educated members of the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the merchant class. The production of the art was carried on after Louis's departure partly by homegrown Crusader artists trained or even born in the Holy Land, partly by French or Italian Crusader artists who came from Paris, or Tuscany or Sicily, partly by Eastern Christian atists who worked for the Crusader patrons.

VIII

It is a fact that in the figural arts knowledge of Crusader art in the thirteenth century has been changed most dramatically since 1957 by the publications of manuscript illumination and icon painting referred to earlier. As far as the study of thirteenth-century Crusader architecture and the material culture associated with architecture is concerned after World War II, however, it is the archaeological studies conducted since about 1970 that have contributed most to expanding our knowledge in this area, especially in the territory of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.[144] For these studies there have been numerous contributors at different sites, but the most important scholars who have focused their work on Crusader material have been the following. In 1970 M. Benveniste published a book that surveyed for the first time the full range of archaeological sites in the Crusader Kingdom.[145] He was followed by R. D. Pringle, who published extensively in the 1980s and 1990s. More recently since the 1990s, Crusader archaeology has been practiced by A. Boas, R. Ellenblum, and B. Porée, among others. Not only have they provided important work on individual sites or special problems, but they also have introduced large areas of archaeological research into Crusader studies.[146]

Archaeology has been conducted in castles and towers, towns, rural settlements, and on religious sites and buildings from the Crusader period, and much new information has been forthcoming in regard to thirteenth-century developments.[147] The role of castles in thirteenth-century warfare has been studied by C. Marshall in a useful book that to some extent takes account of what archaeological findings there are.[148] Nonetheless, the stratigraphical excavation of Crusader castles and their study has been focussed largely on twelfth-century examples,[149] although there have been some valuable recent publications on thirteenth-century castles. R. D. Pringle published (1985) a reappraisal of the thirteenth-century castle of Safed (Saphet) and its Mamluk successor, stimulated by the new edition of the thirteenth-century text describing the construction.[150] Pringle has also (1986) reexamined the great hall at Montfort, first excavated in the 1920s.[151] The Templar castle of Chastel Pelerin at ‘Athlit was built in 1217–18, but the town outside is later, probably dating to 1225–50. ‘Atlit was partially excavated during the British Mandate by C. N. Johns, one of the few castle sites seriously investigated archaeologically to any degree. R. D. Pringle has now edited Johns's publications of the excavations from the 1930s along with a revised version of his guide to Pilgrims' Castle.[152] The original 1947 edition of the guide was mostly lost in transit from Oxford to the Near East at the time that hostilities broke out following the announcement of the United Nations partition plan for Palestine. A revision was prepared in 1950 but never published for lack of funds, so the new edition published in 1997 is most welcome. Other material left unstudied from these excavations has also been published separately with valuable results, such as some of the pottery from the castle and fortified town of ‘Athlit.[153]

> One of the most important recent developments in the study of Crusader castles has been the discovery of the extent of Latin settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In many cases the buildings of these colonists were modest and have either vanished completely or left undistinguished remains which have attracted little attention. A study of Crusader castles which concentrates only on spectacular structures like Crac des Chevaliers and Margat, however, would give a very misleading impression of the nature and variety of Crusader military architecture.[154]

R. D. Pringle has identified more than seventy-five such towers, and there were most likely more. The best recent study of such a tower, its variegated history in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and finds from its excavation is *The Red Tower*, by R. D. Pringle.[155] These towers were the most frequently found type of fortification utilized by the Crusaders in the twelfth century, and they continued in use in the thirteenth century, although they were often occupied later by one of the military orders, such as the Templars in the Red Tower.[156]

If the archaeology of castles overall has remained little explored, the investigation of towns, mostly fortified, has been much more active since 1967 and has shed important light on thirteenth-century Crusader construction and material culture in Jerusalem, and many of the coastal cities: Acre, Ascalon, Caesarea, and farther north in Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli.[157] Jerusalem was the focus of Crusader attention even in the thirteenth century, of course, despite the fact that the Holy City was out of Crusader hands most of the time. Some excavation work has shown that the walls of the city, rebuilt by Saladin and his successor, were then dismantled by Sultan al-Mu'azzam ‘Isa in 1219–20.[158] When the Crusaders regained access in 1229, repairs were carried out, but the citadel was taken and destroyed in 1239 by al-Nasir Dawud, and in 1244 the city was lost to the Khwarismian Turks and never regained. Inside the city, the excavations at the Temple Mount, just south and southwest of the Haram al-Sharif, have yielded interesting Crusader period finds.[159]

Of greatest interest for the Crusaders in the thirteenth century was Acre, second largest city in the kingdom and de facto capital between 1191 and 1291. Although there is considerable controversy over the placement of the walls of the city on the east side and the dates of the fortified walls that encompassed the Montmusard suburb to the north, recent work is helping to resolve the questions.[160] The single most important contribution to the determination of the placement of the walls and the extent of Acre is by B. Kedar.[161] Inside the city, major work has been going on in the 1990s by the Sterns, among others. Dramatic new finds have been made all over the city: in the Hospitaller complex, near the Templar fortress, and in the Genoese quarter, and their publication has been slowly appearing.[162] The Crusader port has been a target of special investigation, and digs just outside the old city walls have also yielded important information and interesting Crusader material.[163]

The southernmost major Crusader coastal city in the Latin Kingdom was Ascalon, the walls of which were destroyed by Saladin in 1191. Richard I rebuilt its walls in 1192, but they were then pulled down again a year later. A portion of the walls was rebuilt eventually when Richard of Cornwall regained the city in 1239, but it was captured by the Mamluks in 1247 and later destroyed by Baybars in 1270. Remains of several churches have been identified, but most of them appear to have been Byzantine.[164] Up the coast, Jaffa was one of the most important ports for pilgrims to Jerusalem despite its small harbor. Richard I also repaired the walls here in 1192, and others such as Frederick II, Patriarch Gerald of Lausanne, and John of Ibelin, with help from Louis IX, worked on the fortifications between 1228 and 1253. Baybars also destroyed these walls in 1268 when he took the city. Archaeological probes have not succeeded in finding anything here save part of the seawall on the southwest side of the city. Locations of most churches have been made on the basis of documentary sources.[165]

Farther north on the coast, the medieval town of Arsuf has been excavated in a series of campaigns, principally during the 1980s.[166] The important site of Caesarea was yet another fortified city whose walls were destroyed in 1191 after being captured by Saladin in 1187. The Crusaders reoccupied the city in 1206, and King John of Brienne with the help of Leopold of Austria and the Hospitallers began the project of refortifying the walls in 1217, before an attack by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa interrupted that campaign.[167] Work was resumed in 1228 with the help of German Crusaders, but was only completed with the advent of Louis IX in 1251–2. When Baybars captured the city in 1265, its walls were partly demolished. Excavations have been underway in Caesarea in recent years with various published results on the walls, the thirteenth-century cemetery, the port, and material finds.[168]

North of Acre, there were three major fortified coastal cities in the Latin Kingdom. Tyre was the most important and the only one held continuously by the Crusaders from 1187 until 1289. It was located on an island connected to the mainland by a manmade causeway. The city was protected by major walls with a number of towers on the seaward and landward sides, and it had two heavily fortified gates. The fortifications were damaged by earthquake in 1170, but the city was spared conquest by Saladin by the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat in 1187. Even though the walls were still in a partial state of disrepair in 1202 and were not fully repaired until later in the thirteenth century, Burchard of Mount Sion reports them as completely rebuilt in 1283. Despite the importance of Tyre for the Crusader Kingdom, relatively little archaeological work focused on that period has been conducted there in recent times except for the excavation of the Church of St. Thomas and the recent new find of another church with all its graffiti.[169]

Between Tyre and Beirut, Sidon – like Beirut – was regained by the Crusaders in 1197 and held until 1291. Most of Sidon's land-wall defences were destroyed by Saladin in 1191, and it is unclear when and how they were rebuilt in conjunction with the land castle.[170] No doubt much work was done when Louis IX was here (1253–4), but two gates of the city existed in 1228. The famous sea castle at Sidon was apparently built in three phases starting in 1227 with the German Crusaders, followed by Louis IX in 1253 and the Templars in 1278.[171] Beirut was also in Crusader control most of the thirteenth century, except for Muslim occupation between 1187 and 1197. John of Ibelin refortified the walls in 1205. As at Sidon, a survey of Beirut's land-wall defenses was carried out in the 1920s during the French Mandate.[172]

In the County of Tripoli, the two main coastal cities were Gibelet (Jbail) and Tripoli itself. Gibelet was conquered by Saladin in 1187, who took down its defenses and returned to Crusader control only in 1197 when the castle was apparently rebuilt along original lines.[173] The castle of Tripoli did not succumb to Saladin in 1187, however, and remained continuously in Crusader hands longer than any other fortification in the Crusader States, falling to the Mamluks only in 1289.[174] Recent archaeological work in Tripoli has focused on the castle in the twelfth century.[175]

Finally, in the principality of Antioch the archaeological investigation has also been limited. The fortified town of Tortosa has been the subject of a recent historical study, with archaeological material.[176] Although neither Crac des Chevaliers nor Margat (Marqab) Castles have had major studies since the work of Paul Deschamps, the fresco painting in these two castles has been the subject of a recent study.[177] Farther north, no recent excavations have been undertaken in Antioch itself, but the pottery discovered in the pre–World War II excavations at Al-Mina have been included in recent studies on Crusader ceramics.[178]

Besides the architecture, important studies have also been made on the Crusader material culture, such as pottery and glass. R. D. Pringle, A. J. Boas, and B. Porée have been active in this area, but they are by no means the only scholars working on pottery from the Crusader period.[179] Edna Stern and others have recently been working on the huge amount of material discovered at Acre.[180]

In sum, in terms of new information and new material, it is evident that archaeological studies of the Crusaders in the Holy Land have made a substantial contribution to our understanding of the Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century. With regard to the architecture of castle, city, and church, the pottery, the glass, and the coins, there is much new material from recent work that can help inform us about Crusader art and developments in the art of the Crusaders between 1187 and 1291.

IX

The third important historiographic development in the study of the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land since the 1950s is the challenges that have been voiced to the concept of "Crusader art." I have more to say about this in the concluding chapter, but here we can identify some of the main protagonists. The late Otto Demus began the debate in an important review of volume 4 of *A History of the Crusades*, when he stated that "it is . . . questionable whether this label [Crusader art] should be used at all for the sum total of the art that originated in the Crusader territories. . . . Some branches may be legitimately designated in this way, especially miniature and icon painting . . . but others do not seem to qualify for such a definition. There is, for instance, hardly such a thing as 'Crusader Sculpture,' the few surviving works being stylistically so heterogeneous that they cannot be brought under a common heading."[181] Since Demus issued this challenge, I have attempted to argue, in a monograph devoted specifically to the Nazareth Capitals, as well as in Volume 1 of this study, that Crusader art can indeed be usefully seen to include sculpture, architecture, metalwork, coins, silk embroidery, ivory carving, as well as monumental painting, manuscript illumination, and panel painting.[182] It remains to be seen, however, how the criteria identified as characterizing Crusader art in the twelfth century can be applied to the art of the Crusaders in the thirteenth century.

At the same time that Demus was writing, Hans Belting was also mounting a serious challenge to the idea of Crusader art from a different point of view. In 1978 we find his approach in an article he published on thirteenth-century German manuscript illumination in Saxony and its sources in Byzantine-influenced model books titled, "Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz."[183] Here Belting introduces the idea of a "lingua franca" in art. This means that he is proposing the existence of works of art in which painters working in the Mediterranean region integrated fully understood Byzantine principles with certain western European characteristics so seamlessly that we cannot discern the artist's place of origin. It is in effect an artistic lingua franca on the linguistic model.

Belting enlarged on his characterization of the artistic lingua franca in his papers for the session on "Near East and West in 13th Century Art" in the Acts of the 24th International Congress of the History of Art held in Bologna in 1979.[184] He proposed that certain thirteenth-century works exemplified an art neither Western nor Byzantine, but which developed a new synthetic language of components difficult to distinguish. He insisted this art could only be identified in terms of specific works, which embodied an East-West synthesis in the particular historical circumstances of the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century after 1204. This art, in his view, was distinct from the old notion of the Italian *maniera greca* which was a general concept derived from Vasari in the sixteenth century and lacking specificity. By contrast, the art of the lingua franca was very specific and could also be called "l'art du commonwealth mediterranéen de Venise."[185] Finally, Belting made the following assertion: "Il faudrait reserver l'expression 'Art-Croisé' pour le 12e siècle. Son existence ne participe à la compréhension de l'art occidental qu'au niveau des idées et des programmes, et non à celui des formes et des techniques."[186] Belting's view immediately raises certain questions:

1. What is the relationship of Belting's idea of the lingua franca in art to Weitzmann's notion of Crusader art?
2. What are the implications and uses of Belting's analysis and formulation of the artistic lingua franca for the study of Crusader art?

We propose to discuss these questions in the course of our inquiry into the nature and development of Crusader art in the thirteenth century.

Belting's idea that Crusader art was limited to the twelfth century was reinforced by the independent views of another scholar. Also in 1979 Marie-Luise Bulst proposed some very different views on the nature of Crusader art.[187] In her study of the mosaic decoration in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem she states forthrightly that, in her opinion, Crusader art is better and more correctly characterized as the "art of the Frankish colonialists in the Kingdom of Jerusalem." In particular she points out that it was not the Crusaders, that is, the actual *crucesignati* who came as soldiers or pilgrims (or both), who built, painted, or sculpted the works we call Crusader art. It was mainly the resident Franks and the Italians from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, that is, the settlers. They were western Europeans who came and stayed, some to intermarry, and their children, who generated the art either as patrons or even as the artists. Furthermore, she asserts, the Kingdom of Jerusalem remained a Western colony, and this colonial outlook characterized Crusader art.

We should remark at the outset that in contrast to Weitzmann or Belting, Bulst was focusing her attention on art of the Crusaders in the twelfth as opposed to the thirteenth century. Thus we refer the reader to our discussion of her issues in the conclusion of our book on the art of the Crusaders in the twelfth century.[188] In this volume I apply her criteria to the thirteenth-century art under consideration and consider the results. Nonetheless, she renders a signal service in drawing attention, first to the importance of patronage in defining Crusader art and second by focusing on those patrons as mainly the resident Franks, the settlers, as distinct from those marked with the cross who came and went on Crusade. The issue of Crusader art as a colonial art is a more difficult issue. I have commented on the problem of interpreting Crusader art in the twelfth century as a colonial art in the first volume of this study.[189] In this volume, it will be evident that the nature and development of Crusader art is different in the thirteenth century, that the relationship of art in the Latin Kingdom with that of western Europe is altered, and we shall have to reconsider this issue with these important changes in view.

Along with this proposal to rename and reconceptualize Crusader art by M. L. Bulst, other questions have been voiced à propos of painting and especially with regard to certain icons. The fundamental issue here is, what works of painting belong to the corpus of Crusader art? In 1986, for example, the late Doula Mouriki published a major monograph, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus."[190] Related to the important examples of Cypriot icons she discussed are several that Weitzmann first published as Crusader from Acre in the period *c.*1250–*c.*1280, in particular, two closely related icons with mounted soldiers: St. Sergios with a kneeling female figure, and a bilateral icon with Sts. Sergios and Bacchos on one side and the Virgin Hodegetria on the other.

Mouriki deals cautiously with these icons pointing out their Cypriot and Syrian characteristics and concludes that they were probably done by a Cypriot artist of Syrian background on Sinai.[191] Meanwhile, Lucy-Anne Hunt has recently argued that these two icons were probably done by a Syrian Orthodox painter in the County of Tripoli, comparing them to wall paintings at Qara and in the region of Qalamoun, probably before 1271 when Crac des Chevaliers fell to Baybars.[192] At this point in the unresolved debate, Mouriki's and Hunt's arguments are more persuasive than Weitzmann's idea that they were done by a South Italian artist or that they were done on Cyprus itself as George Soteriou had originally proposed.[193]

Mouriki's and Hunt's discussion of these icons brings out two important points. In the case of the icons with the mounted soldier saints, it is clear that despite the integration of East and West that these works exemplify, and the iconographic features that identify these panels with Crusader patrons, they are still problematic in regard to their place of origin – Sinai, Cyprus, Acre, Tripoli, or somewhere else? Furthermore, the origins and background of the artist who did them is not yet clear – South Italian, Venetian, Cypriot, Syrian, Greek, or Frankish? Nonetheless, these icons are in my opinion no less Crusader because of these difficulties, as I argue later.

The most recent scholar to take up the issue of defining Crusader art, Bianca Kühnel, is again primarily interested in the art of the Crusaders in the twelfth century, but she has an important observation relevant here:

> an over-intensive dealing with problems of identity distracts attention from what should be the major goal of any study trying to outline a school of art, namely the definition of its profile and character. The obstinate hunt for the ethnic identity of anonymous artists and the emphasis on historical and religious circumstances that could be seen to testify to indigenous artistic activity, mean bringing the background into focus and leaving the monuments in shadow.[194]

She continues:

> It seems to me more correct to baptize the various ingredients of Crusader art with names reflecting their respective appurtenances, which can be documented, and seek the local character of Crusader art in its local roots and not in hypothetical attributions to putative locally-bred artists of an unbroken tradition. As we have seen, "local" does not necessarily and exclusively mean local artists, but mainly local past, local interests, local beliefs. This definition of the local character of Crusader art may be much more productive than the search for lost identities or indirect, written proofs of artistic activities.[195]

Her call to return to the analysis of the artistic works and to the importance of their local features for defining Crusader art is important. Heeding her words in dealing with thirteenth-century Crusader art, I certainly give primacy to the monuments themselves and make every effort here to analyze and understand the local character of the works. The problem will be that the roles of unnamed patrons and artists for many paintings will constantly challenge us to evaluate their part in the process of art production as a means of comprehending the uniquely multicultural nature of Crusader art, in terms of function, meaning, and content. We must find ways to respond to these challenges.

At the end of her study "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting on Cyprus," Mouriki made the following cautionary comment: "We may wonder if Crusader painting, according to the traditional definition, is a less substantial reality than has been assumed."[196]

Recently Robin Cormack has also discussed the limitations of the "traditional definition" in seeking new and fruitful approaches to this art: "the present stage of research has reached an impasse. It can be suggested that this is because the argument has so far been pursued in art historical terms with a strong emphasis on style and iconography. An alternative approach must be to ask whether technical considerations might be able to offer the possibility of progress over the nature of production of some of these paintings.... This will allow the more precise and refined assessment of the category 'the art of the Crusaders.'"[197]

As we shall see, there is no doubt that our understanding of Crusader painting has benefited from greater scrutiny, more careful and knowledgeable analysis, and more sophisticated interpretation. But the fact is that the idea of Crusader art will not be any less valid as a concept even though its definition can and must be critically reconsidered and evolve as studies move ahead. Cormack is surely correct to call our attention to issues of technique, but there are important aspects of style and iconography that require reevaluation and reinterpretation. Seen in this new light the substantial reality of Crusader art will not diminish, even as the criteria for works to be included in the corpus are refined and adjusted with regard to developments in the thirteenth century.

In sum, these challenges to the idea and the corpus of Crusader art and the ensuing discourse, demonstrate that the study of the art of the Crusaders in general, and specifically the thirteenth-century art, is currently very active. Clearly in the course of all future historical inquiry, we must continually attempt to define more precisely what Crusader art is in the thirteenth century, and which works belong to the corpus. Having introduced the views of these scholars and some of the issues they have raised, we shall see what their arguments look like after I discuss the works of art in Chapters 2 through 8 and when we consider the problem, "What is Crusader art?" in the concluding Chapter 9.

X

The views surveyed above constitute some of the most significant statements about thirteenth-century Crusader art and contributions toward its study since 1860, by major scholars who have fundamentally shaped the way we see this art today. It is significant that the understanding of Crusader art is so different at the start of the twenty-first century compared with what it seemed to be at the end of the nineteenth.[198] It is clear that much progress has been made in the efforts to identify and characterize the art of the Crusaders over the past century and a half. The current state of the question challenges us to better comprehend what Crusader art there was in the thirteenth century, how it developed, and how it was interrelated with work done in the Crusader States as well as with other art from the Near East, both Christian and Muslim, and with art from western Europe.

Our study of the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land during the period 1187 to 1291 is a fresh attempt to discover, analyze, interpret, and characterize the nature and development of this art and architecture in a particularly troubled historical setting. In approaching this study we must recognize that the political, military, and ecclesiastical situation and the economic and social circumstances of the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine differed fundamentally after 1187 compared with what they had been before Hattin and Saladin's conquest. In response to the loss of Jerusalem and the precarious state of Crusader holdings, the number of Crusade expeditions increases sharply in this period. There were seven major Crusades to the Frankish East after 1187: in 1190–2, 1202–4, 1217–1, 1228–9, 1239–41, 1248–50, and 1270–2, compared with only two before 1187. Despite these military efforts, however, the land controlled by the Crusaders is sharply reduced and diminishes steadily in the later years of the century; not only that, the very walls of Jerusalem are dismantled. Most significant perhaps is the fact that after 1187, the Crusaders never regain complete control of the main holy sites that formed such a focus for Crusade ideals and artistic production in the twelfth century. In fact the Crusaders are reduced to the expedient of negotiating treaties and truces with the Muslims, to arrange access to the holy places and to try to control the Muslim military threat.

The Crusader artistic production in these circumstances was fundamentally different from that in the years before 1187. No longer could Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth provide the stimulus for art sponsored by the main institutions of and in the kingdom or by pilgrims, travelers, and merchants. The new locations of Crusader artistic production were mostly fortified port cities along the coast, such as St. Jean d'Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, Ascalon, Jaffa, Caesarea, Beirut, Sidon, and Tortosa; major castles, such as Crac des Chevaliers, Margat, Belfort, Safita, Chastel Pelerin, Montfort, Belvoir, and Safed; and a few inland cities and towns, the most important of which was Antioch. As we understand it today, pilgrimage, which had flourished in the twelfth century, was still popular, but diminished in numbers in the thirteenth. In the Crusader East, not only were the main holy places mostly under Muslim control, but also other newly important holy sites, like the Monastery of St. Catherine's in the Sinai wilderness were distant and difficult of access. The role of the pilgrim as patron is still important, but very different in the thirteenth century.

Overall, important aspects of the picture we have of Crusader artistic production in the Crusader States of Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Antioch seem fragmentary and unclear. Many important questions must be answered as we pursue our inquiry. In architecture, we know that major church building was sharply reduced and that castle construction and the repair of fortifications was of necessity given the highest priority in building. We also know that the minting of coinage continued more or less unabated in the surviving holdings. Placed in this context, however, can it really be that the overwhelming majority of Crusader painting is to be found in the period from 1250 to 1291? Can it be that there really is so little figural sculpture and metalwork? Is the only more or less constant architectural or artistic activity the seemingly unceasing repair and rebuilding of city and castle fortifications?

To begin with, we must recognize important changes in the historical circumstances in which Crusader art was produced. First, one of our major problems is, of course, the Fourth Crusade. Given the huge amount of booty that the Fourth Crusaders captured in Constantinople and sent back to Europe, suddenly the Holy Land is eclipsed from view as a source or center of artistic production. How can we raise this veil, so to speak, and look beyond the riches of Byzantium to see what was going on in Syria-Palestine, even if production may have been reduced? Second, we must assess Crusader artistic activity in the holy places during periods of Muslim control and during the time access was arranged by truce and treaty. Scholars have differed over what went on at these times. How were the holy sites liturgically and physically maintained, to what extent were repairs possible to important churches and to their decorations, was there any new construction, and could pilgrims continue to find souvenirs in the form of metalwork and painting to take home with them? Third, there is the change in military strategy for Crusade expeditions to the Holy Land. Did the shift to attack Egypt first sharply diminish resources in the Crusader States? How did this affect the production of Crusader art in the Holy Land?

Clearly the position of the Latin Kingdom, the County of Tripoli, and the Principality of Antioch in the eastern Mediterranean was dramatically different after 1187, and especially after the Third and Fourth Crusades. Instead of the Frankish presence in the Levant being entirely focused on the coast of Syria-Palestine, now there were other major Frankish holdings: on Cyprus after 1191, in Constantinople, and in Frankish Greece after 1204. These new holdings changed the strategy for conducting Crusades in the East; now Cyprus increasingly became a staging ground for targeting the center of Muslim power in Egypt en route to the Holy Land, rather than direct assaults on the Muslims in Jerusalem as we saw with the First Crusade. The Latin Empire and Constantinople was a tempting alternative to the Holy Land for Western attention – for ecclesiastical interests, economic interests, and military interests. These new Frankish centers also produced works of art and part of our challenge is to understand what that art was and how it related to the art of the Crusaders in Syria-Palestine. It is well known that both Cyprus and Constantinople had strong ties to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in this period, and that there were close artistic ties. But our knowledge of these artistic developments is severely limited and we need to know much more.

Indications are that, compared with the twelfth century, much more Western art was imported into the Crusader States between 1191 and 1291. We need to investigate this phenomenon. Does the appearance of Western enamels, metalwork, and textiles mean that such objects are being sent to the East from centers in the West, or does it mean that artists from the West are coming to the Crusader East and setting themselves up to produce such art in places such as Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch? We know that at least one manuscript painter came from Paris and set up shop in Acre in the 1280s. What does this indicate about artists, the art market, patrons, and productivity in the thirteenth century in the Crusader States? To what extent is the increased dependence on the West seen in military, ecclesiastical, and economic terms in this period also a feature of the artistic production? How can we explain the outpouring of "Crusader icons" between *c.*1250 and 1291 under these circumstances? Is it not odd that apparently this period of major patronage for "Crusader icons" occurs just when access to the three main holy sites is being sharply constricted and then cut off? Or could it be that this is part of the explanation for why we find so many icons in the second half of the century? Does Sinai provide one important alternative for the increasingly inaccessible major holy sites, and are the Crusader icons we find there now mostly done as gifts for this special holy place?

Finally, in looking at the current state of the question about the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land during the thirteenth century, a number of important and basic problems present themselves. What function(s) did each work of Crusader art serve? Who were the patrons for Crusader art: if, as Buchthal argues, the majority of the luxury books were done for patrons in the royal court, what role did ecclesiastical officials play, not to mention educated soldiers both secular and religious, such as the major figures in the chief military orders, namely the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights, and private pilgrims? Did the leaders of each one of the numerous major expeditions to the East after 1187 have a role to play in the sponsorship of works of art? If, as Weitzmann suggests, church officials and Templars were major sponsors for the icons and panel paintings, who else can be identified as important sponsors? What role did the Italian merchants, aristocratic and religious women, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights, members of the bourgeoisie, and private pilgrims play?

Ultimately, we hope to answer the basic question, what is Crusader art in the thirteenth century in Syria-Palestine? In formulating our discussion we propose to move ahead, based on the following propositions: First, Crusader art in the thirteenth century is distinct from that of the twelfth century. Second, Crusader art in Syria-Palestine is different from Crusader art on Cyprus or in Constantinople and in Frankish Greece. Third, Crusader art in Syria-Palestine is distinct from the art of Eastern Christians in the Near East. Fourth, Crusader art has a special role to play in the Mediterranean world in relation to Byzantine art, Armenian art, Italian art of the *maniera greca*, French and German art, and Muslim art. In addition to the solid basis of scholarship discussed in this chapter, many current scholars have made substantial and important contributions that have shaped our approach to the study of Crusader art in the thirteenth century. These contributions are found both within the area of Crusader studies, in both history and art history, and outside, mainly in the fields of Byzantine art and archaeology, East-West studies in the Mediterranean world during the medieval period, and studies in Muslim medieval art and history.

In pursuing our goal of studying the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land during the thirteenth century, we must deal with what is an elusive and difficult subject, much more problematic in certain ways than Crusader art in the twelfth century. Whatever the problems, however, my approach is clear and should not be in doubt. In this inquiry I am dealing with the history of Crusader art as history. Drawing on the inherently interdisciplinary nature of the history of medieval art, I am focusing on the problems of studying the works of art and architecture in terms of understanding and constructing their patronage, their production and technique, their artists and architects, their functions, their style and meaning, and their immediate historical context through visual and written evidence of the period. Approached in this manner, I endeavor to balance the concrete documentation with a certain minimum of historical imagination necessary to carry the historical narrative along. Working in the context of the rapidly changing discipline of the history of art since 1995, the new agendas of postcolonial and multicultural studies will prove to be congenial to this endeavor, along with the new-historicist concerns of race, class, and gender, and it will be seen that women's studies, reception, and even performance theory can be relevant and valuable in handling various problems with which this material presents us.

In sum, I wish to examine the art of the Crusaders and show how this art is a distinctive product of the thirteenth-century environment in which it was produced. I want to do this by addressing the art directly, in terms of recognition and interpretation. I also want to do this by addressing certain issues pertaining to the art, which can be briefly restated in conclusion here.

1. Crusader art: what is Crusader art in the thirteenth century in Syria-Palestine, what is distinctively "Crusader" about this art, and how do we identify its main characteristics?
2. Multiculturalism: who were the patrons commissioning the art of the Crusaders in Syria-Palestine, and who were the artists producing it? How did the indigenous artistic traditions that the Crusaders encountered in the Holy Land interact with, combine with, or exert influence on Crusader artists and the art they produced, along with the western European traditions that formed part of their own heritage and the Byzantine art that was an active force in the Crusader and the Eastern Christian artistic worlds? Was there an artistic lingua franca in the thirteenth-century Mediterranean world, just as there was a lingua franca for shipping and international commerce at this time?
3. Religious and secular art: what functions were served in the thirteenth century by religious art and by the new secular art after midcentury in the Crusader States of Syria-Palestine? In religious art, is pilgrimage art still a major component, as it was in the twelfth century, and what explains the new media in thirteenth-century art, especially the appropriation of icons for use in the Latin church? Why does secular art become so important in the Holy Land, and how does this development relate to the rise of secular art in Europe after *c.*1250?
4. Colonialism: despite the postcolonial perspective of current scholarship, the thirteenth-century art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land exhibits some examples that appear to be more colonial than anything identifiable in the twelfth century. Why is this, and how can this art be understood as Crusader, not French colonial?
5. Crusader artistic developments: what distinctive Crusader developments can be seen in art; in the architecture of churches or castles; in the iconography of religious or secular imagery; in the formal design of painting, sculpture, or architecture; in the techniques of the various media; in the creative work of fulfilling the commissions of sophisticated Crusader patrons in a multicultural religious, social, economic, and political context?

In sum, it is astonishing to consider the extensive corpus of Crusader art and architecture that we have to work with today, compared to that with which Enlart worked in the 1920s. Basically, Enlart did not know or consider thirteenth-century Crusader painting in the form of icons or manuscript illumination. Yet more than any other media, these forms of painting have expanded and defined the nature of thirteenth-century Crusader art in our era, the period of 1957 to the present. Will there also be breakthroughs in other media like these, for example, in metalwork, ivory carving, numismatics, sigillography, or textiles? Will current archaeological fieldwork define new examples of Crusader architecture or uncover new and important examples of architectural sculpture, painting, coins, pottery, or glass? To be sure, recent research has offered new insights relevant to Crusader work in most of these areas.[199] Our task, in light of scholarly contributions old and new, is to construct a newly integrated vision of Crusader art for the period from 1187 through the thirteenth century to 1291, a completely revised and newly presented state of the question.

PART ONE

1187–1244

O God, the nations have come into your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple, they have laid Jerusalem in ruins. . . . We have become the reproach of our neighbors, the scorn and derision of those around us. . . .

O Lord, how long? Will you be angry forever? . . . Remember not against us the iniquities of the past; may your compassion quickly come to us, for we are brought very low. . . .

Help us, O God our savior, because of the glory of your name; deliver us and pardon our sins for your name's sake. . . .

Then we, your people and the sheep of your pasture, will give thanks to you forever; through all generations we will declare your praise.

Psalm 78
Liturgy for the Commemoration of Jerusalem, 1188

2

SALADIN'S CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM AND THE AFTERMATH

THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS, 1187–1192

THE PRECARIOUS CONDITION OF THE LATIN KINGDOM AND THE CRUSADER STATES IN 1187–1188

Following the catastrophe at Hattin on 4 July 1187, where the greatest Crusader army ever to take the battlefield in the Latin Kingdom was annihilated, where the relic of the True Cross was captured by the Muslims, where the king of Jerusalem and the masters of the Hospitallers and the Templars were captured, Saladin moved directly to conquer and occupy Crusader territory. Between 5 July 1187 and 1 January 1188 he managed to take every major Crusader city in the Latin Kingdom, except Tyre. In the Principality of Antioch, the Crusaders managed to hold Antioch and the castle of Margat; in the County of Tripoli, they held only Tripoli and Tortosa, and the castles of Crac des Chevaliers and Chastel Blanc. But the most serious loss was, of course, the Holy City of Jerusalem.[1] (Map 1)

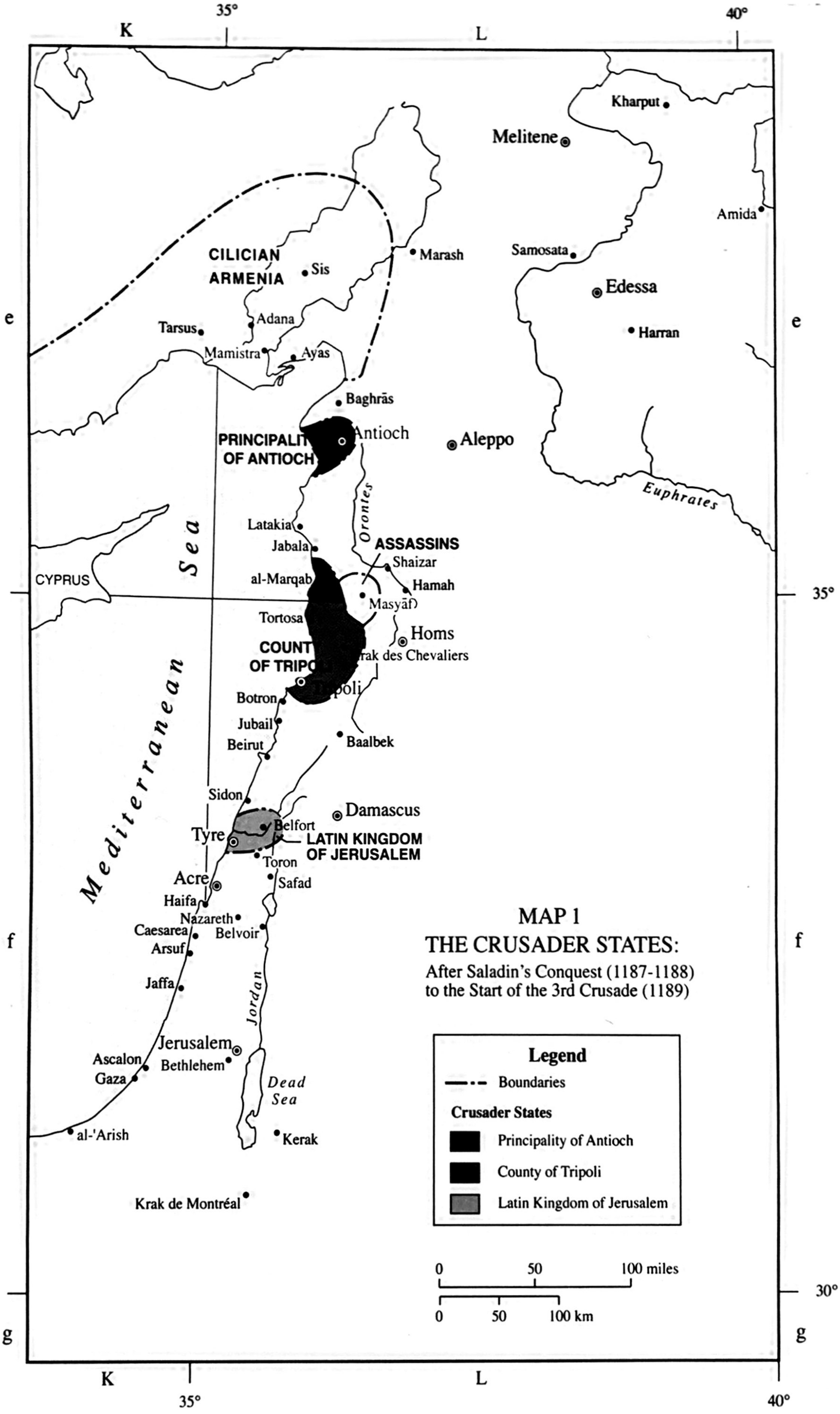
Saladin had turned his attention to planning an attack on Jerusalem immediately after the battle of Hattin. To ensure success he systematically took the major ports along the coast and as many inland castles and towns as possible. He began by conquering Tiberias on 5 July 1187, Acre on 9 July 1187, and continued by taking Beirut, Sidon, Jaffa, Ascalon, and Gaza, as well as Gibelet in the County of Tripoli. Inland only the castles of Belvoir, Safed, and Belfort held out, along with Shaubak and Kerak across the Jordan. Among the smaller but important castles that were captured was La Fève, in the Jezreel Valley, west of Belvoir and south of Hattin. The Templar garrison from La Fève had been destroyed at the springs of Cresson on 1 May 1187. Although fully regarrisoned as soon as possible, it could not hold out against Saladin's army after Hattin on 4 July. Shortly after it was taken, the Muslims began the process of dismantling the fortifications. This was an ominous indication of Saladin's policy for captured military sites to come.[2]

The refugees from these places mostly crowded into Tyre or went farther north to Tripoli. On 14 July 1187, the arrival of a strong leader from Europe via Constantinople to Tyre, the Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, made it possible for the Crusaders to organize and defend the city against the Muslims in the face of an extended siege during November and December 1187. Saladin never did succeed in taking Tyre.[3]

Meanwhile Saladin attacked the Holy City in late September. Balian of Ibelin, one of the few who escaped from Hattin, was there, and he along with the Patriarch Heraclius assumed command against the attack. Because the Crusader army had been destroyed at Hattin and many other people had sought refuge in Tyre, there were few defenders, but the population had been swollen by noncombatants seeking safety. The chronicle of Ernoul estimates that there were fifty women and children for every man in the city.[4] Those soldiers who were there had to be paid, however, and the continuation of William of Tyre's chronicle known as the Paris Eracles reports that the Patriarch and Balian had the Holy Sepulchre aedicule stripped of its silver decoration to be melted down and used to strike coins for the defenders.[5]

At first, Saladin attacked from the west side without success. Then he moved his assault to the northern corner of the western walls where his siege engines could operate more effectively against the fortifications. The location of their attack is identified in the *Itinerarium*. "There used to be a stone cross which our knights had once erected on the walls in memory of their victorious capture of this city after their capture of Antioch. Those savages destroyed this with a missile from a catapult, and flattened no small part of the wall with it."[6] It was the same zone along the walls where the First Crusade had entered the city in 1099. Meanwhile prayers were offered, penance was done, the "monks, priests and nuns all went barefoot beneath the walls in a procession with the Holy Cross that belonged to the Syrians carried before them, and the priests carried aloft the Body of Christ."[7] All to no avail.

After only six days of Saladin's main assault, Balian d'Ibelin, the Crusader commander, was forced to come to terms, despite the formidable protective walls. The Orthodox residents of the city were said to be negotiating with Saladin to open the


MAP 1
THE CRUSADER STATES:
After Saladin's Conquest (1187-1188)
to the Start of the 3rd Crusade (1189)
Legend
Boundaries
Crusader States
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 km
35°
40°
30°
K
L
e
f
g
CILICIAN ARMENIA
Sis
Adana
Tarsus
Mamistra
Ayas
Marash
Kharput
Melitene
Amida
Samosata
Edessa
Harran
Euphrates
Baghrās
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
Antioch
Aleppo
CYPRUS
Mediterranean Sea
Orontes
Latakia
Jabala
ASSASSINS
Shaizar
Hamah
al-Marqab
Masyāf
Tortosa
Homs
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
Krak des Chevaliers
Tripoli
Botron
Jubail
Beirut
Baalbek
Sidon
Damascus
Belfort
Tyre
LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
Toron
Safad
Acre
Haifa
Nazareth
Caesarea
Belvoir
Arsuf
Jaffa
Jordan
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Bethlehem
Gaza
Dead Sea
al-'Arish
Kerak
Krak de Montréal

Map 1

gates of the city to the Muslims, which may have hastened the surrender.[8] Thus Saladin conquered Jerusalem on 2 October 1187, in circumstances very different from those that had characterized the Crusader victory in 1099. In regard to the aftermath, even the Crusader chronicle of Ernoul reports:

> I shall now tell you how Saladin had the city of Jerusalem protected so that the Saracens would do no harm to the Christians there. He placed two knights and ten serjeants in each street to guard the city, and they guarded it so well that I never heard of any wrong being done to a Christian.[9]

A ransom was arranged for Christians who wished to leave and could pay the individual fee, a capitation tax. Nonetheless the terms were generous:

> The Sultan agreed to give the Franks assurances of safety on the understanding that each man, rich and poor alike, should pay ten *dinar*, children of both sexes two *dinar* and women five *dinar*. All who paid this sum within forty days should go free, and those who had not paid at the end of the time should be enslaved.[10]

Many poor persons were also released under a blanket ransom payment arranged by Balian, but twice as many remained because he could not raise a large enough sum to cover them all; neither the patriarch nor the military orders apparently would contribute. Of the Christians who remained, most were native Syrians or Greek Orthodox who presumably entered the Sultan's service or payed tribute. Among the Franks, ten Hospitallers were allowed to stay for a year to man their hospital; four Syrian priests were also authorized to celebrate the liturgy at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The second of October 1187 was a Friday, and the Muslims deemed it a good omen that Jerusalem fell on their holy day. For the Christians it was the Feast of St. Leger; for the Muslims Imad ad-Din said it was the anniversary of Muhammed's ascension to heaven. When the Muslims entered the Holy City that Friday, one of the first acts they performed was to reclaim Jerusalem for Islam by removing a prominent Christian symbol:

> At the top of the cupola of the Dome of the Rock there was a great gilded cross.... Some of them climbed to the top of the cupola to take down the cross. When they reached the top a great cry went up from the city and from outside the walls, the Muslims crying the *Allah akbar* in their joy, the Franks groaning in consternation and grief. So loud and piercing was the cry that the earth shook.[11]

This was such a momentous and symbolic act that both Muslim and Crusader chroniclers report this deed.[12] Jerusalem, third holiest site in Islam after Mecca and Medina, was back in Muslim hands! Jerusalem, holiest site in Christendom, was lost again to Christianity! Now the Christian laments for the loss of the Holy City begin. It remains to be seen if the loss of Jerusalem was reflected in the contemporary Crusader art.

Bad news traveled fast. Pope Urban III died on 20 October after hearing of the catastrophe at Hattin and possibly first word of the loss of Jerusalem.[13] As the news began to circulate in Rome by the end of October, the newly elected pope, Gregory VIII, immediately issued a call for a new Crusade. In his letter, *Audita tremendi*, dated 3 November, he writes:

> On hearing with what severe and terrible judgement the land of Jerusalem has been smitten by the divine hand,... Saladin came upon those regions with a host of armed men. There advanced against him the king, the bishops, the Templars, the Hospitallers and the barons with the knights and the people of the land and the relic of the Lord's cross,.... They were attacked and, when our side had been overpowered, the Lord's cross was taken, the bishops were slain, the king was captured and almost everyone else was either killed by the sword or seized by hostile hands, so that very few were said to have escaped in flight. The bishops, moreover, and the Templars and the Hospitallers were beheaded in Saladin's sight. We do not think that we ought to describe the events in letters until somebody comes to us from those parts who can explain more fully what really happened: how, once the army had been overcome, the infidels invaded and ravaged everything so that it is said that there are very few places left which have not fallen into their hands.... What a great cause for mourning this ought to be for us and the whole Christian people![14]

Gregory had much detailed information about Hattin, and little about the subsequent fall of Jerusalem because of the time news took to reach Italy.[15] Nonetheless he did not hesitate to send out this letter calling for a new Crusade as one of the first acts of his pontificate. Shortly after this, he also initiated specific liturgical observances for all of Latin Christendom in support of the Crusade: a Lenten fast was ordained for the Fridays in Advent for five years, and a special mass was to be sung on those days. On Wednesdays and Saturdays in Advent, all healthy Christians were also to abstain from eating meat. In addition, special prayers were ordered to be said for the liberation of the Holy Land and for the release of Christian prisoners from Muslim captivity.[16]

In this manner the extremely difficult situation of the Crusaders in the Holy Land was given a striking immediacy and a continuing liturgical presence in western Europe; a more direct link with heightened consciousness was forged between East and West, which was completely different from the calls for Crusades after the fall of Edessa and the Second Crusade failed in the 1140s. It would result in two major expeditions being organized and sent forth between late 1187 and 1204. Both the Third and Fourth Crusades resulted in unparalleled destruction of Christian works of art and architecture. No Muslim was involved in the depradations of the Fourth Crusade on the city of Constantinople in 1204. Saladin was, however, responsible for ordering major devastation on former Crusader holdings during the Third Crusade, and he began his policy of destruction or removal of Crusader work after the conquest of Jerusalem in October 1187.

THE DESTRUCTION AND DISPERSAL OF CRUSADER ART AS THE RESULT OF SALADIN'S CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM IN 1187

Saladin's conquest of most of the cities, towns, castles, and fortified positions in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and many in the other Crusader States, meant that there were serious losses of artwork and architecture. Some were caused by the "cleansing" ordered by Saladin of Muslim holy sites formerly held by the Crusaders in Jerusalem and other major places.[17] Some were the result of Christian attempts to preserve portable religious works and precious materials by taking them from churches and monasteries. By removing them from public view, or from treasuries or other sanctuaries, the Christians hoped to save these religious objects and treasures and take them to some safe place, either elsewhere in the Crusader States (e.g., to Tyre) or possibly to some major castle on the mainland, to Cyprus, or even to the Latin West. There are also stories of state papers, that is, legal documents being lost, but the details of what specifically happened are lacking. Finally, there was also loss of Crusader art caused by the sale of personal objects and even, in extremis, theft of valuable ecclesiastical objects from churches in the city during the forty-day period Saladin proclaimed for arranging ransom payments. There was also the hiding or burial of works for "safekeeping": some that were recovered by the Crusaders after 1191, some that never were recovered during the Crusader period but were found later, some that were never found.

Cleansing the Holy Sites

The policy of cleansing the Muslim holy sites was an important feature of Saladin's conquest. The continuations of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre[18] and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* do not discuss this in great detail, but some examples are given. We are told that before Saladin worshipped in the Haram, he literally had the Temple (*le Temple*) cleansed with rose water.[19] In addition to removing the cross on the Dome of the Rock, the Muslims also pulled down the cross on top of the Hospitallers' church opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[20] Jerusalem was meant to have a new set of symbols on its skyline proclaiming the presence of Islam.

The Muslim sources are, not surprisingly, much more detailed and informative about Saladin's policy, however. Ibn al-Athir reports that Saladin ordered that all Muslim shrines should be restored to their original state. All Templar buildings attached to the Aqsa Mosque were removed, presumably thus wiping out years of recent Crusader construction and decoration.[21] Some important new works of Islamic art were created: in restoring the Aqsa to its former glory, Saladin commissioned a new mihrab adjacent to where the magnificent pulpit or minbar of Nur ad-Din was to be placed in the Aqsa.[22] Fine marble was acquired; golden tesserae from Constantinople and other special materials that Ibn al-Athir says had been kept in storage for years were used. It is not clear whether these materials were Crusader stores that the Muslims took possession of, were newly acquired, or some of each.

The Dome of the Rock was cleansed, and on the Friday following the conquest, 9 October, prayer was celebrated there once again with Saladin attending. Imad ad-Din reports:

> They [the Crusaders] had adorned it with images and statues, set up dwellings there for monks [the Augustinians] and made it the place for the Gospel, which they venerated and exalted to the heights. Over the place of the [prophet's holy] foot they set an ornamented tabernacle with columns of marble, marking it as the place where the Messiah had set his foot; a holy and exalted place, where flocks of animals, among which I saw species of pig, were carved in marble. But the Rock, the object of pilgrimage, was hidden under constructions and submerged in all this sumptuous building. So the Sultan ordered that the veil should be removed, the curtain raised, the concealments taken away, the marble carried off, the stones broken, the structures demolished, the covers broken into.[23]

Thus the Muslims removed the marble slabs that the Crusaders had placed over the rock, along with the iron grill that had surrounded it.[24] When it was uncovered, Saladin had handsome copies of the Qur'an brought for use in worship.[25] Meanwhile the Latin inscriptions in mosaic that had been positioned on the Templum Domini[26] were taken down and new inscriptions from the Qur'an were put in their place.

The evidence for some of these removals is to be seen all over the Haram. There are Crusader figural or foliate sculptures, mostly capitals from the Augustinian Monastery cloister or the Templar compound reused as *spolia* in numerous structures such as the Beautiful Gate (Bab al-Silsila and Bab al-Sakina) into the Haram,[27] the entry to the Qubba Nahwiyya[28] and the later summer pulpit of Qadi Burhan ad-Din on the platform,[29] and the Omariyya mihrab in the Aqsa.[30] Other sculpture is also found piecemeal elsewhere in Jerusalem.[31]

Finally, in visiting the Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock, one is struck that reused Crusader sculpture is found in certain conspicuous and important locations, such as on the dikka, on wall panels, on the capitals for Saladin's mihrab in the mosque,[32] and over the entrance to the well of souls as well as for transenna and arcade panels in the Dome of the Rock,[33] among others. In the case of the dikka, the prayer platform is constructed with a rich variety of Crusader foliate sculpture in the form of capitals, abaci, balustrades, moldings intricately put together to form a large and impressive ensemble. It is particularly surprising to find some of the figural imagery remaining on these reused *spolia*: eagles on Saladin's mihrab capitals;[34] birds, animals, and human heads on the dikka; and human heads on the capitals supporting the tympanum above the entry to the well of souls. These figures are "reconciled to Islam," so to speak, by defacement with chisel strokes, lightly applied in some cases, more heavily in others, but the figures are mostly still visible.

It also appears to be the case that the Qubbat al Mi'raj, which likely served as the baptistery for the Templum Domini, was completely renovated with its original capitals left in place. New marble slabs were used to close in the sides, and an inscription was put up dating the work to 1200–1.[35]

The major campaign to remove the Crusader work and to restore and renovate these monuments therefore must have been taking place in the months and years following the conquest on 2 October 1187, although we can rarely specify precisely when the work was completed except in those cases where an inscription survives.[36] Nonetheless, we know that Saladin set the whole process in motion and can imagine that most of the work was done between 1187 and the 1190s, much of it before he died in 1193 and the rest of it by his son and his nephew.

It is hardly surprising that the major Muslim monuments were reclaimed for Islam by having their Crusader appendages removed, to be replaced in certain cases by newly configured *spolia* that was acceptable to Muslim sensibilities. What is more remarkable perhaps, is that many, if not most Christian churches and their monumental decoration, as far as we know, were left alone. Some churches were, of course, converted to Muslim use. The most important of these monuments, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was the object of intense debate on the part of the conquering Muslims.

> The Sultan's household, pious scholars and men of virtue, spoke to him about establishing a *madrasa* for Shafi'ite lawyers and a convent for sufis; he set aside for the use of the *madrasa* the church dedicated to St. John near the Gate of the Tribes, and for the convent the patriarch's house near the Church of the Resurrection. He endowed both liberally, thus benefitting both communities. He also set aside sites for *madrasas* for the various (other) communities. . . .[37] He had the church of the Resurrection closed to Christian visitors even as a refuge. Many discussions were held with him about its fate; some advised him to demolish it and abolish all trace of it, making it impossible to visit, removing its statutes, driving away its errors, extinguishing its lights, destroying its Testaments, eliminating its false allurements, declaring its affirmations to be lies. "When its buildings are destroyed," they said, "and it is razed to the ground, and its sepulchre opened and destroyed, and its fires spent and extinguished, and its traces rubbed out and removed, and its soil ploughed up, and the Church scattered far and wide, then the people will cease to visit it, and the longings of those destined to damnation will no longer turn to seeing it, whereas if it is left standing the pilgrimage will go on without end." But the majority said: "Demolishing and destroying it would serve no purpose, nor would it prevent the infidels from visiting it or prevent their having access to it. For it is not the building as it appears to the eyes but the home of the Cross and the Sepulchre that is the object of worship. The various Christian races would still be making pilgrimages here even if the earth had been dug up and thrown into the sky. And when 'Umar, prince of the believers, conquered Jerusalem in the early days of Islam, he confirmed to the Christians the possession of the place, and did not order them to demolish the building on it."[38]

These arguments are important. Saladin and the moderates won out here, but the more radical view of eradicating evidence of the presence of the Crusaders would grow stronger after 1187. Saladin was not averse to destroying sites of military value as we shall see, but he knew the importance of religious holy places and no doubt remembered what had happened in Jerusalem after the destructive attack of the fanatical Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim on the Holy Sepulchre in 1009. Not only had al-Hakim failed to obliterate the site, but also the church had first been rebuilt by the Byzantines in the 1040s, and the Crusaders had then renovated and expanded this new church in the 1140s.[39] Indeed, by adding a second dome they made the Church of the Holy Sepulcher the only double-domed building in Jerusalem, unique in contrast to the Templum Domini and the Templum Salomonis.

What Saladin did do at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was to have the doors to the church closed for three days to keep everyone out, a protective measure. Then he apparently ordered that the bells in the campanile be taken down and broken. Furthermore, having decided not to destroy the church, he may have ordered one of the two main doors – the right-hand door – to be walled up. De Sandoli argues that Saladin reasoned there was no need for two large doors because so few Christians would remain in the city.[40] Finally, for the future Saladin imposed a tax on anyone, chiefly Christians of course, who wished to visit the holy sites in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[41]

Christian Attempts to Save Works of Art

The religious works that Christian refugees attempted to preserve in their possession varied according to the means of the person. The patriarch of Jerusalem at that time, Heraclius, was obviously one of the major figures. He has not, however, received positive treatment by modern historians for various reasons.[42] For one thing, he is vilified by the author of the continuations of the so-called chronicle of Ernoul. It was Heraclius, for example, who had the True Cross relic taken to Sephoris, where it was given to the bishop of Acre who carried it in the battle of Hattin. Thus the texts of the continuations known as the *Chronique d'Ernoul* claimed that Heraclius fulfilled a prophecy: that the True Cross would be lost, just as it had been brought to Jerusalem, by a man named Heraclius. Heraclius, of course, did not die in the catastrophe at Hattin and lived to lead the Christian resistance to Saladin in Jerusalem with Balian d'Ibelin. Furthermore, he was said to take treasures from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, from the Templum Domini, and from the Templum Salomonis, along with a very large amount of money.[43] Imad ad-Din says that he stripped the gold plating and the gold and silver artifacts from the Sepulcher, presumably meaning the tomb itself.[44] In fact, he attempted to take away so much that some of Saladin's emirs protested that he should not be allowed to despoil the holy sites. Saladin, however, refused to extract more than the agreed amount, ten *dinars*, for his ransom, and he was allowed to leave with an armed escort to seek refuge in Tyre.[45]

The Question of the Loss of Legal Documents

The question of legal documents being lost is a controversial one. In the middle of the thirteenth century, both John of Ibelin and Philippe of Novara record a story about "Les Letres dou Sepulcre" in their treatises on Crusader legal institutions and the High Court. Philippe of Novara tells us:

> Things could be done much better and settled far more satisfactorily in the Kingdom of Jerusalem before the land was lost [in 1187]. For all the *assises* and good usages and good customs, that is to say any usage of great authority, were written down and kept in the Holy Sepulchre, and people called them the "Letters of the Sepulchre" because each *assise* and usage and custom was written out separately on a large and splendid piece of parchment. And also there were the usages and *assises* relating to the *cour des bourgeois* along with those of the High Court. And each piece of parchment bore the seal and sign manual of the king and the patriarch and also of the viscount of Jerusalem. And they were all written out in large ornate letters, and the initial letters were illuminated in gold and all the rubrics were in red [sic]. . . . And whenever it happened that there was an argument in the court concerning an *assise* or usage, so that it was necessary to see the documents, the chest wherein they were kept could be opened by the hands of nine people. . . . And all this I have heard recounted by many who had seen it before the "Letters" were lost, and from many others who knew all about it, some of whom were those who had charge of the "Letters" at some time. And all was lost when Saladin took Jerusalem, and never again was an *assise*, usage, or custom written down.[46]

This story is revealing and fascinating about what it tells us in regard to perceptions of the great losses in Jerusalem in 1187. It also indicates how the presentation or documentary copy of a legal text could be prepared and decorated, and the role which the Church of the Holy Sepulcher apparently played as state church, seat of the patriarch, and major holy site, in this case serving as the place of safekeeping for these putative documents.

Peter Edbury has taken the position that no such Letters existed from pre-1187.[47] He argues that this story was concocted in the difficult years of Ibelin struggles with pro-Imperial forces during the 1230s and 1240s to buttress the Ibelin legal position in the Latin Kingdom. The main evidence against the existence of these Letters in his opinion is the fact that the story simply makes no sense. He analyzes the contradictory nature of the contents of the story. Furthermore, he points out that if these Letters had been so remarkably valuable and useful before 1187, why had no attempt been made to reconstruct or replace them? Why indeed did other major twelfth-century chroniclers, such as William of Tyre, who as chancellor would have had access to royal archives, never refer to such important documents in their writings?

Despite the strong arguments marshaled against these Letters, the question arises whether there might not have been other legal records, from the royal archive or chancery, perhaps of a less exalted nature, that could have been preserved in some kind of trunk for safekeeping and for transport and were taken to Tyre at this critical moment in 1187. Could this story alert us to the existence of other legal documents with illuminated initials and marginal decorations befitting their importance? Could some of these documents in fact have been made before 1187, have been transferred to Tyre and then to the new capital of Acre, but not have survived the siege of 1291? Another question is whether documents, which resembled the examples referred to in the story, could have been produced in the mid-thirteenth century.[48] The fact is that whereas we do not have any Crusader legal manuscripts extant from the period around 1187 or from the mid-thirteenth century, we do have decorated examples from later in the thirteenth century made in St. Jean d'Acre.[49]

The Loss of Artworks by the Crusaders

Other artistic works were lost by the Crusaders in the process of dealing with the surrender and the arrangements for financing the ransom fee. When Balian d'Ibelin surrendered Jerusalem, we are told the story that he brought the keys to the city, that is, the keys to the main gates, to Saladin and handed them over physically.[50] We know nothing about these keys, when they were made or who made them, but we can wonder whether, when the Crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099, they did not have new locks put on the doors and new keys made by a Christian locksmith in the city. Just as with the lock and key to the main doors of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher today, safeguarded by members of the Muslim Jodeh family and employed to open and lock the doors by the Muslim Nusseibeh family, a lock and key that are presumably nearly two hundred years old in 2004, we can safely assume that a similar, very important set of locks and keys for the doors in the twelfth century would have been carefully guarded by the Crusaders.[51] The keys to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher must have also been handed over to Saladin in 1187, who then apparently reduced the functioning main south doors to one portal.

The Old French continuations say relatively little about the frantic efforts made by individual Christians in the city to find the ransom money in the forty days after 2 October, but Imad ad-Din has a long passage:

> The Franks began selling their possessions and taking their precious things out of safe-keeping to sell them for nothing in the market of abjection. People made bargains with them and bought the goods at very low prices. They sold things worth more than ten *dinar* for less than one and were forced to put together all they could find of their scattered possessions. So they scavenged in their own churches, stripped them of their ornaments and carried off candelabra and vases of gold and silver, gold and silken curtains and draperies. They broke open and emptied the boxes in the churches and took from the storage chests the treasures they contained.[52]

In this way, many works of Crusader art were lost, works such as liturgical vessels made of gold and silver, fine textiles, and other metalwork.

We can get some idea of what kind of things there were to be sold, or stolen and sold, if we look at the later inventories of the Church of St. Peter in Antioch (1209)[53] or the personal inventory of Count Eudes de Nevers in Acre (1266).[54]

In this climate of panic and with Frankish people desperately attempting to find the wherewithal to pay their ransom, we can nonetheless imagine attempts by some farsighted churchmen to secret away church treasures. Presumably there were some Latin priests who were hopeful that the Crusaders would return to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, or other sites. Presumably they may have tried to save some of their church treasures by hiding them, as we are told "holy men" of Jerusalem had hidden the relic of the True Cross before 1099. Or in 1187 there is the case of the reliquary now in the Greek Orthodox patriarchate museum, which may have been hidden before Saladin took the city.[55] There is also the possibility that Crusaders asked trustworthy colleagues to store such treasures. Because four Syrian priests were granted the right to stay at the Holy Sepulcher and because many Arabic, Syriac, Georgian, and Armenian speaking Christians were allowed to stay in Jerusalem after the Franks had left – some even exempted from the ransom tax – ([56]), it seems distinctly possible, even likely, that some Latin religious objects, possibly including liturgical books, may have been deposited with them for safekeeping.

The most famous example of the Crusaders hiding something away in 1187 – something that survives today – is found not in Jerusalem, but in Nazareth. When after the battle of Hattin the threat of conquest by Saladin was unavoidable, certain sculpture already completed for the Crusader shrine in the newly rebuilt Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth was apparently buried for safekeeping. This sculpture consisted of five capitals, one in a rectangular configuration, the other four in a polygonal design, which were intended for a shrine with a baldacchino to be erected over the site of the house of the Virgin inside the Crusader church. It is likely that this sculpture was buried in 1187 rather than in 1263, when the Church of the Annunciation was captured and razed by Baybars, for several reasons. First, there is a great deal of figural sculpture that survives from Nazareth, all of which seems to date from before 1187, most of which is severely damaged as the result of the 1263 destruction. That means these works were put in place before 1187 and then damaged when the church was destroyed in 1263. There is no way to explain why the five capitals would not also have been destroyed or damaged by Baybars if they had been put in place or even just left exposed to that time. Second, the five Nazareth capitals are also in nearly perfect condition, which appears to indicate that they were never put in place. We can see this not only on the basis of the figural designs, but also judging from their architectural components, that is, the stone flanges on the back of the capitals and their top and bottom surfaces. Thus it is more reasonable to think they were hidden away and buried in 1187 and never recovered after 1192 or 1229, than to imagine they were carved by the early 1180s, left in the workshop unused and undamaged until 1263, and then buried when Baybars threatened the town and church.[57] The ultimate tragedy for the Crusaders, but by the same token a truly fortuitous development for us, was, of course, the fact that the sculptures were never recovered by the Crusaders when they returned after 1192 or later in 1229 and they remained buried until they were excavated in 1908 by Prosper Viaud.[58]

It is evident in light of the references to various kinds of Crusader art and architecture discussed earlier, even limited as they are mostly to Jerusalem, that as a result of Saladin's conquest, the destruction was great and that there were enormous losses. It is also clear that some important art survived. A few manuscripts done in the scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher survived and have been recognized.[59] Of the extant six codices, some were done for royal and some for ecclesiastical patrons. We do not know, however, whether they had left Jerusalem before 1187 or were saved at that time, taken first to Tyre, then to Acre or Cyprus, and finally shipped to the West later, or if they were sent directly to western Europe in 1187. It remains to be reconsidered whether they were known by Crusader artists working in the Latin Kingdom after 1187.

Some sculpture survived in situ, for example, on the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, in plain view but untouched by Muslims out of reverence for Jesus and for the place. The sculptural ensemble on the north entry portal to the Church of Santa Maria Latina also survived, although the church was later destroyed.[60] Much sculpture survived as *spolia* reused on the Haram, as mentioned earlier. Among the Nazareth sculptures, much that had been installed on the church remained in place on view, but the five famous capitals had apparently been buried and thereby survived to be discovered at the start of the twentieth century. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Church of the Nativity, the Church of the Annunciation, with their rich decorative programs, and the shrines at these three primary holy sites survived, even if access by Western Christians was severely limited. It is noteworthy that even if the sculpture at Nazareth was mostly damaged or destroyed, albeit later in 1263, certain major programs of monumental painting survived: at Bethlehem – icons painted on the columns in an encaustic medium and the vast program of mosaics – and in Jerusalem – a huge mosaic program at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. In fact, the Bethlehem mosaics survive today only partially, while the column paintings are extant more completely, and the mosaics in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher are mostly gone, to be seen only in terms of a few fragments. There is no evidence, however, that these programs were damaged by the Muslims in 1187, as the losses seem to be clearly from later, perhaps after 1291.

Many other Crusader churches also survived; some were appropriated for use as mosques and *madrasas*, especially in Jerusalem, but most were allowed to have their own religious services. Little metalwork survived save what may have been sent to the West as reliquaries. The fact is, however, in light of the numerous relics and reliquaries of the True Cross that had been sent to western Europe before 1187 from Jerusalem, that few if any were sent between 1187 and 1192.[61] It is a striking contrast to compare the lack of such sacred objects sent westward from Jerusalem in 1187 with the huge numbers that were dispatched after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. It clearly suggests that the Crusader metalwork industry worked on commissions in Jerusalem and that there were not numerous objects to be sent back to the West because Jerusalem was captured by Muslims, not by Christians. Treasures captured or bought by the Muslims were presumably mostly transformed into different configurations for their use, either as precious objects or for their precious materials.

In the face of the terrible destruction and the loss of the holy sites, the question is, how could the Crusaders retain a sense of their rich artistic tradition that had developed between 1099 and 1187? In view of the fact that the Crusaders were forced to relinquish precisely those holy sites on which Crusader art had been lavished in the twelfth century and around which their art had so richly developed, what would they use as models, as works on which to base their new painting, sculpture, architecture, and minor arts? Finally, because the Crusaders were forced to move their bases of operations and their political and ecclesiastical institutions into new centers, mostly located in port cities along the Mediterranean coast but also in heavily fortified castles, the context of art making changed radically.

The next few years would demonstrate how difficult the Crusader situation had become and that there was comparatively little time for artistic production in view of the urgent needs of military defense and the efforts to reclaim parts of the Latin Kingdom from the Muslims.

EVIDENCE FOR CRUSADER ARTISTIC ACTIVITY IN 1187 AND THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING IN THE CRUSADER STATES

Prior to the attack on Jerusalem, Saladin and his brother, Saif ad-Din al-Adil, had taken possession of the main Crusader fortifications and cities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from Darum and Ascalon in the south, to Beirut, Gibelet, and Botron in the north, including the port of Acre.[62] Only Tyre remained uncaptured. It was assaulted on 13 November, following the conquest of Jerusalem, but Saladin had waited too long. In the interim, the Marquis Conrad of Montferrat had arrived on 14 July. He organized the defense and resolutely assured Saladin that "he could do his worst, for he [Conrad] would never, if it pleased God, surrender Tyre to him but would defend it against him with God's help."[63] Conrad was aided by a Spanish knight named Sancho Martin in green livery, the Green Knight, who led the daily Christian sallies out of the city. Despite the numerous war machines, petraries, and mangonels that Saladin had had constructed for this siege, they did not succeed in damaging the Crusader resolve to resist. The siege was broken by a strategem whereby Conrad tricked the Muslim fleet blockading the city into sailing five ships into the port of Tyre when its defensive chain was let down. The Muslim ships were ambushed, their crews killed, and the ships captured. Using these vessels, the Crusaders attacked the remainder of the fleet and drove them off. The result of this and a victory on land outside the main gate forced Saladin to withdraw on 1 January 1188.[64]

Tyre, with its magnificent cathedral, one of the largest Crusader churches in the Levant, thus remained in Frankish hands and Saladin was never able to take it. In light of his other conquests, even during the time of the siege at Tyre, this successful defense was the one important indication that the Crusaders might not be pushed into the sea. Following the defeats and devastation from June through December 1187 inflicted on them by Saladin, this victory was a ray of hope for 1188.

Saladin's campaign was not over, however. After wintering in Acre where he received ambassadors from other Muslim states and from the Byzantines,[65] he returned to Damascus in the spring to reorganize. Leaving his brother al-Adil to continue the attacks on Kerak and Shaubak in Transjordan in the south, in July 1188 he marched into the county of Tripoli. Bypassing the Hospitaller castle of Crac des Chevaliers, which he deemed impregnable, Saladin also found Tripoli, recently reinforced by a fleet commanded by Admiral Margarit from the Norman kingdom of Sicily, unassailable. Turning to the north instead, Saladin attacked and took the town of Tortosa but could not capture its castle which the Templars defended. Just up the coast, the huge castle of Margat was also too well fortified, and the Hospitallers who defended it harassed Saladin's army as he passed by. Leaving these tantalizing targets behind, his first major conquests, in late July, were the port city of Latakia and the powerful baronial castle of Sahyun in the hills east of the port.[66] This was followed by the capture of the castle of Bourzey, east–northeast of Sahyun, in late August.[67] It must be said that these were two spur castles completely isolated and built on the most difficult possible sites for attack, yet Saladin was able to take both of them in the matter of a few days. At this point, he approached the city of Antioch for the first time, moved quickly to take two castles north of Antioch, and threatened Antioch itself. Bohemond III sought a truce immediately. Saladin's troops were weary from their battles. By 26 September terms were worked out, and he returned to Damascus. Meanwhile farther south, Kerak, Shaubak, Safed, and Belvoir capitulated to al-Adil, the last on 5 January 1189. Belfort, overlooking the Litani River east of Tyre, was still struggling to hold out. Eventually, in May of 1190, Saladin would receive the surrender of Belfort, but by that time it would not matter so much; the Third Crusade would already have begun its first attack on Acre.

By the end of 1188, however, the situation had gone from bad to worse for the Crusaders. Not only had they lost more valuable territory and many major strongholds, but they also were pinned into three small positions along the coast – at Tyre, at Tripoli, and at Antioch and their more or less immediate environs. Only the great Hospitaller castles at Crac des Chevaliers and Margat and the Templar citadel at Tortosa held out otherwise as well. In this dire situation, help was beginning to take shape in the form of the Third Crusade, for which the pope had issued the call already in late October and early November, 1187. If only the Crusaders could hold their meager possessions a bit longer. Not surprisingly, in these dark days there were few artistic projects underway, but this is not to say there was no artistic work in progress at all.

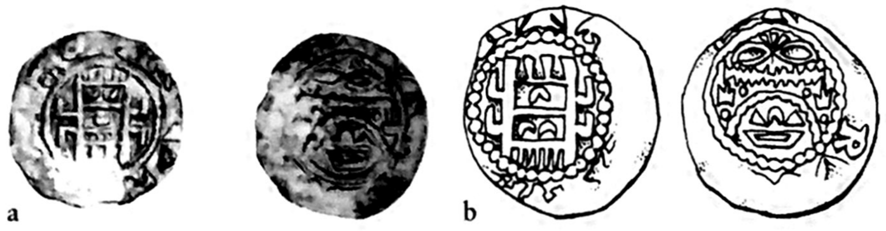
After the Patriarch Heraclius left Jerusalem with his pack animals filled with treasures and money salvaged from the major Christian churches, his whereabouts are mysteriously lost for the next eighteen months. Whereas it would have been expected that he might go to Tyre, or even Tripoli, seeking refuge, because of reasons of proximity and his office as patriarch for the Latin Kingdom, the only indication we have suggests otherwise. An anonymous text written years later, after the Third Crusade, suggests that he went to Antioch, but Tyre is not out of the question.[68] If so, one wonders where the precious objects that he "saved" from Jerusalem ended up. There is no concrete indication in the 1209 inventory of the Cathedral of Antioch that any of those objects had come from Jerusalem in 1187.[69] Heraclius died sometime in late 1190, well before the Crusaders retook Acre. The new patriarch of Jerusalem was not named until 1197, when Archbishop Aimery of Caesarea was chosen and took his position in the Church of the Holy Cross in Acre.[70] Where had these objects gone in the interim? Were they eventually brought to Acre for Aimery to use?

The Coinage in the Latin Kingdom

Similar questions about the monetary history of coinage in the Latin Kingdom can be asked. Michael Metcalf points to a forty-year hiatus in the all important hoard evidence, between the 1180s and the 1220s, that presents major problems in assessing what developments there were.[71] Two specific questions arise in regard to 1187. One has to do with the possibility of a special issue of coinage struck to pay the defenders during the siege of Jerusalem. The other has to do with the question of currency prepared before the conquest and what happened to those stocks when Acre and Jerusalem fell.

First, the Eracles, one of the Old French continuations of William of Tyre, states the following: "Then Balian and the patriarch went and had the tomb aedicule of the Sepulchre which was all covered in silver uncovered; and then they had it taken away to be struck into money to give to the knights and sergeants."[72] This story suggests that the Patriarch Heraclius authorized turning some special treasure of the church to monetary use for the defense of the Holy City. The story is fanciful in some aspects, but it is not difficult to evaluate the motive of the author of the Eracles, who alone includes this narrative; he is making the patriarch appear like a hero. Nonetheless the story is plausible. Other Crusader coins had presumably been minted in Jerusalem before this time. An emergency issue certainly could have been struck even in the brief time indicated in the Eracles account. The story of Balian and the patriarch is placed in the Eracles between the battle of Hattin on 4 July and the fall of Sidon and Beirut in late July, so the indication is that there would have been at least five or six weeks before Saladin and his army appeared before the walls of Jerusalem to begin the siege.[73] What is the coin evidence?

An anonymous denier that carries the Tower of David on the obverse, and the Holy Sepulcher on the reverse, has been proposed specifically as this emergency coinage (Fig. 1a).[74] The imagery of the coin itself is complex and requires detailed analysis to understand its meaning.[75] Porteous and Sabine agree basically on the interpretation of the fragmentary



1. Latin Kingdom, anonymous "Turris Davit" denier: **a.** and **b.** (**a.** photo: after Slocum catalogue), (**b.** photo: after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)

inscriptions that survive on the six extant examples.[76] On the obverse, we find "+ TURRIS DAVIT" (retrograde); on the reverse, "+ [SEPULCHRUM] DOMINI." These inscriptions correspond with the imagery of the Tower of David and the Holy Sepulcher on each side, but what is the source of the inspiration for these choices, and how exactly are they represented?

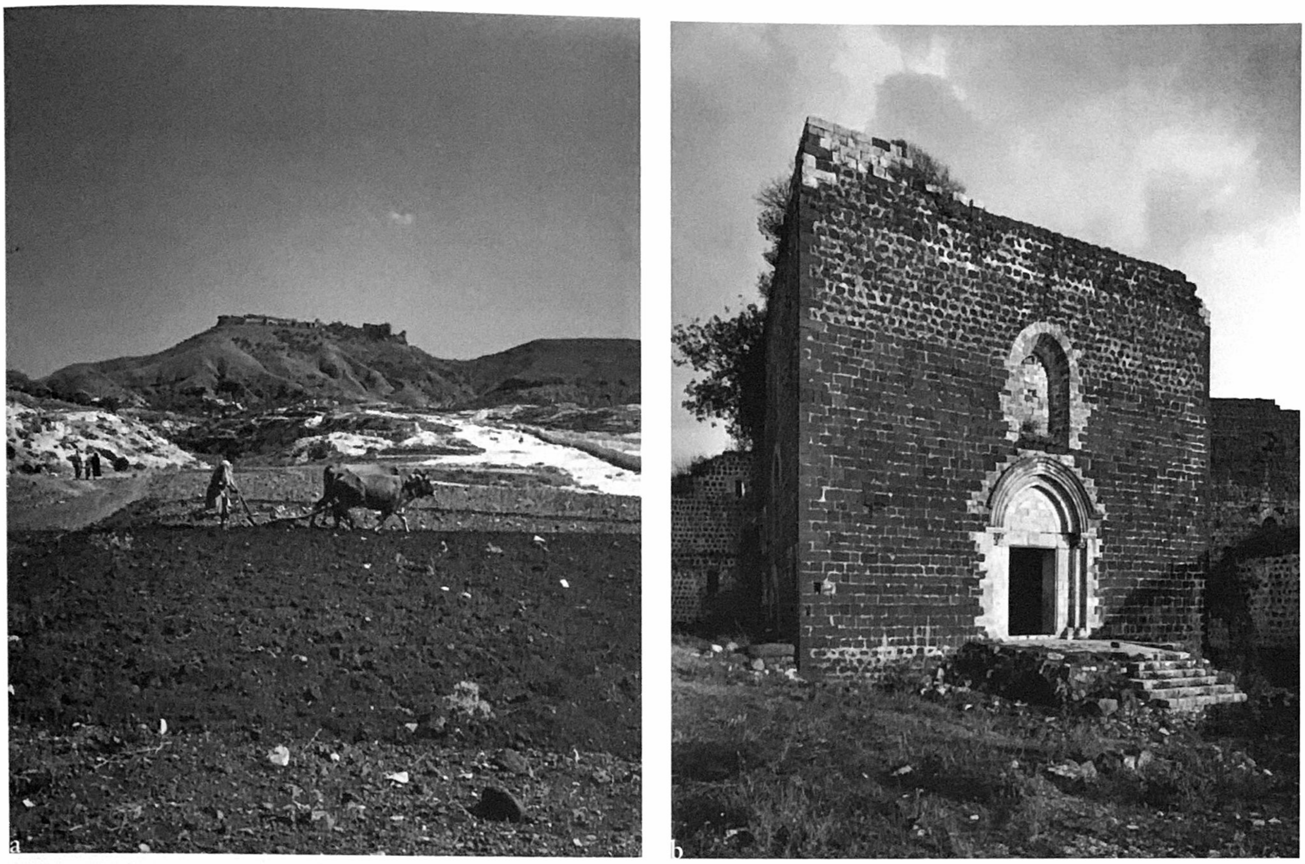
First of all, it is clear that this is an unusual coin because it is anonymous.[77] Second, the coin is also unusual because of its program. Instead of the normal obverse on a royal coin from Jerusalem with a cross surrounded by the name of the king (e.g., "Balduinus" or "Amalricus") and the normal reverse with the image of some architectural feature surrounded by the name of the place (e.g., "de Ierusalem"), the obverse and reverse both have architectural images with specific identifying inscriptions but without references to any persons or specific mention of Jerusalem. This seems to indicate that this is not a royal issue, but it is clearly a coin closely tied to Jerusalem.

What is the meaning of this coin? In the first place, although Sabine never explicitly says it, the choice of the Tower of David and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher corresponds directly to the story in the Eracles where Balian and Heraclius jointly caused this coin to be made. We see this in terms of the obverse referring to the surrogate royal representative, Balian in this case, and the reverse referring to the ecclesiastical representative, the patriarch. Second, whereas the coin is clearly a special, not a regular issue, the combination of the Tower of David and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher would appear to derive from the two most popular royal coin issues of the second half of the twelfth century, namely, the *Balduinus* and the *Amalricus* deniers.[78] Despite these obvious *comparanda*, however, it should be noted that the anonymous coin is on average heavier, 1.0 grams, compared with 0.95 or 0.9 grams for the *Balduinus* and *Amalricus* deniers, respectively.[79] Third, we can observe that by choosing this unusual pairing on one coin, the patrons and designer have focused attention on the Holy City of Jerusalem and on the characteristic iconography of architecture that is typical of royal Crusader coinage before 1187.[80] But what specifically does the iconography of the obverse and reverse convey about Jerusalem before the siege in 1187 that differentiates the imagery on this coin type from its predecessors and its successors?

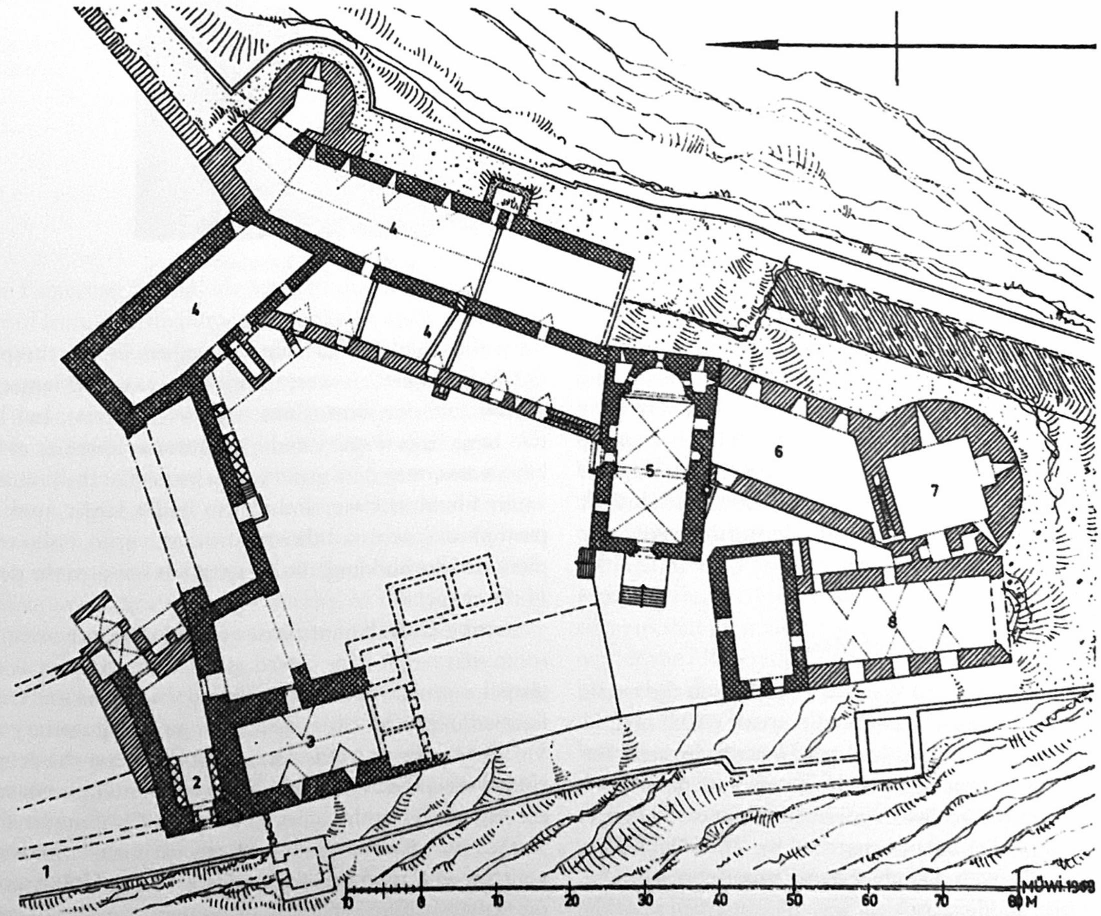
The Tower of David on this coin is distinct from the image on the *Balduinus* denier in a number of details.[81] Although the number of battlements along the top is the same (i.e., four), the patterning of the tower masonry is different, and the 1187 coin seems to include three curved openings in the central portion of the tower. The *Balduinus* coin has no openings indicated, only masonry. Finally, the 1187 coin has paired L-shaped protrusions on the sides of the tower. On some of the coins the protrusions are all positioned upward; on two of the coins, the upper pair is positioned upward, the lower pair is positioned downward.[82] These protrusions may be representations of special platforms placed on the exterior of the tower for its defense, seen in section.[83]

The representation of the Holy Sepulcher on the 1187 coin is distinct from the image on the *Amalricus* denier by showing the tomb of Christ underneath an architectural superstructure. It is difficult to decide how we should interpret this superstructure. Is this meant to represent the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which is the normal iconography found on contemporary and later coins and seals, but which is not easily recognized here? Or is this a particular interpretation of the aedicule of the Holy Sepulcher in which the tomb of Jesus was sheltered, for which we do not have any contemporary comparative example? We have argued elsewhere that the *Amalricus* denier shows only the rotunda for political reasons, and omits the aedicule and the tomb.[84] It is significant that the tomb of Christ is represented here in the lower portion of the 1187 coin, and thus given special prominence as the holy site the Crusaders wished to defend. Sabine has discussed the iconographic details of this 1187 coin reverse at length, but a different interpretation of certain aspects may be more accurate.[85] The two essential components are the tomb of Christ under the lower arch, and the complex superstructure, versions of which are variously rendered on other coins and seals.[86] I suggest, however, that the superstructure here is meant to be a view of the aedicule specifically, a view that is difficult to explain in detail with regard to the Crusader structure itself because of later changes in the structure and decoration of the aedicule after 1808.[87] Nonetheless, the reason the superstructure of the aedicule is of primary importance here is clearly, first, the fact that the metal for these coins was taken from the aedicule, as the text in the continuation tells us. Furthermore, second, the superstructure rendered here does not correspond to any of the other more familiar renditions that represent the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, as found on the relevant coins or seals mentioned above. But third, we note that in later manuscript illumination in Acre between 1250 and 1291, we do find representations of both the superstructure of the overall church – some with the tomb and some without – and more specifically the superstructure of the aedicule only.[88] Thus these manuscript illustrations demonstrate that it is possible to find depictions of both the church and the tomb aedicule superstructures as distinct entities, so in principle we can expect the same possibility in earlier coins. In sum, the 1187 coin is a remarkable issue that by its program seems to focus, on the one hand, on the defense of Jerusalem in terms of the Tower of David, which anchored the fortifications of the city on the west side, and on the other, on that for which Jerusalem was worth defending, the Holy Sepulcher and its aedicule in particular.

Second, in regard to the *Amalricus* coins from the Latin Kingdom, minted in Acre, what happened in the period between the loss of Acre in 1187 and the recapture of Acre in 1191? "Where



2. Margat Castle, **a.** view from the west, and **b.** main chapel, general view. (photos: Anthony F. Kersting)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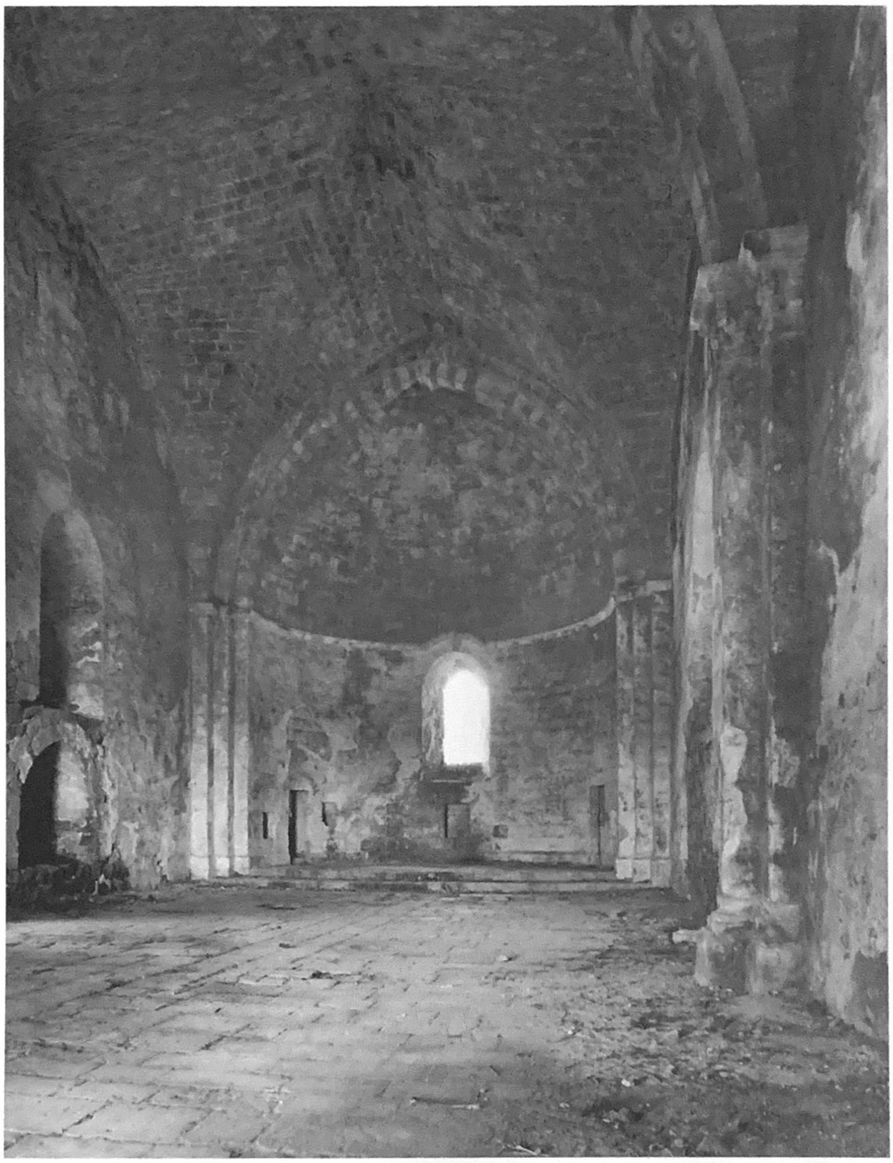
3. Margat Castle, plan of the chapel in the southwest sector of the castle (after Müller-Wiener).



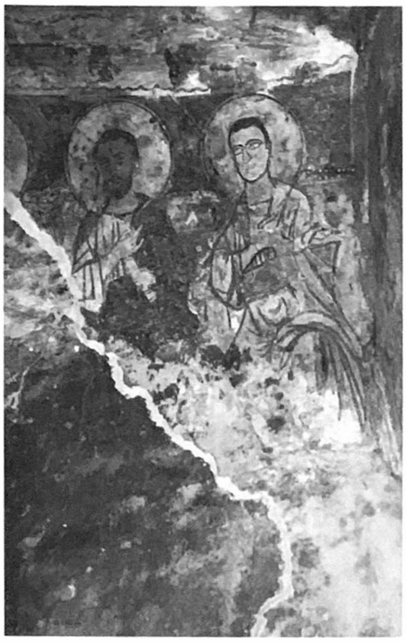
4. Margat Castle, chapel interior, view looking east. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

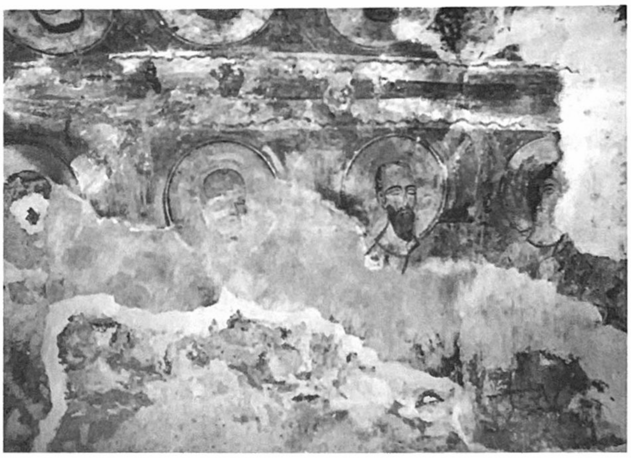
had the stock of currency, amounting to perhaps ten or twenty million deniers, been scattered in the three or four intervening years – was it still in existence? How soon was the minting of *Amalricus* deniers resumed, how much did the new issues weigh, and which are the dies that struck them?"[89] We shall consider these questions as we evaluate the complicated history of Acre between 1187 and 1191, that is, during the period that the Third Crusade comes into being.

The Castle of Margat

When in July 1188 Saladin began his campaign in the north, his army passed by the great Hospitaller castle of Margat, its Old French name, also called Marqab from the Arabic. Remarkably, it appears that despite the dangers of these years (1187–8), a fresco project was underway in the castle chapel just about the time that Saladin marched by. The Hospitallers had taken control of Margat only recently, on 1 February 1186. One of their first building projects was the construction of the castle chapel in 1186–7 (Fig. 2b). It was a chapel that resembled the earlier chapel at Crac des Chevaliers in some respects, but differed in others. It was, for example, slightly larger in overall size (interior dimensions: 23 × 10 meters), but had only two large bays (Figs. 3 and 4), instead of three as at Crac. Its bays were covered by groin vaults instead of the pointed barrel vaults found at Crac, and it also had a larger apse and two pastophoria, accessed directly from the apse. Following completion of the building, the Hospitallers initiated the decoration of the chapel.[90]

Starting with the northeast room flanking the main apse, a room that might have served as a sacristy or even as a special chapel, a program of fresco painting was begun and completely finished, although the remains are now fragmentary (Figs. 5–8).[91] The paintings that survive indicate that the program included several components. There is a Nativity scene including the three magi in the lunette of the west wall under the vault. In the vault itself there is a Pentecost scene with the twelve apostles who receive the inspiration of the Holy Spirit seated on benches along each side of the vault. A cloudy strip runs along the crown of the vault from which the red rays emanate.





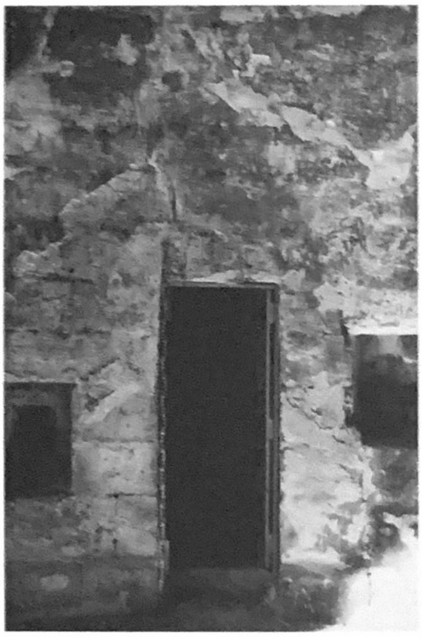
5–8. Margat Castle.
5. *(top, left)* Northeast room, view looking west.
6. *(top, center)* Northeast room, view of vault, 2 apostles (nos. 5 and 6) on south side of vault.
7. *(top, right)* Northest room, view of vault, apostles 1 and 2 on south side of vault.
8. *(opposite)* Northeast room, view of vault, apostles 7, 8, 9, and 10 on north side of vault.

Below the Pentecost, on the side walls of the room, there were two series of frontal, probably standing saints under arcades, of which only the tiniest fragments survive. Based on these meager fragments we can suggest that there were originally twelve saints in these arcades, but it is not possible to identify the figures. No painting survives from the east wall lunette. Although it is likely there was an image that was part of the program here, there is no evidence for whatever the scene may have been. All we can propose is that it may have been one of the main festival scenes from the ecclesiastical year. Finally there are indications of a variety of decorative floral and geometric motifs on the lower walls and around the entry door.

The mixed technique of these frescoes is very common among the Byzantinizing paintings of the period in this region. Furthermore, the style of the work has clear links to local frescoes located to the south in what is now Lebanon and to the east in what is now Syria.[92] The basic Byzantine roots of the iconography in the Nativity and the Pentecost scenes are apparent, even if, as appears likely, the models were somewhat simplified. It is interesting that the configuration of the Pentecost scene on the vault suggests that the artist was using a flat model, perhaps from a manuscript illustration or an icon, not from a composition in a dome.[93]

The most important artistic *comparanda* for the Margat frescoes are found in Mar Musa near Nebek, south of Homs. The main ensemble of painting in this Syrian monastery can be dated to 1192, that is, very shortly after the work at Margat. Comparison of the apostles in Margat to those in the scene of the Last Judgment at Mar Musa demonstrate that the quality at Margat was higher, but they both share in the regional style fostered by the Eastern Christian establishments in this area, mainly Syrian Orthodox and Maronite.[94] This evidence clearly suggests that the main artist was a locally trained painter working for the Hospitallers. It is reasonable to consider the possibility that this artist might have been a Hospitaller who had perhaps begun his training in Jerusalem, but then continued to learn from Eastern Christian painters in the region where he was stationed. It is possible also, however, that he was a local Christian painter in the service of the Knights of St. John here at Margat.

The close association of the painter and his work with this region is further indicated by the small fragments of standing saints under arches along the side walls of this room.[95]



9. Margat Castle, chapel interior, apse wall (outside northeast room), north side with fragmentary remains of fresco underdrawing in geometric patterns.

Although we cannot identify the individual saints by name, we can see the geometric design of the arch under which they stand, a format and a repertoire of decorative design widespread in this area.[96]

In the main apse area, fragmentary remains are found on the north and south walls below the apse conch. On the wall adjacent to the door into the northeast room, we find painted in a light red pigment on a plain ground, a schematic drawing for a decorative design (Fig. 9). The pattern revealed is geometric in form with a grid in which lozenge-shaped forms containing equal-armed crosses alternate with those containing vertical stripes. The arms of the crosses are approximately 5 centimeters wide and 10 centimeters long, the vertical stripes are approximately 4 to 5 centimeters wide, and the lozenge grid measures approximately 26 centimeters on a side. These drawings are found up to a height of 3 meters on the wall. Clearly these designs constitute the underdrawing for the fresco planned for the dado of the apse end of the chapel.[97] On the basis of the examination of the whole apse end, we draw the following conclusions: first, these underdrawings are all that were completed; no finished paintings are found in this area. Second, nothing was done in the apse conch itself. Third, no trace of other painted plaster layers could be found elsewhere in the chapel. Fourth, on the basis of these observations, it appears that the project of decorating the apse of this chapel was planned, that work began on the lower wall but was interrupted and never continued or completed.

The dating of these frescoes and underdrawings must clearly come after the completion of the chapel *c.*1187.[98] The style of the Pentecost apostles corroborates this dating, but it is not possible to be more precise other than saying the work was done shortly after 1187. Because the sequence of painting appears clearly to have started in the northeast room and then moved to the apse wall area, before being abruptly terminated and left unfinished, some important cause can be considered for the interruption. The two obvious possibilities are the campaign of Saladin in the summer of 1188 and the major earthquake that hit Syria-Palestine in May 1202.[99]

Because there is no evidence of physical damage to the chapel or to the apse area where the frescoes are found, one is inclined to discount the importance of the 1202 earthquake as the reason work stopped. It is therefore at least plausible that when Saladin began his campaign along the northeast coast of Syria, the Hospitallers turned their attention to defending the castle and harassing Saladin's army. When the Hospitaller garrison went on full alert in effect, conceivably the painting project was stopped.

Although it is not clear why it was not resumed at a later date, the demands of defending the castle in difficult times may have prevented the fresco project in the castle chapel from being completed. Furthermore, we know that the chapel was called on to serve an unusual role at this time. When Saladin marched past Margat, he did not threaten the castle, but he did capture the town of Banyas (Valenia) immediately to the north in 1188. In these circumstances the bishop of Valenia, suffragan to the archbishop of Apamea, transferred his *cathedra* to Margat. Therefore the castle chapel also served as his cathedral church. Later on, in addition Margat served as a residence for Isaac Komnenos, the Greek ruler of Cyprus defeated by Richard I in 1191.[100] Serving in the capacity of residence or prison for distinguished guests, it is perhaps surprising that the frescoes were not completed. Unfortunately, no pilgrim who visited Margat comments on the frescoes. It seems to have been the case that, for whatever the reasons, the manpower and the money ran out and the fresco project was left unfinished.

Despite the details we do not know about Margat between 1187 and 1202, the situation at Margat in the late twelfth century demonstrates that, just as Crac des Chevaliers demonstrated in the 1170s,[101] castles were in fact given artistic decoration in certain parts and that a chapel was one of the most important objects of artistic embellishment. In fact, most of the religious and communal rooms in these castles very likely also received decoration of one kind or other.[102] These places could have some form of fresco painting, as we have seen, but they could also have had decorative sculpture with foliate or even figural designs, along with military armor, weapons, trophies, or other memorabilia, as appropriate. There may also have been wall hangings and carpets in the private quarters of the highest ranking officers.

Margat is an important example of a major Crusader fortress that provides concrete evidence for possible artistic activity within its walls, even here at the nadir of Crusader fortunes between 1187 and the Third Crusade. Even though castles are not obvious centers for artistic workshops, and in general may be sites for local artists in contrast to the more highly trained painters and sculptors at major court, ecclesiastical, and pilgrimage centers, art was produced within their walls. Given the focus on Crusader fortifications in the years between 1187 and 1291 because of defensive necessity, it is clear that we need to scrutinize every important castle for any possible examples of artistic work.

Conclusions

The events of 1187 and 1188 clearly had a major impact on the artistic activities of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. Many important works of architecture and the figural arts were lost or destroyed by a variety of means. Frankish artists in Jerusalem who survived the siege were forced to leave the city and seek refuge. Crusader artists in other cities captured by the Muslims at this time (e.g., Acre or Beirut) must have also sought safety where possible. Some must have gone to Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch. Some may have left the Near East and gone elsewhere.

Some important portable works were saved either by being hidden away or by being taken to Frankish held locations, especially Tyre, Tripoli, or Antioch. In the first category, the Nazareth Capitals were saved, but lost to the Crusaders as a result. In the second category, no works preserved have been surely identified as such, but there are six extant illuminated manuscripts that may have been saved in this manner. Also the Antioch inventory mentions golden codices, a gospel book, and other service books.

Few new works of Crusader art can be identified from this period. A major fresco project was apparently interrupted at Margat during Saladin's attacks and never completed. A new coin was apparently minted in Jerusalem. In both of these cases, however, the evidence is thin, and obviously little attention was being given to art making in the face of mortal danger. What artistic production, if any, would be possible in the midst of the strenuous activity which followed during the Third Crusade?

THE CRUSADER STATES AND THE ADVENT OF THE THIRD CRUSADE, 1187–92

Following the disaster at Hattin, Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, sailed westward seeking help in the late summer of 1187, after Saladin's first assault on the city of Tyre, but before his attack on Jerusalem.[103] Traveling in a galley with black sails, to symbolize the bad tidings he bore,[104] Joscius went first to Sicily where King William II recalled his admiral, Margaritus, from Byzantium and ordered him to go to the aid of Tyre. Joscius then went on to Rome where the Genoese had already brought news of Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem. When the news of these disasters reached Rome, the reigning pope, Urban III, died of grief, as the Old French continuation reports, and points out in addition that it had been in the time of Urban II when Jerusalem was conquered and the time of Urban III when it was lost.[105] The new pope, Gregory VIII, wasted no time in issuing the call for a new Crusade at the end of October and the beginning of November, 1187. Richard of Poitou, acting on impulse, was the first important figure to take the cross, in November 1187,[106] but as Richard I of England, he would be, with Philippe Augustus, one of the last major rulers to set out.

After issuing his encyclical, *Audita tremendi*, Gregory appointed Henry, cardinal bishop of Albano, as his official legate and sent him off to preach the Crusade in Germany and France. But within two months Gregory had also died, on 17 December 1187. His successor, Clement III, took office two days later.

Henry, the papal legate, went first to Germany where there was a council scheduled at Mainz in March 1188. Henry's exhortations on behalf of the new Crusade complemented those of the pope's encyclical, by laying more stress on the loss of Jerusalem and the fact that the Holy Sepulcher was in Muslim hands. Frederick I took the cross on 27 March. In France, Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, arrived at a meeting between Philippe Augustus of France and Henry II of England at Gisors. Henry II had learned of the problems in the East from a letter sent to him by the aged patriarch of Antioch, Aimery, in September 1187. Both kings and many of their followers took the cross there 21 January 1188. Philippe, count of Flanders, also vowed to go on Crusade. The French were given red crosses to wear; the English, white; and the Flemish, green. Shortly thereafter, both kings levied special taxes; in France and England the tax was known as the "decima Salahadini," the Saladin Tithe.[107] This was not the first taxation for the Crusades; earlier attempts had been made in England in 1166 and 1184. It was more successful in England than ever before, however, and resulted in more people being directly involved in the Third Crusade, by participation in its financing, than the First or the Second Crusades. Meanwhile, farther south, William II, king of Norman Sicily, had arranged to send a small fleet to aid the Latin Kingdom, in March 1188. These reinforcements enabled Bohemond IV to resist Saladin and maintain Crusader control over Tripoli. William II himself planned to join the Crusade as well and sail eastward with the English, but he died before they arrived, on 18 November 1189.

The major European rulers thus responded positively to the emergency in the Holy Land, but despite the best of intentions, even this Crusade started with great fervor for a worthy cause was delayed and fragmented while the situation in Syria-Palestine remained desperate. Frederick I's date of departure was set as 23 April 1189, the Feast of St. George, a little over a year after he had taken the cross. In fact he was the first to leave, with a large, well-equipped army, on 11 May 1189, very close to schedule. He left from Regensburg, taking the overland route through Hungary into the Byzantine Empire.[108] He sent an embassy to Emperor Isaac Angelus in Constantinople to arrange passage through Byzantine controlled territory. The treatment of that embassy was revealing – both to Frederick and about Emperor Isaac Angelus and Saladin.

When the bishop of Münster and his accompanying envoys arrived in Constantinople in mid-June 1188, Isaac had them thrown in jail, ostensibly as hostages to ensure German good behavior. The Old French continuation remarks matter-of-factly, "that is not something to be surprised at, for the Greeks have always hated the Church of Rome and Latin Christians."[109] Frederick's response to this unlawful act was to try to force the Byzantine emperor to release them by the military power he displayed as his army moved eastward through Bulgaria to Adrianople. The members of the embassy were indeed finally freed, but only in late October 1189. While the German army was camped at Adrianople for the winter, Isaac was eventually forced to agree to a treaty in February 1190, granting Frederick passage to Asia Minor, access to food markets, and Byzantine hostages to ensure compliance. Frederick and his army crossed the Dardanelles at Gallipoli, bypassing Constantinople as part of the treaty. By the end of May 1190 he had marched across Asia Minor and was entering Cilician Armenia. One result of this experience was that Frederick was confirmed in his suspicions that the Byzantine emperor was no friend of the Crusade or the Franks.

Meanwhile, Isaac had sent an embassy to Saladin after his impressive victories at Hattin, Acre, and Jerusalem. The purpose of his diplomacy was to renew the alliance with the

Ayyubid sultan initiated by Emperor Andronicus in 1185.[110] On 6 January 1188, Byzantine envoys arrived in Acre where Saladin was holding court, receiving the congratulations of his allies. As was the custom for major diplomatic events in the Near East, Isaac sent remarkable gifts: four hundred breastplates, four thousand iron lances, five thousand swords, twelve samite cloths, two golden cups, two imperial robes, and three hundred beaver pelts, as well as a gold crown to recognize Saladin as a king, and, of course, as also subject to the emperor.[111] The envoys stressed the emperor's thanks to Saladin for having released Alexius Angelus, Isaac's brother, from a Crusader prison in Acre in July. The emperor was also pleased at the treatment Saladin accorded Orthodox residents of Jerusalem in October, and the notion that he had turned over the important Christian sites to Orthodox clergy.[112] Saladin received the envoys most cordially. The most important news they brought him, however, was word of the new Crusade being organized in the West.[113]

In light of this disturbing development, Saladin perceived how useful a continuing alliance with Byzantium might be. He responded positively with remarkable gifts of his own: twenty Latin chargers, large boxes of gems and balsam, three hundred strings of jewels, a chest filled with aloes, 100 musk sacs, twenty thousand bezants, a baby elephant, a musk deer, an ostrich, five leopards, thirty quintals of pepper and numerous other spices, a silver jar of poisoned wine, and large amounts of poisoned flour and grain, the latter items apparently for the Byzantines to give to Frankish Crusaders.[114] In addition, Saladin sent a *maumeria*, some kind of minbar or pulpit, which Isaac was presumably to set in the one functioning mosque in Constantinople to be used for prayer. It was a gift no doubt comparable to the minbar of Nur ad-Din which Saladin had had installed in the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.[115] Saladin's *maumeria* became something of a cause célèbre, however, when the Genoese captured the ship carrying this work and took it to Tyre. On its arrival there, Conrad of Montferrat interpreted the minbar as evidence for the alliance between Saladin and the Byzantines; he therefore sent a letter dated 20 September 1188 to the West announcing this distressing state of affairs. Philippe Augustus even caused this information to be used to help recruit Crusaders in French territory.

Despite his treaty with Saladin, Isaac Angelus was unable to prevent or even much impede the advance of Frederick I across the empire in the summer and fall of 1189 and the following winter, as we have seen, much to Saladin's disgust and alarm. With further word from various sources confirming that the kings of France and England had also taken the cross, Saladin actively began to make preparations for the coming battle. He commanded that Acre be refortified and put on a war footing.[116] With news of the approach of Frederick and his Crusaders to northern Syria, Saladin considered how to prepare for the attack. The Lyon Eracles states the following:

> Saladin was so frightened at the coming of the emperor that he had the walls of Latakia, Jabala, Jubail, Beirut and all the other cities along the coast destroyed so that the Christians could have no protection there. He was afraid that as the emperor made his way down he would fortify the cities and castles and, if he found them intact, he would occupy them and have them garrisoned and thus damage the Saracen cause. For this reason Saladin had the cities and castles of the coast laid waste.[117]

This text indicates that the walls of Beirut were taken down – Pringle interprets this to mean the town walls, but not the castle, in 1190[118] – along with those of other cities in Syria. The walls of "all the other cities along the coast," that is, cities south of Beirut, would only be dismantled later. While these operations were underway, disaster struck the German Crusader army. Frederick I died while trying to cross the Saleph (Göksu) River near Seleucia on the coast. This occurred on 10 June 1198. A greater calamity for the Crusader army could not be imagined. A new leader was elected, but the army split into three parts. One part sailed from Tarsus to Tripoli, one part sailed from Tarsus to Antioch, and one part, in the manner of a funeral cortege took Frederick's corpse overland to Antioch where the *Itinerarium* records the gruesome details: "At Antioch they boiled the body for a long time to separate the flesh from the bones. The flesh was laid to rest in the church of the apostolic see of Antioch. The bones were carried by sea to Tyre to be transported to Jerusalem."[119] The Lyon Eracles reports: "His body... was carried to the city of Antioch where it was honourably interred in the church of Saint Peter on the right of the choir near the tomb of [Adhemar] who had been bishop of Le Puy. On the left is the place where the lance with which Longinus pierced Our Lord Jesus Christ on the Mount of Calvary was found."[120]

In fact, as optimistic as the *Itinerarium* author was, Jerusalem was not to be retaken by the Third Crusade, and the bones were eventually buried in the Church of St. Mary in Tyre.[121] Meanwhile, Frederick's army had been decimated by the departure of soldiers to return home, by Muslim attack, and by plague in Antioch. When the meager remnants finally arrived at Acre in October 1190, they joined up with other German contingents, which had sailed from Cologne and from Brindisi. A German hospital community was also founded in the camp at Acre in these circumstances,[122] but disease and death took its toll to the extent that few Germans survived to fight with Richard I and Philippe Augustus when they finally arrived at Acre in the spring of 1191.

Saladin had conquered Acre immediately after Hattin, on 10 July 1187, and Jerusalem had fallen on 2 October, but Tyre was held firmly with defenders led by Conrad of Montferrat acting as the "lieutenant of the kings of Outre-Mer."[123] Conrad and the Crusader barons granted major concessions to the Pisans and Genoese, putting them on a level equal with the Venetians, and special commercial privileges were also made to merchants from Barcelona and southern France, to ensure their support. Conrad ordered the moat to be deepened and the walls strengthened. Refugee soldiers from cities conquered by Saladin were organized for the defence of Tyre. Although Saladin besieged Tyre twice, he could not take it and he retired to Acre on 1 January 1188. Saladin possessed Jerusalem and Acre, and king Guy de Lusignan, captured at Hattin, was his prize prisoner. Saladin could not conquer Tyre but what remained of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had no king.

Queen Sibylla had written to Saladin repeatedly, begging for the release of her husband who had been imprisoned in Damascus, and she wrote again from Tripoli. Finally, during his Syrian campaign through the County of Tripoli in the summer of 1188, Saladin agreed, partly to honor this royal lady's request and because he had released almost all of his other noble hostages. It seems to have been a generous act, but also no doubt he could see the possibility that freeing Guy would weaken the Christians by causing dissension. Before he let Guy go, he extracted an oath that the king would not bear arms against him and would go overseas, an oath that Guy had dissolved immediately when he was liberated. The Lyon Eracles says he was freed in Tortosa, sailed to the offshore island of Ruad, and then was reunited with his wife, Sibylla, in Tripoli.[124] This happened just before Saladin conquered the town of Valenia near Margat.

Guy immediately began the process of trying to reestablish his royal power. He gathered his supporters in Tripoli and sought the backing of Bohemond of Antioch. Then in the spring of 1189, accompanied by his brother, Geoffrey, he marched to Tyre to assume command of the sole city in the Latin Kingdom still in Crusader hands. Conrad of Montferrat refused to let him enter, taking the position that he was holding the city for the Crusader kings coming to the Levant.[125] Guy "realized that in all the kingdom there was not a village or a house where he could lodge, he had great sorrow in his heart."[126] He and his men camped outside the city of Tyre, Christian confronting Christian. It was a disturbing precedent to the situation in 1204 outside of Constantinople, made worse here, perhaps, by the fact that both leaders were Crusaders.

At Tyre, the situation was resolved when King Guy decided that the better part of valor resided in an assault on a Muslim-held, not a Christian-held, city. In effect, if his supposed Crusader ally, Conrad of Montferrat, would not relinquish the city to him, he would reestablish his royal position by retaking his own city from the Muslims. He bravely decided to attack Acre, surprising Saladin completely and beginning what became a long siege, one which started on 11 August. It was St. Augustine's Day, 1189.

Guy was accompanied by a Pisan fleet, and upon arrival he attempted an immediate and audacious assault on the city. [127] Outnumbered ten to one according to the Lyon Eracles,[128] this attack did not meet with success. During the fall, his position improved as a number of his leading vassals, men who had remained uncommitted or had supported Conrad at first, joined his army at Acre. Other contingents of Crusaders came as well: Danes, English, French, Germans, Italians, and Netherlandish troops among others arrived in September. This was truly a richly multicultural Crusader army already and the two greatest kings from Europe had not yet arrived with their forces. Conrad of Montferrat was even persuaded to come to Acre, as long as he did not have to serve under Guy's command. Herein lay a weakness in every confederated Crusader army, separate contingents with separate commanders. Meanwhile Saladin arrived at Acre to besiege the besiegers. Although positioned between Saladin's troops and the city defenders and continuing to be outnumbered by the Muslims, the Crusaders were able to survive the first major battle in October. King Guy even saved his rival Conrad of Montferrat from certain death.[129]

The Crusaders dug trenches to protect their exposed position. Through the winter there was a stalemate. Guy and Conrad reached an understanding by which Conrad would recognize Guy as king, if Guy would grant Conrad rights to Tyre, which he already held, as well as to Beirut and Sidon, when they might be retaken. In the spring and summer major battles were fought in May and July. In November the Crusaders forced Saladin to move his camp to a position more distant from the city. At some point during these months a list of Saladin's troops was apparently written in the Crusader camp. The diversity of his troops was both a source of strength and weakness for his army.[130]

Meanwhile, the political situation at Acre had become more complex because of factional divisions among the resident Crusaders. When the queen, Sibylla, and her two daughters, Alice and Maria, died in the summer of 1190 from disease,[131] suddenly the heir to the throne of Jerusalem was her sister, Isabel, wife of Humfrey of Toron and daughter of King Amaury and Queen Maria.[132] In fact it appeared questionable whether Guy's claim to the throne could survive his wife's demise. The Lyon Eracles identifies Conrad of Montferrat, Guy's old nemesis, as being so ambitious for the crown of Jerusalem himself that he persuaded Isabella's mother, Maria, to challenge Guy's right to the crown.[133] Maria, who disliked Isabel's current husband, Humfrey of Toron, forced her daughter to renounce her marriage on the grounds that she had married Humfrey in 1183 at age eight against her wishes. She was now fifteen and being forced to renounce a husband she loved, Humfrey, who was a friend of Guy's, all because of the designs of her ambitious mother and her ally, Conrad! The machinations around Isabel constitute a divisive chapter in political maneuvering even while the Crusaders were encamped at Acre in the fall of 1190. The marriage was annulled by the papal legate, Ubald, archbishop of Pisa, and Philippe of Dreux, cousin of Philippe Augustus and bishop of Beauvais. The representative of Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, who was too ill to be present, was Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. The aged Baldwin stoutly defended the rights of Guy and refused to approve the annulment or countenance the marriage of Conrad to Isabel; it was only when he died suddenly, on 19 November 1190, that this situation could be resolved. Isabel married Conrad on 24 November 1190.[134] The Lyon Eracles soberly observed: "One might yet question whether the kingdom of Jerusalem was not put on a dangerous and dwindling course because of this deed."[135]

The marriage apparently took place in the camp at Acre. Nonetheless, Guy, who had been crowned king, refused to yield his rights; Conrad considered himself king of Jerusalem but could not yet be crowned. This standoff continued while the Crusaders waited in camp for the kings of France and England with their armies. Food was short,[136] disease was rampant, many Crusader nobles died that winter: Frederick of Swabia died, and Henry of Champagne nearly died he was so ill. Saladin used his reinforcements to harass the Crusader encampment.

King Philippe of France finally arrived in the camp at Acre on 20 April 1191, with his army and many ships full of supplies. After riding around the city walls, he is said to have observed, "considering how many noblemen have been at this siege, it is extraordinary how slow they have been to take it."[137] The siege had already been underway for twenty-one months. Philippe now assumed leadership and he intensified pressure on the defenders with constant attacks by his crossbowmen and archers, and he set his sappers to mine the wall abutting the Maudite tower. But he did not propose to try to take the city yet. The Lyon Eracles remarks:

> The king of France could easily have taken the city had he wished. But he was waiting the arrival of King Richard of England because they had travelled together and had made an agreement after they had left their lands concerning all the conquests they should make. So he waited for him, as he wanted to share in the joy and the conquest of the city.[138]

King Richard of England arrived at Tyre on 6 June and then continued to Acre on 8 June. He had been delayed en route by a stop at Limassol and a brief campaign, 8 May–5 June, to conquer Cyprus. Before that campaign he married Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, on 12 May 1191 in the Church of St. George in Limassol. During his campaign he had rapidly defeated and captured Isaac Ducas Comnenus, the maverick Byzantine ruler of the Island. The conquest of Cyprus would prove to be the most long-lived and consequential of Richard's achievements in the Near East. Nonetheless, Richard sold the island to the Templars in early 1192; clearly his main objective was Jerusalem and the Holy Land, not Cyprus, and sale of the island, even with only the partial payment he in fact received, no doubt provided welcome income for his Crusade expenses in Palestine.[139]

When Richard arrived at Acre, he provided the catalyst to spur the Crusaders on to victory. Crusader ships now controlled the sea; their siege engines battered the walls with destructive effect, and assaults were made into the breaches in the walls. Death, illness, and bickering in camp slowed the attack, however. The patriarch, Heraclius, died. Both Richard and Philippe were taken seriously ill. Unity was disrupted by disputes between supporters of Guy and Conrad; furthermore Philippe and Richard quarreled over the inheritance of Philippe, count of Flanders, who had died just before Richard arrived. Thus, local politics continued to impede the cause at hand, and squabbles over territory as far away as Cyprus and Flanders distracted the two great leaders. These factors were bad omens for the future. Nonetheless, the siege engines and constant attacks were doing the job. Furthermore, Saladin could not break through to reinforce the city defenders. They surrendered on 12 July 1191. The city of Acre was turned over with all its contents.[140] "The kings' banners and multiform flags were raised high over the walls and towers."[141] The siege had lasted twenty-three months and one day.

The terms of the surrender included a payment of 200,000 *dinars* in exchange for the lives of the Muslim garrison, the return of a large number of Christian prisoners, and the relic of the True Cross was to be given back.

The Crusaders held a sizeable group of hostages to make sure the terms were met. Baha ad-Din mentions that Conrad of Montferrat was to be paid four hundred *dinars* personally for his role as intermediary in the negotiations.[142] Saladin agreed to meet these terms in a number of weeks, as soon as he could make the arrangements.

When the victorious Crusaders took possession of the city, they found much destruction and desecration of the churches. The *Itinerarium* reports:

> The state of the churches inside the city was horrible to behold, and even now it is distressing to remember the shocking things seen within them. For which of the faithful could gaze dry-eyed on the face of a venerable image of God's Son Himself crucified, or of some saint, which had been disfigured or dishonoured in some way? Who would not shudder at the horrific description of how that impious Turkish people abusively destroyed altars, and threw holy crosses on the ground, and beat them in contempt: they set up their mosques in places of sanctity, and having removed all signs of human redemption and the Christian religion, put in all the filth of their Muslim superstition.[143]

There had clearly been substantial losses of works of art and much damage done to the many churches in the city when they had been turned into mosques. The art destroyed, defaced, or damaged included images of the Crucifixion and the saints, crucifixes, altar crosses, and altars. When the cleansing and reconsecration of these churches was completed, the redecoration could begin while the Crusaders turned to other matters.[144]

Philippe and Richard took the main positions in Acre, in the royal castle and the Templar fortress, respectively, and divided the city between them, according to a mutual agreement they had reached in Messina in the winter of 1190, turning aside the claim of Leopold, duke of Austria, as leader of the German contingent. Then they faced the problem of arbitrating the claims of Guy and Conrad over the kingship of Jerusalem. King Philippe supported the cause of Conrad, whereas Richard had received Guy de Lusignan in Limassol in May 1191 and heard his claims sympathetically from that time.[145] After much debate the following was agreed on: Guy would remain king until his death, and Conrad would have rights to Tyre and to Beirut and Sidon when they were retaken. Guy and Conrad would share the royal revenues equally. At the death of Guy, Conrad and Isabella would take the throne.[146]

At this point, King Philippe announced his intention to turn over his portion of Acre and his share of the hostages to Conrad and to return home, leaving Duke Hugh of Burgundy to command the French troops. Richard was dismayed, but he could not dissuade Philippe from this plan. Promising Richard he would not attack his lands until Richard returned home, Philippe sailed for Tyre with Conrad on 31 July, and then sailed for Brindisi three days later. On reaching Italy, the king went to Rome, where the pope, Celestine III, showed him a precious relic-image, the "Veronica" of St. Peter's. This is perhaps the earliest recorded reference to this famous object in Rome, partly destroyed or stolen later in 1527 during the sack of Rome.[147] What irony that during the expedition of Philippe II Augustus, the only major relic-image that he is associated with is not found in the Holy Land, but, on his return from the Crusade, in Rome!

Richard was now in sole command in Acre, and he turned to the task of getting Saladin to honor the surrender treaty while he personally supervised the Crusaders as they began rebuilding the damaged walls of Acre. "King Richard was applying his attention to repairing the walls of the city so that they were higher and better than they had been before they were destroyed. He himself walked up and down constantly, encouraging the workers and giving instructions to the masons."[148] No one discusses the construction of the fortifications in any detail at this point, however, but it appears that the defenses in 1191 still consisted of a single wall and that Montmusard, the northern suburb, was still unenclosed by any fortifications.[149] The description of Acre in the *Itinerarium* is brief and says little about the walls:

> The city is triangular in shape: narrower on the west, more extended on the east. More than a third of its perimeter, on the south and west, is enclosed by the flowing waves.... There is... a tower called the Cursed Tower, which is situated on the wall which surrounds the city. A city called Ptolemais was formerly situated on top of Mount Turon [east of the Crusader city].
>
> The river which flows to the city is called the Belus [which empties into the Bay of Acre just southeast of the Crusader city and south of Turon]. Not far from the river they point out a low rock near the city, where they say the three parts of the world, Asia, Europe and Africa, all meet.[150]

Work on the walls was carried out with all deliberate speed. Negotiations with Saladin dragged on, however. A month passed and Saladin only offered to produce a partial installment on the money and the prisoners to be handed over. Richard sought the help of Conrad in Tyre to assist with the process, but Conrad would not come. Furthermore "he boasted that if and when the True Cross was received he would take half of it on the king of France's behalf and he would not give up the hostages until this was done."[151] Saladin was said to have the relic of the True Cross in his camp, and Crusader envoys were said to have seen it along with half of the money to be paid and all the prisoners except for some of the named captives who were not present.[152] When this was offered, Richard would not accept this as a valid instalment and release the sultan's men held as hostages; Saladin proposed to leave other hostages for the missing prisoners. Neither leader trusted the other and the process broke down. It is evident here that the Crusaders were extremely anxious to recover the relic of the True Cross, which had been lost at the battle of Hattin,[153] as the account in the *Itinerarium* makes clear.[154] Jacques of Vitry, writing later in the 1220s, said somewhat cynically, "they promised to give back the holy cross, which the Christians had lost in battle [at Hattin]. But as they could not find it, the King of England flew into a rage."[155] Had Saladin at least returned the holy relic, the surrender treaty could probably have been kept alive. The relic of the True Cross was clearly a major concern of the Crusaders.

As it was, after consulting with his advisors, Richard determined that Saladin would not honor the terms of the surrender after all. He therefore ordered the Muslim hostages to be marched out of the city and killed, in full view of Saladin's army.[156] This cold-blooded murder by the famous Crusader Richard would never be forgotten by the Muslims. In the face of this massacre, Saladin may have decided that the relic of the True Cross captured at Hattin would never be returned.

Richard was anxious to start his march to Jerusalem, which was of course his real objective. Two days after the massacre, on 22 August, he led his army out of Acre and headed south. This campaign would demonstrate his military prowess and regain territory for the Latin Kingdom along the coast, but it would also reveal serious weaknesses in the Crusade and ultimately, Richard was doomed to fail in his attempt to recapture Jerusalem. This campaign would also produce heavy destruction on fortifications in the path of the Crusader army. Jacques de Vitry reports in general: "When Saladin saw that the city [Acre] was taken, and a great part of his force destroyed, being greatly cast down, and having no hope of defending the other cities against us, he destroyed the walls of the cities by the sea, that is to say, of Porphyria [Haifa], Caesarea, Joppa, Ascalon, Gaza, and Darum."[157] How and when did this happen?

When Richard and the Crusader army marched southward, his first objective was Jaffa, to be used as the jump-off point for an assault on Jerusalem. After passing Haifa and rounding the point of Mount Carmel, the first major city on the coast was Caesarea. The Crusaders advanced in a compact, well-defended formation, with a fleet of ships along the coast to protect and supply the army from the sea. The *Itinerarium* author described the scene:

> There were "men-at-arms of much prowess and boldness, most becoming armour, so many pennants with fluttering flags and banners of many different shapes, so many white-tipped spears, gleaming mailshirts and helmets. It was an army terrible to the enemy, drawn up in battle-array...
>
> King Richard led the vanguard.... The Normans guarded the Standard. The "Standard" was a very long beam like a ship's mast placed on very solid planks on top of four wheels, held together by joints. It is covered with iron and appears invulnerable to sword, axe or fire. From the very top flutters the king's flag, which is commonly called the 'banner'. It is the custom to assign a force of elite knights to protect this implement,.... While the emblem remains erect the people have a sure refuge to which they can run;.... So it stands, strongly constructed "to rally the peoples."[158]

The Muslims attacked the Crusaders every day; progress was slow in any case to accommodate the foot soldiers in the heat and to coordinate the movement of the fleet with the soldiers on land. Saladin decided not to attempt a major battle with the Christians at Caesarea, so he ordered that the defenses there be dismantled before the Crusaders arrived on 30 August.[159] The *Itinerarium* reports that Saladin "partly demolished the walls and towers and destroyed as much of the city as possible."[160]

Farther south, on a plain just north of Arsur [Arsuf],[161] midway between Caesarea and Jaffa, Saladin determined to test the Crusaders with a full attack. On 7 September all through the heat of the day the battle raged. At the end of the day, the two armies fell back exhausted, but the Crusaders held the field. It was the first Crusader victory in open combat over Saladin since Hattin. Saladin was very angry. He ordered his brother as follows:

> Go without delay and have the walls and towers of Ascalon[162] razed to the ground; also the city of Gaza;[163] but entrust Darum[164] to a garrison to defend it so that my people can pass through that way. Have Galatia[165] and Blanchegarde,[166] Joppa,[167] and the Casal of the Plains[168] and Casal Maen,[169] St. George[170] and Ramula[171] and Belmont,[172] Toron,[173] Castle Ernald,[174] Beauvoir[175] and Mirabel[176] destroyed. Also, smash down all the mountain fortresses. May your eye spare neither city, castle nor casal. Destroy everything, throw everything down, except for Crac[177] and Jerusalem.[178]

Baha ad-Din describes the situation at Ascalon: Saladin

> assigned a certain portion of the ramparts to each group of labourers; the task of destroying a curtain and tower was also

> given to each emir and company of soldiers.[179] The work was difficult, because of the strength and thickness of the walls. They mined the walls and set fire to the wood supports so the walls would collapse; they packed the towers with wood and set them on fire, to soften the stone, so they could pull them down. Saladin and his men devoted about two weeks to this demolition.[180]

The first elements of the Crusader army reached Jaffa on 10 September and found the city completely destroyed, so they pitched their tents in an olive grove. When Richard arrived with the cavalry and the fleet, a council was held on how to proceed. They decided to stay in Jaffa and start repairs to the city and its walls immediately.[181] While the Crusaders were in Jaffa from 10 September to the end of October, Richard went to Acre to try to persuade Conrad of Montferrat to join the army.

In the beginning of November the Crusaders marched to Casal of the Plains and Casal Maen. Men of the army rebuilt Casal Maen [Bait Dajan] "to perfection" while the Templars rebuilt Casal of the Plains [Yazur], all in fifteen days.[182] Meanwhile envoys were sent from Richard and from Conrad to Saladin's brother, Saif ad-din, in an effort to negotiate the return of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross. Gifts were exchanged – Saif ad-Din sent seven camels and a handsome tent to Richard on one occasion – and there was much discussion; Richard and Saif ad-Din even dined together at Lydda.[183] Meanwhile there was only desultory fighting between the Crusaders and the Muslims. Eventually Richard moved his army up to a position between Ramla and Lydda where they camped for six weeks. The rainy season had started. The army wished to move on to Jerusalem.

When Saladin perceived that the Crusaders intended to march toward Jerusalem, he had the walls and towers of Latrun dismantled and then he retired to the Holy City. The Crusaders advanced to Beit Nuba just northeast of Latrun and Castellum Arnaldi in heavy rain. In early January 1192, a council was held. The Hospitallers, Templars, and resident Crusaders argued that it would be better to consolidate their position along the coast, rescue Ascalon and rebuild its defenses first, before attempting to attack Jerusalem.[184] Even if Richard's army could take Jerusalem, they argued, who would defend the Holy City against Saladin's reinforced army when the majority of the Crusaders returned home after visiting the Holy Sepulchre? In the face of reality, Richard was forced to agree. This decision was nonetheless very unpopular, many soldiers despaired of seeing Jerusalem, but the weather was terrible, and there was mud everywhere. Richard led the march to Ascalon arriving on 20 January. A large contingent of French troops refused to come and camped at Ramla. Morale in the Crusader army was very low.

When the Crusaders arrived at Ascalon, "they found that it had been so completely razed to the ground by the Saracens that it was only with great effort that they were able to get in through the gates over the heaps of stones."[185] Richard was eventually able to persuade the French contingent to rejoin the army in February. Meanwhile work had begun on the walls.

> They threw out a heap of broken stone and dug down deeply, searching for the foundations of one of the greater gates, until they hit solid masonry. You would have seen everyone working together, chiefs, nobles, knights, squire, and men-at-arms passing stones and rocks from hand to hand. There was no distinction between clergy and laity, noble and commoner, servants and princes. All laboured equally together... and so in a short time they made so much progress that even the workers themselves were impressed....
>
> When they had brought in skilled masons the work grew more rapidly. The king played a prominent part in the work as he did in all his operations. By building with his own hands, urging others on and distributing money he helped the work to advance more effectively. On his encouragement, each of the chiefs and magnates took on responsibility for completing a part of the building, each according to their means. If any of them abandoned the work because of their lack of money, the noble-minded king, whose heart was greater than his rank, would bestow on them whatever they needed from his own resources. So the work advanced . . . through his efforts and expense that it was said that he was responsible for completing the rebuilding of three quarters of the city.[186]

An important inscription found at Ascalon corroborates the description of the work at Ascalon in the *Itinerarium* and adds certain information to our knowledge of the work there. The inscription reads: "Master Philip, (clerk) of the Chamber of King (Richard) of England, made this (work of fortification from) gate to gate."[187]

Pringle identifies and describes Master Philip: he was

> King Richard I's clerk,... a native of Poitiers, of which, in 1189, Richard was overlord both as Count of Poitou and as Duke of Aquitaine. In the same year that Richard ascended the throne of England, Philip accompanied him on his Crusade and, in 1191 witnessed his marriage with Berengaria of Navarre at Limassol in Cyprus.
>
> The... inscription therefore confirm[s] the chronicle evidence cited already, which states that most of the rebuilding done at Ascalon was paid for by Richard himself. As clerk of the Chamber, Master Philip was evidently the official responsible to the King for overseeing the work, for paying the professional masons and for buying the materials. In other words, he would have acted as clerk of the works. The text thus provides us with some further insights into... how the building of defensive works was organized. Indeed, the setting up of the text itself may be seen as an administrative act; and, just as in Roman and Byzantine administrative practice it was invariably a civil rather than a military official who was responsible for organizing the building of town walls and who normally set up the inscription(s) recording the fact, so too in this text the clerk's name is given a more exalted position even than the King's. There can be no doubt, however, that the clerk was acting in the King's name and not on his own responsibility.
>
> Another detail in which the inscription supports the evidence of the chronicles is in indicating that the town wall was divided into sectors, each of which was completed by a different person. If by *porta(e)* the text means the main gate(s) of the town, then, following William of Tyre's description, the King's sector recorded here would have taken up about one-quarter of the whole enceinte. At the time of the Third Crusade, it was not only the Franks who made use of such methods. The Muslims used the same system both for building and, as we have seen, for destroying town walls. At the same time that Richard was rebuilding the walls of Ascalon, Saladin was also strengthening the defences of Jerusalem, sharing the work out between his emirs.[188]

Pringle goes on to identify the typical characteristics of this phase of the construction of the walls visible in the archaeological evidence. Richard's walls are characterized by their narrow courses, smooth ashlar facing, brown or cream mortared rubble fill, and the use of antique marble or granite columns built through the walls.[189] Certain remains of Richard's walls are still visible in the ruins of the city today.[190]

Work went on for five months, January to May 1192. It was clearly more difficult and time-consuming to rebuild the walls than it had been to destroy them. But Richard understood the strategic importance of Ascalon and intended that by reestablishing this bastion, the Crusaders could protect the Kingdom from Muslim invasions from the south.

While the rebuilding of Ascalon was in progress, Richard was continuing negotiations with Saladin and his brother in an effort to reach a settlement,[191] and he sought to quell fighting between the Pisans, partisans of Guy, with the Genoese, who supported Conrad, at Acre. Meanwhile Richard received a disturbing report about developments in England and his chancellor urged him to come home at once. He could see that his time was short, and he needed to attend to certain responsibilities before he left the Holy Land.

Shortly after Easter, 5 April 1192,[192] Richard called a council to resolve the issue of who was to be king of Jerusalem.[193] When those present at the council surprisingly voted unanimously for Conrad, Richard had no choice but to agree, despite the difficulties he had had in getting Conrad to aid the cause of the Crusade expedition. Richard sent Count Henry of Champagne as his official envoy to inform Conrad of the decision and to extend his recognition of Conrad as king-elect. Conrad received the news with joy and preparations were begun for the coronation in Tyre.[194] But the coronation would never take place.

On 28 April Conrad was assassinated in Tyre by two Muslims sent by Sheik Sinan, the "Old Man of the Mountain." Isabel, who had an infant daughter, Maria, was understandably distraught, and she sought the counsel of King Richard on how to proceed. Meanwhile, Count Henry, who had heard the news in Acre, returned to Tyre where the people of the city immediately proclaimed him to be the leader they wanted to marry Isabel and wear the crown of the kingdom. Clearly, no one wanted Guy de Lusignan.[195] Henry also sought the advice of Richard. Richard, too, was stunned at the news of Conrad's death, but he was pleased that his nephew had been chosen to be king of Jerusalem. Richard gave his assent. Isabel agreed to marry Henry and the ceremony was celebrated in Tyre with unseemly dispatch on 5 May 1192. Despite the irregularities of its arrangement, it turned out to be a happy marriage for Isabel and Henry, but Henry would never be crowned king; he ruled as Isabel's husband.[196]

Meanwhile, during the maneuvering over the kingship of Jerusalem, Richard saw to it that the ill-fated Guy de Lusignan was not forgotten. Richard had been impressed with Guy since the time they met on Cyprus in May 1191. In the face of a Greek revolt on Cyprus in early April 1192, the Templars, who bought and briefly held Cyprus after his conquest, had sold the island back to the king. Now Richard sold it to Guy.[197] Hence, Guy de Lusignan, who could not reclaim his position as king of Jerusalem following the debacle of Hattin, established the Lusignan dynasty on Cyprus, a dynasty that would remain in power for nearly three hundred years, long after Acre and the Latin Kingdom had fallen in 1291.

Following his return to Ascalon after the consultations surrounding the royal arrangements for Isabel and Henry, Richard decided to attack Darum south of Gaza. In a brief campaign Richard took the fortress on 22 May 1192 after mining the walls and towers. Count Henry arrived two days later, on Pentecost, and Richard formally turned the castle over to him.

At this point, Richard was forced to decide whether to depart for England, from where more disturbing news had just arrived, or to make one more attempt to take Jerusalem. A Poitevin preacher named William reminded Richard of all his exploits and conquests to date. "Having begun so brilliantly, do not allow a swift retreat to obscure the glory you have won so far; let it not be said against you in the future that you made a cowardly retreat leaving unfinished business."[198] Richard decided to stay and ordered his army to prepare once again to march toward Jerusalem.

The army set out on 7 June 1192 and by the 10th they arrived for a second time at Beit Nuba. While supplies were being brought up, the Syrian bishop of Lydda came to pay homage to Richard bringing him a relic of the True Cross.[199] Shortly after this, the abbot of Mar Elias also came to Richard. He told him of how he had saved a fragment of the True Cross from Saladin by burying it in the ground. Now he took the king to that place where they recovered this holy relic and brought it back to the army. "There the people adored it with the greatest devotion, eagerly kissing it and weeping many pious tears."[200] Clearly the Crusaders still sought and revered the relics of the True Cross with the greatest fervor.

Once again the king hesitated and called a council to discuss strategy, in particular whether to attack Jerusalem. A group of advisors, the majority of whom were resident Crusaders, proposed that it would be wiser to march into Egypt and attack the Muslims there. While this discussion was underway, Richard was informed that a huge supply caravan, lightly guarded, was on its way to Jerusalem from the south bringing provisions to Saladin. Richard attacked and captured the caravan southwest of Hebron and seized enormous booty. Saladin was horrified and braced for an immediate attack on Jerusalem. But when Richard returned to Beit Nuba, surprisingly the decision was made once again not to attempt an assault on the Holy City. As had been the case in January, arguments based on caution attributed to the Hospitallers, Templars, and resident Crusaders won the day. There were fears of a lack of water, their inability to protect vital supply lines, and too few soldiers willing to stay in the city to defend Jerusalem against a relieving army. Despite his professed goal of retaking Jerusalem, Richard again backed down at the brink of victory. Again, a majority of the members of the army were personally devastated; here they were only a few miles from the Holy City and the attack was called off. Richard's surprising caution here makes clear the strong influence which the resident Crusaders, especially the Hospitallers and the Templars, had in the decision-making process.

The king sounded the retreat on 4 July, but his army was dispirited and some men went back to Jaffa on their own. Richard attempted to open negotiations with Saif ad-Din for a treaty, continuing the long-standing negotiations with Saladin, but to no avail. With this response, Richard ordered the fortress of Darum to be razed and Ascalon to be further strengthened;

meanwhile he returned to Acre to prepare to depart for the West. With this reprieve, Saladin seized the initiative and sent a strong force to attack Jaffa. Richard was forced to sail to Jaffa to save the city. In a famous incident, upon his arrival,

> with no armour on his legs he threw himself into the sea first, up to his groin, and forced his way powerfully on to dry land. The first and next after the king were Geoffrey du Bois and Peter des Préaux. All the rest followed them, jumping into the sea and advancing on foot. They boldly attacked the Turks who obstinately opposed them,.... The outstanding king shot them down indiscriminately with a crossbow he was carrying in his hand, and his elite companions pursued the Turks as they fled across the beach, cutting them down.[201]

With this gallant action and other feats of derring-do, Richard secured Jaffa from the Muslims, and he ordered that its fortifications be repaired at once. Exhausted by his exertions, however, Richard again fell ill. Now he was forced to seek and obtain a truce with Saladin. On the one hand, Saladin agreed to let Christian pilgrims have safe and free access to the holy sites. Also commerce was to be exercised freely through the whole country. He also agreed that the Crusaders would hold the territory south from Acre to Jaffa. (Map 2) But one of the terms was onerous and demeaning: Ascalon was to be returned to the Muslims and its fortifications, only recently rebuilt by the Crusaders after four months of hard work, were to be demolished once again. Richard wanted to refuse this, but he was powerless to resist and had to accept this bitter pill. The truce went into effect on 2 September 1192 and would be in effect for three years and eight months. It is referred to as the Treaty of Jaffa. The relic of the True Cross was not mentioned, nor was it ever returned by Saladin to the Crusaders.[202]

Those Crusaders who were prevented from marching to the Holy City and fulfilling their vow by conquest, were now allowed to go as unarmed pilgrims. Richard himself could not or would not go, and he put one stipulation on these arrangements. The French soldiers who had been so unruly and opposed to or thwarted his commands, were not to be allowed to make this pilgrimage. The three parties who did make the pilgrimage were led by Andrew de Chavigny, Ralph Teissel, and Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury. The pilgrims in all three parties were allowed to visit the holy places in Jerusalem and they were shown the relic of the True Cross and were allowed to kiss and adore it.[203] Saladin showed much honor to the bishop and when his visit was nearly finished, he said that the bishop might ask him for whatever gift he most desired and it would be granted to him. The bishop did not ask for the return of the relic of the True Cross lost at Hattin; rather he asked that two Latin priests and two deacons be allowed to celebrate the liturgy at the Holy Sepulcher, at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and at the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. Saladin granted his request.[204]

Returning to Acre, the pilgrims made preparations to return home. On 29 September, Queens Berengaria and Joanna of Sicily set sail. Richard followed on 9 October, but was shipwrecked, captured by Leopold of Austria, and turned over to the Hohenstaufen emperor, Henry VI, who extracted a huge ransom for his release. Thus ended the Third Crusade on another unpredictable note of Christian animosity against Christian. This expedition had clearly been much more successful than the Second Crusade: the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had been reestablished, even if Jerusalem and the other major holy sites had not been captured. But omens of future trouble and decline could clearly be seen in the political dissension and fighting among the resident Crusaders, in the inability of the Western Crusade leaders to overcome dangerous factionalism in the name of the Crusader cause, and in the weakness of the Latin king.

Pilgrimage and "The Condition of the City of Jerusalem"

Ironically, the Third Crusade never attempted a direct attack on Jerusalem, but Jerusalem was in fact the last place visited on pilgrimage by soldiers who had been on the Crusade before they set out to return home. Although there is no independent pilgrimage account per se in these years, that is, 1187 into the 1190s and early thirteenth century, the accounts of the pilgrims' visits to Jerusalem in the *Itinerarium* and in the account by Ambroise include certain descriptive references to the Holy City.

In the *Itinerarium*, those in the second party of three groups of pilgrims have their visit described in the most detail. They went first to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher where they reportedly saw the relic of the True Cross that Saladin had captured at Hattin. At the aedicule of the Holy Sepulcher they saw French and Syrian prisoners at work, and some offerings were given directly to them rather than being left at the tomb only to be taken away by the Muslims for their own use. They also saw the Calvary chapel and the cracked stone in which Jesus' cross had been fixed. Leaving the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the pilgrims went south across town to the Church of St. Mary, Mount Sion, and the place of the Assumption. They also went to the Coenaculum to see the table of the Last Supper. Leaving the southwest corner of the city, the pilgrims went into the Kidron Valley to see the Tomb of the Virgin Mary. Finally,

> we went up into that vaulted room in which it is said that our Lord and Redeemer was held for the night, awaiting his crucifixion on the morrow. We poured out pious tears there and placed affectionate kisses on the place. Then as the Turks were throwing us out we left quickly. We felt great pain at the pollution profaning the holy places because of the horses which infidel Turks had irreverently stabled there.[205]

This appears to mean that as they were leaving, the pilgrims returned into the city to one of the places where, tradition said, Jesus had been held before his crucifixion.

These holy sites in Jerusalem in the *Itinerarium* correspond more or less exactly to the route Ambroise describes on his pilgrimage visit at this time. Ambroise seems to have been in the second party as well, and he identifies himself as one of the pilgrims on foot, not on horseback. Ambroise adds that the Church of St. Mary, Mount Sion, "all defaced it lies, and ruined and laid waste."[206] This is apparently a very up-to-date account of the condition of this venerable church as a result of the 1187 conquest.

Along with these comments on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the early 1190s, we also have the important and informative text known as "L'Estat de la cité de Jérusalem," "La Citez de

Jérusalem, the "The City of Jerusalem," or "The condition of the City of Jerusalem."

The preface to this text says, "As most good Christians are glad to talk and hear about the holy city of Jerusalem and the holy places where Our Lord died and lived, we will tell you what it was like on the day Saladin and the Saracens took it from the Christians," that is, 2 October 1187.[207] This text appears today in manuscripts of the chronicle of Ernoul, indeed in all the manuscripts of the short continuations to William of Tyre's *History* up to *c.*1229, and it is placed in the narrative just before the account of the siege of Jerusalem by Saladin.[208] It also appears in the Rothelin Continuation of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre, inserted at the year 1229, and in the *Assises de Jerusalem*, both texts that were written well after 1187 (or 1229), despite retaining almost the same prefatory sentences referring to October 1187 for the "City of Jerusalem."[209] Even though the L'Estat as we know it is found in these narrative chronicles, however, it is possible, even likely, that it began its existence as an independent text to guide pilgrims to the various pilgrimage sites in and around Jerusalem. Versions of this text were translated in the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society publications by C. R. Conder, and more recently by Janet Shirley.[210]

The author(s) of this description of Jerusalem is not known, neither the original author nor those who later on revised the text. The text functions in two ways: on the one hand, it is a kind of commemoration of the Holy City in the long period when Christian access was often severely restricted, that is, from 1187 to 1229, for those texts that continue William of Tyre's *History* up to *c.*1231.[211] On the other hand, the text serves as an introduction to Jerusalem for those continuations that recount the story of the Crusader Kingdom up into the 1240s, the 1260s, or the 1270s.[212]

"The City of Jerusalem" begins its description on Mount Sion with the Church of St. Mary and the Augustinian monastery; it refers to the holy places of the Last Supper, the upper room where Christ appeared to the apostles and to St. Thomas after Easter and at Pentecost, and the place where the Virgin Mary died. Unlike the account of Ambroise, it makes no mention of damage to the Church of St. Mary.

Then the text addresses the four main gates of the city and the streets that ran from those gates with major sites located on them. There was the gate of David (Jaffa Gate) on the west side, the Golden Gate on the east side, St. Stephen's Gate (the Damascus Gate) on the north, and the Gate of Mount Sion on the south. The author provides a combination of material on the holy sites and information about what the visitor will see when entering from each of these gates. The author also mentions other, less important gates, including the Gate of Jehosaphat (the Lion Gate, or the Gate of St. Stephen today), the Lazarus postern gate (east of what is today the New Gate), and the Tannery postern gate (the Dung Gate). In the process of discussing these gates the author also describes certain abbeys and churches outside the walls of Jerusalem, but the author concludes by noting that only those churches and abbeys with congregations that are in communication with Rome are included, that is, primarily Frankish establishments.

"The City of Jerusalem" can be seen as having an ecclesiastical focus, and it does have some of the stories and lore of the sites, but it is clearly different from earlier pilgrim's accounts, such as those by John of Würzburg or Theodorich. In organization it is somewhat different from the biblical – main holy sites, or pilgrimage route sequencing of the earlier pilgrims, although the main holy sites are still focal points of discussion.[213] By approaching the Holy City in terms of the main gates, the principal streets running from those gates and the primary sites found on those streets, the text takes on more of the character of a guidebook. Whereas the text deals mainly with the situation of Jerusalem under Crusader control before Saladin's conquest as indicated in the preface, it also has some comments on current conditions, that is, after the conquest. All of it is aimed at Frankish pilgrims, with certain important practical material including information on markets and accommodations as well. Because the author describes the city with reference to streets leading in from each of the four main gates, there is some repetition in regard to references to certain important sites, but the text is quite informative nonetheless.

The author begins by locating Jerusalem and telling us that it is now, in 1187, not situated as it was when Jesus was crucified. In the time of Jesus, Jerusalem was located more on Mount Sion and the sites of Calvary and the Holy Sepulcher were outside the city walls. After describing what can be seen on Mount Sion, the author starts with the Gate of David on the west side. The main streets mentioned are Mount Sion Street, David Street, and Patriarch Street. The author refers to the Dome of the Rock as the Templum Domini, indicating that it was Crusader Jerusalem being described, not Ayyubid or Muslim Jerusalem. Furthermore, when St. James Church is mentioned, there is no reference to the Armenians, for reasons the author gives later, and the saint is identified as St. James of Galicia, referring to his great pilgrimage site at Compostela. The food markets are described off David Street and the Exchange: the corn market; the vegetable, fruit, and spice market; the fish, cheese, and fowl market. The shops of the palmers, who sold palm fronds to pilgrims, and of the Syrian and the Latin goldsmiths, are also specified, alongside the Convent of St. Mary Major, the Monastery of St. Mary Latin, and the hospital.

Only then are we introduced to the first main holy site, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Although the Church of the Holy Sepulcher receives a whole section of the text, the description is in fact quite cursory, but there is some interesting terminology. The entry from the parvis in front of the south transept portal is described in some detail. There are three entrances from the south: the main entry (no indication is given that one of the two main doors was walled up), the entry up the stairs to the right and into the Calvary chapel, and the entry to the left through the Holy Trinity Chapel. The Holy Trinity Chapel is noted as having become a popular place for weddings, and children were baptized there. The aedicule of the Holy Sepulcher stood directly inside the church from this chapel; it is a structure this text refers to as the "Monument." At the east end of the church was the apse with an altar called the "Cavet."[214] It is interesting that the author uses both the word "chevez" and a special word for an altar in the chevet, the "Cavet." Between the monument and the choir was an altar where the Greeks sang their liturgy, set off by a partition, and there was a lectern called the Compass where the canons read the epistle. In earlier pilgrims' accounts, the Compass was described as the center of the world, but this author omits any such reference,[215] nor is there any mention of the True Cross Chapel of the Syrians.[216] Also accessible from the east end were the Crusader canon's cloister, and the Chapel of St. Helen, where the cross, nails, hammer, and the crown of thorns of Jesus were found, according to this author. Unfortunately this text omits any reference to the figural imagery of the mosaics or the inscriptions found in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, mentioned by certain earlier pilgrims, especially John of Würzburg and Theodorich.

The next section of the text refers to markets for cooked food, on the ominous-sounding Malquisinat Street, and for cloth and clothing, both in vaulted streets off the Exchange. Then there is a long description on the Temple, the second of the major holy sites. Here again the Crusader terminology was used: the Temple of Solomon is identified as where the brothers of the Temple, that is, the Templars, lived. The Dome of the Rock is called the Templum Domini, and the quarters of the Augustinian canons is referred to as to the left, that is, to the north of the Templum Domini. The author also refers to the Golden Gate and how the Crusaders opened it only twice a year: once for the Palm Sunday procession and once for the Feast of the Holy Cross on 14 September. This section is striking in referring to the conditions of Crusader Jerusalem before Saladin "cleansed" the Frankish buildings and artistic decoration on the Haram al Sharif following his capture of the city.

In the next part of the text, the author describes the region related to the northern gate, called St. Stephen's Gate. Outside of this gate was the traditional site of St. Stephen's stoning and the church marking the place, which was pulled down before Saladin's siege because it was close to the walls. But also here was found the "Asnerie," that is, the stable for pack animals used by the Hospitallers. The Asnerie was not demolished, however, "and afterwards it was, in fact, essential to visiting Christians, who paid to enter Jerusalem when the city was under Saracen control, because they [the Muslims] would never let them reside within the city."[217] Thus the author of this part makes clear that he (or she) is writing after Saladin's conquest in 1187, when Christians were allowed to come to Jerusalem under terms of a truce (e.g., after the Treaty of Jaffa in 1192) for three years and eight months, or even later. Because the Muslims would not let Christians stay inside the city while they were in control, pilgrims could find accommodations at the Asnerie. The author then goes on to give further details about how Christians coming to Muslim Jerusalem would be treated: they would have to come to the Holy Sepulcher by the postern gate of St. Lazarus, and they would have to pay the Muslims to visit the holy sites. This section makes clear that even if the basic text was written in 1187 just before Saladin's siege, there were later emendations that refer to the period between 1187 and 1229. What is surprising, perhaps, is that there are not more of these emendations in the main text of the L'Estat, to account for the numerous important changes that the Muslims effected in Jerusalem in 1187 and the years following. This indicates rather strikingly that the author wished this text to reflect Crusader Jerusalem primarily as it was during the time they controlled it, not as it was after 1187 in Muslim hands.

The remaining portions of the text describe the streets and the gates as yet not discussed, along with important sites outside the city walls. There is, for example, an unusually long passage on the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross to the west of the David Gate, where a relic of the True Cross was located, and the author tells an unusual conglomeration of stories about the wood of the Cross. One of the stories relates how the head of Adam is related to the cross of Christ. "In memory of this all the crucifixes made in the land of Jerusalem have a head placed at the foot of the cross."[218]

The sites related to the Tannery postern gate and the gate of Jehosaphat are also described. The Jewish quarter is described as being in the northeast section of the city, north of the Church of St. Anne adjacent to the street of Jehosaphat. Many Syrians are also cited as living in that quarter. Along the street of Jehosaphat is also located "the church of Rest; there it was said, Our Lord Jesus Christ rested as he was being led to crucifixion. There too was the prison where he was held the night he was apprehended in Gethsemane."[219]

Outside the gate of Jehosaphat, the text locates the Tomb of the Virgin. In Crusader times there was a Benedictine abbey with a church and the Tomb inside the church.[220] The author notes that when the Muslims took the city the abbey was demolished, but the church and the Tomb were untouched. In fact the text mentions a number of holy sites in Gethsemane, on the Mount of Olives and at Bethany and Bethpage. It is therefore quite surprising that the place of the Ascension, a major holy site in earlier pilgrims' accounts, is not mentioned by name other than to say, "On Mount Olivet was an abbey of white monks."[221]

Finally, the author concludes this basic description of Jerusalem by saying,

> Now I have told you the names of the abbeys and churches of Jerusalem outside the city, and of those in the streets of the Latins, but I have said nothing at all about the abbeys and churches of the Syrians, nor of the Greeks, Jacobites, Bedouin, Nestorians, Armenians, or any of the other peoples who had churches and abbeys in the city but were not of the Roman obediance. The reason I have no intention of telling you about all these people just mentioned is that they are said never in any way to have accepted obediance to Rome.[222]

This is a striking passage because it voices a strong multicultural awareness on the part of this author. John of Würzburg had concluded his pilgrim's account *c.*1170 with a similar, if not even more remarkable, catalogue of the many Christian peoples in Jerusalem. The parallelism of the two passages strongly suggests that whoever was the author of the "City of Jerusalem," he or she was also a Crusader pilgrim from the West, possibly one who had visited Jerusalem shortly before Saladin's conquest. The presence of the special details pertaining to Christian pilgrimage visits between 1187 and 1229 indicates that later the same author returned, or another pilgrim came to Jerusalem, and added these emendations.

As we shall see,[223] additions to this basic text continued to be made later, perhaps during a period of truce between the Crusaders and the Muslims. Thus even if the original author had not returned after October 1187, at least a later author incorporated certain selected reports on the conditions a pilgrim would face in making a pilgrimage at that time, when the Holy City was in the hands of the Muslims. Whoever the original author was, the fact is that when a description of Jerusalem was needed, versions of this text are used for all the different versions of the continuations of William of Tyre's *History*. It was a special text apparently generated at the time of Saladin's invasion of the Latin Kingdom that was then recycled for later use, "immobilized" to a certain extent like certain coins of the realm after 1187, but revised from time to time.

Crusader Manuscripts at the Time of the Third Crusade

"The Condition of the City of Jerusalem" is a text that provides us with direct knowledge of the Holy City in the year 1187, but it does not survive from a known manuscript written in that year.[224] In fact the earliest codex that contains this important description dates only much later, in the thirteenth century. The only manuscripts known to me which are directly related to this period, specifically to the year 1191, are in fact parchments that refer to financial records transacted during the course of the Third Crusade. Although they are undecorated, and thus not examples in themselves of artistic work to take note of directly, they are valuable nonetheless for what they tell us of Crusader life at the time of the Third Crusade.

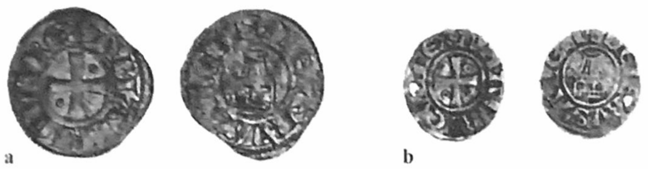
The "Acre Archive" came on the market in London in 1987.[225] At that time Sotheby's put up twenty-five documents written on vellum that pertained to financial arrangements, mostly made during the siege of Acre. The catalogue describes the documents as follows:

> Twenty-five documents varying in size from c. 59 mm. by 130 mm. to 225 mm. by 185 mm., written on vellum of inconsistent quality but generally Italianate in appearance, written in various dark brown inks in a variety of European late romanesque charter hands, some with flourished initials, mostly with folded plica at foot, some with seal tags and several with coloured threads for pendant seals, no seals remaining, some with contemporary endorsements of the names of the issuers or the sums of money involved, all with seventeenth- or possibly eighteenth-century endorsements and filing classification in an Italian hand, all with at least one (and sometimes up to three) nineteenth-century filing numbers on dorses, some with stains, some creased in folds and elsewhere, some (including that of Philip Augustus) rather faded, generally in fine condition.[226]

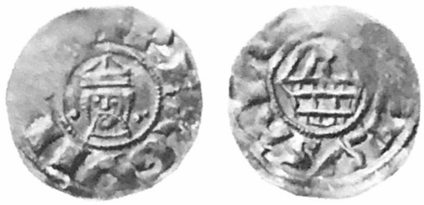
Most of these documents provide a fascinating example of the interactive commerce that went on between merchants from the Italian maritime cities, chiefly Genoa, and the members of the Third Crusade. They all give us a glimpse of the context in which the Crusaders lived and worked, and in which they also, of course, commissioned works of art in other circumstances. Because these documents are unstudied and they need to be checked carefully to be certain no forgeries are contained among them, I can only make a few preliminary observations about what they apparently contain. Following are the names and transactions recorded from a small selection of the documents:

1. Philip de Dreux, bishop of Beauvais, stands surety for 100 silver marks borrowed from Waleran de Casanova, citizen of Pisa, by Nicholas de Chambli, Hugh de Mosseio, Peter de Follosia, and Hugh de Franssureis, dated "in castris iuxta accon," 1191.
8. Radulphus, lord of Coucy, stands surety for 100 silver marks borrowed from Giovanni de Rosio and associates, merchants of Genoa, by William de Farmers, Radulphus de Fossatis, Radulphus de Cozeta, Hugh de Rosseo, and Peter de Berlis, dated "in castris iuxta Accon," May 1191.
18. John, count of Ponthieu, stands surety for 200 *livres tournois* borrowed from Salvagius Testa, Peter Stroxoli and associates, citizens of Genoa, by Gui de Noellis, Hugh li Wer, Robert de Sancto Rikario and Radulphus de Vima, on behalf of all the Crusaders from the town of Abbeville, dated "in castris iuxta Accon," June 1191.
20. Philip, king of France, agrees to stand surety in place of Philip, count of Flanders, who has died during the siege of Acre while acting as guarantor for a total of 820 silver marks borrowed from Lodisius Brezano, citizen of Genoa, by the late count's knights Ingebrand de Mauritania, Sicher of Ghent, Nicholas de Ruminiaco, Matthew de Cysonio, Philip de Hamald, Hugh de Roureio, Roger de Bosco, Gui de Morlaio, Walter de Leskin, and Baldwin de Villeriis, dated "in castris iuxta accon," 1191, witnessed "in palacio nostro" by Gui the butler, Matthew the chamberlain, and Radulphus the constable. . . .
21. Richard, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, safe conduct to travel back beyond the seas, without loss of the status of a Crusader, to Jacobo de Ihota to collect money due back to him having been loaned, on the king's surety, to Galfrid de Haia, William de Gorram, Philip Walensi and Marcaderus, "Teste me ipso Apud Accon," 3 August [1191].[227]

These documents provide interesting and valuable evidence for a number of important points, not the least of which is the fact that financial dealings were complicated and detailed documents were necessary. First, it is clear that financial dealings were required during the Crusade to make it possible for the participating soldiers to meet their financial obligations. Second, nineteen of these dealings took place in the Crusader camp outside Acre, five took place in Acre, and in one case, the document indicated it was executed in Jaffa. This suggests that life in the Crusader camp near Acre took on the character of a small town, with commerce, religious services including even marriages, and apparently even the minting of coins. Third, most of the loans reported in these documents were handled by Genoese or Pisans, with the Genoese being more prominent in numbers and in the amounts loaned. Fifteen Genoese merchants were mentioned by name, compared with only four Pisans, but one of the latter, Jacopo de Ihota, is mentioned five times. Indeed, a number of financiers and borrowers are mentioned in more than one document. Fourth, the Italianate character of these documents produce the interesting phenomenon of names being written in phoneticized Italian spellings. For example in no. 18, we read Robert de Sancto Rikario for Robert de Saint Riquier. Fifth, the multicultural nature of the people involved in these documents, both in terms of their place of origin and their station in life, is notable. We find the financiers to be all Genoese or Pisans. The borrowers include many French or Italians, a few Flemings, one or two English and Germans. Those standing surety are for the most part prominent figures such as the bishops of Beauvais or of Chartres; Richard, king of England, or Philip, king of France; and the counts of Ponthieu, Flanders, Blois, or certain knights. One figure, Radulphus of Coucy, is apparently a member of the family whose heraldic arms appear on a "wappenpokal" found at Resafa in 1982. Radulphus, or Raoul, stood surety in May 1191, at Acre, but then apparently died shortly thereafter, in November 1191 also



10. Latin Kingdom, Amalricus denier, immobilized type: a. and **b.** (photos: after Slocum catalogue).



11. Cyprus, copper coin with portrait of Guy de Lusignan. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

at Acre.[228] The "wappenpokal" that later turns up at Resafa in the thirteenth century may have been brought to the Latin Kingdom by Radulphus.[229]

In sum, these pieces of vellum with their financial records potentially provide a remarkable insight into the lives of a number of important and not so important Crusaders. Major sums of money are involved, so records such as these are necessary. Many of these persons, like Radulphus de Coucy, must have had personal possessions that included works of art, including not only metalwork, but also manuscripts and devotional images. These parchment records do not tell us about those works of art, but they do provide a glimpse of the rich cultural context in which the Crusaders lived and died, and out of which their artistic production emerged.

Crusader Coinage in the Latin Kingdom, 1187–1192

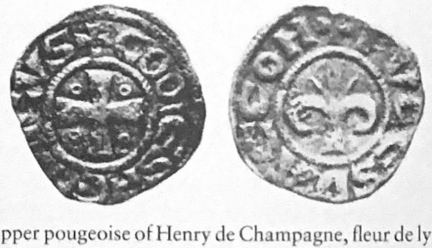
Besides the proposed emergency issue of coinage in Jerusalem struck in September 1187 to help pay for the defense of the Holy City by Balian d'Ibelin and Patriarch Heraclius discussed above, there are a number of other anonymous, special coin issues that have not been securely dated or located.[230] In comparison, there are relatively few examples of regular Crusader coinage in this period. The historical situation during Saladin's conquest and the subsequent period of the Third Crusade was obviously turbulent. Our understanding is hampered by the lack of coin hoards from this crucial period. Nonetheless questions arise about the regular royal Crusader coinage that exists, despite the rapid changes in rulers in 1191–2. We must consider the various anonymous coins, possible baronial issues, and the presence of western European coinage brought eastward by the Third Crusaders.

In considering royal issues by the Latin King of Jerusalem, there is the possibility that the old "Amalricus" denier (Fig. 10) was continued as an immobilized type after the death of Amaury, not only during the time of Baldwin IV, Amaury's brother, and Baldwin V, Amaury's son, but also possibly during the reign of Guy de Lusignan.[231] Guy was, after all, married to the daughter of Amaury. Considering this possibility, however, we have to admit that there is no particular numismatic evidence to attribute examples of this coin to the period 1187–92. All that we can say is that Guy de Lusignan issued his own distinctive coinage at some point between 1186 and 1194, as did Henry of Champagne, 1192–7. The hoard evidence that we have strongly suggests, however, that immobilized types were continued after the death of Amaury in 1174.[232] The question is when and by whom?

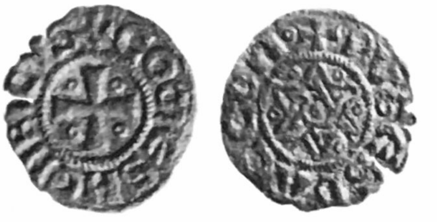
If we accept the idea that the three logical mints in the Latin Kingdom prior to Saladin's conquest in 1187 were Jerusalem, Acre, and Tyre,[233] the problem of what happened to the currency stocks between 1187 and 1191 can be hypothetically answered by at least suggesting that they may have been secured in Tyre until Acre was retaken in 1191. How soon the minting of the immobilized "Amalricus" type may have been resumed is unclear, but on the whole, it seems unlikely between 1187 and 1192. It seems unlikely because of the chaos and confusion in regard to who held the kingship and under what circumstances during the military action in this period, and the fact that Conrad of Montferrat, not yet elected king until 1192, held the city of Tyre from 1187 until he was assassinated there. Other factors to be considered are the possibility that Guy de Lusignan may have issued his own coins, and the fact that Henry of Champagne appears to have issued his own currency at this time. Additionally, there seems to have been some separate emergency coinage struck as well. One might entertain the notion that a regular, traditional coinage in the name of a former king could usefully have been resorted to when Guy was attempting to survive as king after Hattin in July 1187, both before and especially after the death of his wife Sibylla in the early fall of 1190. But the hoard evidence does not seem to reveal any evidence to lend credence to such an idea.

Among the royal issues by the current Latin King of Jerusalem, two distinctive coins are conveniently identified: 1. an interesting copper coin with a portrait of Guy de Lusignan, inscribed on the obverse, "+ REX GVIDO D," and on the reverse, "EIERUSALEM,"[234] (Fig. 11) and 2. a copper coin known as a *pougeoise* of Henry of Champagne inscribed on the obverse, "+ COMES HENRICUS," and on the reverse, "+ PUGES DACCON"[235] (Figs. 12 and 13). Conrad of Montferrat was not known to have issued any coinage in the Levant while he was in command of the city of Tyre or during his brief time as king-elect.

The copper portrait coin of Guy de Lusignan has been persuasively argued by Metcalf to have been minted most likely only on Cyprus.[236] Moreover, as Malloy, Preston, and Seltman illustrate, there are three distinct portrait types.[237] All three portraits are bearded, but one has a Byzantine-style crown with



12. Acre, copper pougeoise of Henry de Champagne, fleur de lys on reverse. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)



13. Acre, copper pougeoise of Henry de Champagne, hexagram on reverse. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

pendulia, one has a Western-style crown with three jewelled crosses, and one seems to be a debased version of the Byzantine type in which the curls of the hair predominate. All three have the peculiar division of the "DE" of the inscription, with the "D" on the obverse and the "E" on the reverse. How can these different portrait types be explained?

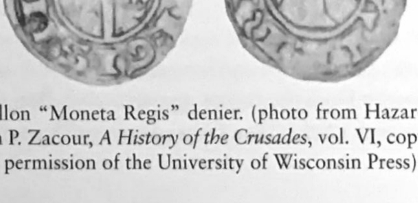
If Metcalf is correct that Guy issued all of his coinage during his two-year time on Cyprus, it means that he combined the "Rex Guido de Ierusalem" type with two issues that refer to Cyprus in their inscriptions. There was a scyphate electrum bezant with a full-length standing figure of the king on the obverse with the inscription, "+ REX GVIDO DE CIPRO," and on the reverse, a seated figure of Christ enthroned with the inscription, "IC" "XC." The image of the full-length figure of the king appears to be drawn from Guy's royal seal of 1190, where the king is depicted full length, but enthroned.[238] The image of the standing full-length ruler and the style of his royal robes seem to derive from Byzantine sources.[239] There was also a copper coin with an eight-pointed star on the obverse and the inscription, "+ REX GVIDO," and on the reverse, a cross with pellets, and the inscription, "+ DE CIPRO."[240] The fact is, of course, that Guy was crowned king of Jerusalem, but was never crowned king of Cyprus. Furthermore it is documented that Guy used his title, king of Jerusalem, on Cyprus. And, as Metcalf points out, almost all of the extant Guy de Lusignan coins have been found on Cyprus, almost none in the Holy Land.[241] Metcalf speculates that the "Rex Guido de Ierusalem" coins may have been minted in Limassol.

There are two observations to be made about this unexpected possibility. If Guy de Lusignan really did have all his coins minted on Cyprus, it symbolically indicates at the very outset of the Lusignan dynasty on the island the close link that would exist between Lusignan Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom, politically, economically, and otherwise, all through the thirteenth century. Furthermore, the copper coin with the inscription, "Rex Guido de Ierusalem" is unique among twelfth-century Crusader royal issues in using a portrait of the king in place of the "cross pattée" on the obverse, which is the normal motif on royal coinage. The likely model for the portrait obverse with an architectural motif reverse was the royal seal for the king of Jerusalem, which had a very strong tradition in the twelfth century.[242] For the idea of the bust-length portrait, it is not inconceiveable that Guy was inspired both by the Byzantine type mentioned earlier and the Bohemond III deniers from Antioch, the only Crusader coin type to employ this imagery consistently in the second half of the twelfth century.[243] We should note, however, that the Antioch helmet deniers employ the portrait on the obverse with the cross on the reverse. The problem here, it seems, was the cross on the traditional royal coin type obverse. I propose that whatever the source of the idea for the portrait, Guy placed his own royal image on this coin – following the program of his royal seal – as a carefully chosen substitute for the cross, in view of the fact that the True Cross was lost at Hattin when the Crusader army was under his command. The fact that he places an image of the Holy Sepulcher on the reverse of this coin, thereby maintaining the royal tradition of architectural motifs of the Holy City, means that he was sensitive to the traditions of royal numismatic and sigillographic design by his predecessors, the kings Baldwin and Amaury.[244] The intriguing representation of his royal portrait as both Frankish and byzantinizing in iconography seems, furthermore, to reflect the special conditions he faced on Cyprus, with the Greek population and the Frankish overlords, which he apparently was attempting to address.

In contrast to the coinage associated with Guy de Lusignan, the copper coins of Henry of Champagne are quite Western in appearance.[245] Henry did not rule as king of Jerusalem and he chose to style himself "+ COMES HENRICUS" on the obverse of his coins, never using the royal title on his coins in the Levant (Figs. 12 and 13). On the reverse we find a handsome fleur-de-lis, or, quite rare, a hexagram or six-pointed star, both motifs found in France, but oddly not in Champagne.[246] There is also the unusual feature for Crusader coins of the designation of the currency, "PUGES DACCON." The denomination of these coins is somewhat in doubt. They are not deniers; they are *pougeois* or oboles, a coin worth a quarter of a denier. What is interesting about this is that a *pougeois* only makes its appearance in France slightly later, in the early thirteenth century.[247]

Henry of Champagne's coinage constitutes, as Porteous describes it, "the first coins that can be given a definite place in the renascent kingdom."[248] They demonstrate a certain connection with western Europe that reflects the strong influx of Western Crusaders and, no doubt, Western coins with the Third Crusade. They also show that ideas for types, as well as design and designation can still come from the Crusader East even during this period of upheaval and reorganization, and they provide us with a link to the future in terms of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, because as coinage they are issued from 1192 to 1197.

Among the most intriguing coinage in this period there are a certain number of anonymous issues, one of which features a cross design of great interest (Fig. 14). There is a billon denier with the image of the True Cross, that is, a double-armed cross, which includes a pendant alpha and omega from the lower crossarm. It appears on the obverse with the inscription "MONETA REGIS," and on the reverse a typical equal armed cross pattée with the inscription "+ REX IERL'M."[249] This coin



14. Acre, billon "Moneta Regis" denier. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

is related to an anonymous billon denier, a royal issue probably from the time of King Fulk that also carries an image of the True Cross, as well as the seals of the grand masters of the knights Hospitaller.[250]

Without doubt it is the imagery of the True Cross that is distinctive about this coin. The True Cross served as one of the fundamental symbols of the Crusader presence in the Holy Land during the twelfth century.[251] When the relic of the True Cross was lost at the battle of Hattin, however, the Crusaders ceaselessly attempted to recover it through their negotiations, as recorded by the chroniclers of the Third Crusade and Saladin's historians and biographers. There can be little doubt that for the period 1187–92, the True Cross was very much on the minds of the Crusaders.[252]

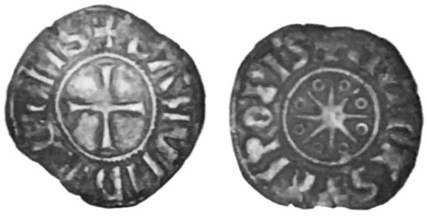
What distinguishes the image of the True Cross on this coin is the presence of the pendant alpha and omega. Since early Christian times, the alpha and omega when associated with the cross symbolized the infinite nature of Christ, and the universality of the message of the cross for all time.[253] No reliquary of the True Cross, Crusader or otherwise, survives in this period, 1098–1291, however, with pendants of the alpha and the omega.[254] The sole examples of this iconography in the twelfth century otherwise appears to be on the seals of the grand masters of the Hospitallers and on one early seal of the bishop of Acre.[255] Given the way the representation is composed on the Hospitaller seals, one is meant to understand that the grand master is depicted kneeling before an image of the True Cross, or a reliquary of the True Cross. The most notable reliquary of the True Cross in Jerusalem was, of course, the royal Crusader reliquary in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which was located very near to the Hospital of the Knights of St. John.[256] We have no information that this royal reliquary had pendants of the alpha and the omega, nor do we hear of a representation in the True Cross chapel with this iconography.

What does this specific iconography mean on the coin? It appears that the iconography of the double-armed True Cross with the alpha and omega as pendants is particularly associated with the Hospitallers in Jerusalem in the twelfth century, before 1187. In 1187, with the loss of Jerusalem to the Muslims, however, this association was interrupted. In 1191, with the reconquest of Acre by the Crusaders, the cult of the True Cross was reestablished in Acre. Not only was the patriarchal church in Acre dedicated as the cathedral of the Holy Cross, but also the headquarters of the knights Hospitaller was relocated there. We may also note that, although the Hospital in Acre was originally located in close proximity to the Cathedral of the Holy Cross where the relic of the True Cross was kept, by 1149, however, the Hospitallers had moved farther to the west, and also we now know the cathedral was located farther to the east than originally thought.[257] The fact that the "MONETA REGIS" coin is anonymous, that it uses the special iconography of the True Cross with the alpha and omega as pendants, and that it retains the reference to Jerusalem on the reverse, seems to indicate several significant things. First, this is a coin that is associated with the newly relocated cult of the True Cross in Acre after its reconquest in 1191. Second, the special iconography of the True Cross with the pendants found here is important. It both differentiates this coin from the earlier anonymous billon denier coin with the imagery of the True Cross issued in Jerusalem at the time of Fulk,[258] and it maintains the association with the Hospitallers, whose grand master continued to use this iconography on his seal throughout the thirteenth century. It is this strong connection with the Hospitallers that has been noted with regard to the city becoming known as St. Jean d'Acre, either at the end of the thirteenth century or possibly later, exactly when is not certain. Third, I believe that Metcalf may be correct in suggesting that "the issue could have been produced in haste immediately after the recovery of Acre, when King Richard and King Philip were still adjudicating the rival claims of King Guy and would-be king Conrad."[259] This means that just at that crucial time when the kingship of Jerusalem was unresolved, in July of 1191, a coin was struck that nonetheless proclaimed the association between the king of Jerusalem and the True Cross, and it was struck in Acre where the cult of the True Cross was newly reestablished. At the time of its reconquest, Acre became the provisional capital of the Latin Kingdom and, although the Crusaders could not have known it in July 1191, it would remain the de facto capital for one hundred years. Finally, the "MONETA REGIS" coin featured iconography strongly associated with the Hospitallers, who were heavily involved in the affairs of the kingdom and, along with the Templars, had assumed a new importance in these affairs during the Third Crusade.[260]

The strong association of Acre with the cult of the True Cross at this time can be reinforced indirectly by a curious story about Conrad de Montferrat. The continuation to the Genoese chronicler, Caffaro, reports that sometime after the Crusaders retook Acre in July 1191, Conrad of Montferrat and the king of France, Philippe Augustus, found a reliquary of the True Cross in the commandery of the Hospital of St. John in Acre. The relic contained inside was apparently labeled as follows: "crux sancta hospitalis beati Laçari de Betania." This suggests that a relic of the True Cross, formerly preserved in Bethany, had been brought to Acre for safekeeping, perhaps at the time of Saladin's invasion. Conrad of Montferrat sent this relic to the Cathedral of St. Lawrence in Genoa where it was exposed behind the altar dedicated to St. John.[261] The story raises many questions, not the least of which is why and under what circumstances Conrad would remove a reliquary from the hospital in Acre. Whatever the explanation for that may be, it is evident that it would not have been possible for anyone, and especially Conrad, to export a relic of the True Cross from Acre at this critical time, unless the Crusaders had their own relic ensconced in the place of honor in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross.[262] Richard I had been given two relics of the True Cross while the Crusader army was camped in Beit Nuba in June of 1192. Presumably one or both of these relics were deposited in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross before Richard left Acre. The Syrians in Acre were also said to have a relic of the True Cross as they also had in Jerusalem at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

In sum, the "MONETA REGIS" coin appears to be a special regal issue of limited numbers produced in Acre, one which is accordingly very scarce in the finds and only found in the region around Acre. Clearly it celebrates the association of the king of Jerusalem with the True Cross. Quite possibly it may have been struck to commemorate a special event, such as the restablishment of the cult of the True Cross in Acre at a time

15. Acre, gold bezant, 80% fineness. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)



17. Tripoli, Bohemond star billon denier. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

when the kingship was unresolved, or even the peace treaty of 2 September 1192.

The other type of royal coinage to be noted is the gold issue, the bezant. In the years 1187–92, the bezant produced in the Latin Kingdom underwent a major change in metal content although the type of Muslim coin it imitated continued to be the al-Amir type, a type found in Egypt all through the twelfth century.[263] The gold standard of 80 percent fineness (Fig. 15) was reduced at some point to 68 percent fineness (Fig. 16). Numismatists refer to the turbulent events of 1187–8 as the likely time that the change occurred, noting that "new bezants" are referred to in certain documents of 1190, 1192, and 1194.[264] These coins appear to have been minted mainly in Acre (1191–2) and Tyre (1187–92) in the period we are discussing here.

As for baronial coinage in this period, there was little, because the main centers (e.g., Sidon and Beirut) were not under Crusader control between 1187 and 1192.[265] Only Tyre was, but Conrad of Montferrat issued no coins during his stay, and its baronial coins are much later, from the mid-thirteenth century, and mostly from the second half. In sum, baronial coinage, thought at one time to be proliferating during the time the royal rights of the kings of Jerusalem were being weakened, especially in the period of 1187 and the years immediately following, is not yet a factor to be considered by 1192.

Farther north, in Tripoli and in Antioch, coinage was however continuing to be issued all through this period. The major coin type of Tripoli between 1187 and 1192 consists of a star billon denier, either bearing the name of Count Raymond III, "+ RAMUNDUS COMS" on the obverse or, after his death in 1187, "+ BAMUNDUS COMS" (Fig. 17) when Bohemond of Antioch assumes power.[266] The denier gets its popular name from a handsome eight-pointed star on the reverse, which is surrounded by the inscription: "+ CIVITAS TRIPOLIS." Copper coins from Tripoli at this time are anonymous by contrast and only carry the inscription "Civitas Tripolis." They can have the interesting star and crescent design, or a fortified gate or castle design (Figs. 18 and 19). Tripoli was also the source of a gold bezant (Fig. 20) modeled on the eleventh-century type of al-Mustansir in contrast to what is found in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Like the Latin Kingdom bezants, the standard of gold used for those produced in Tripoli was changed in 1187 or a year or two later.[267]

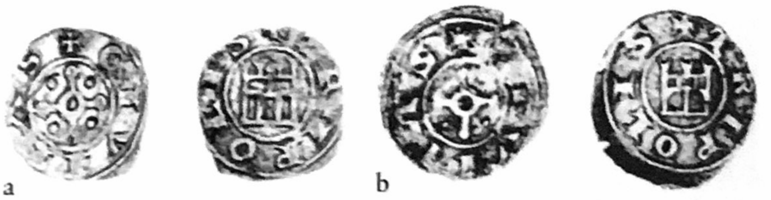
16. Acre, gold bezant, 68% fineness. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

Antioch also used al-Mustansir type bezants, but their supply was apparently minted in Tripoli.[268] In Antioch, the helmet denier is the major coin type (Fig. 21), one of the longest-lived types of any Crusader coin, dating from the time of Bohemond III about 1187 to the time of Bohemond VI, who died in 1274.[269] These brief comments on the coinage of Tripoli and Antioch indicate that their mints continued basic immobilized types with little alteration between 1187 and 1192, although the levels of production may have been reduced. We can expect that the upheaval created by Saladin's invasion of the Crusader States would, however, eventually cause some important changes in the North as well.

This leaves the important question of the role and importance of western European coins in the Crusader States to be considered. Michael Metcalf has observed that

> if European deniers were imported into the Crusader principalities in the decades before the fall of the First Kingdom [1187], it would seem that in principle they were required to be melted down and reminted into the official issues of the Latin kings or the counts of Tripoli or the princes of Antioch, for the hoards . . . contain few strays of European types, other than the preferred currencies. From the time of the Third Crusade a totally different situation obtained in the Latin Kingdom (but not, apparently, at Antioch). A profuse variety of French, Italian, and other western European coins are found in five important hoards from Tripoli, Kessab, Châtelleraullt, the Lebanon ("Stewart"), and Syria ("Phillips"), all from the early thirteenth century.[270]

What the hoard evidence seems to indicate therefore is that with the arrival of the Third Crusade, once again we find, just as we found at the time of the First Crusade, there were significant numbers of western European coins in circulation in the Crusader States. This presence will apparently continue to build into the first quarter of the thirteenth century as the result of subsequent expeditions, including the German Crusade of 1197, the Fourth Crusade, and the Fifth Crusade.[271] The question that we must investigate insofar as it is possible is, to what extent did the presence of this coinage shape the Crusader issues in the Holy Land between 1191 and the 1220s? The remarkable fact is that, except for the coins of Henry of Champagne, Western coinage had little impact between 1191 and 1192, and, if anything, Henry devised a denomination in



18. Tripoli, anonymous copper coin with fortified gate. (photo: after Slocum catalogue)

the Latin Kingdom, the *pougeois*, that then emerged later on in France.

The introduction and presence of so many Western coins in the Latin East starting at this time, in the early 1190s, certainly underscores one aspect of developments there that we have already seen in other ways, namely, the multicultural character of trade, commerce, and currency in the Crusader States. Just as the language of shipping and maritime commerce, the lingua franca was developing in the eastern Mediterranean at this time,[272] the variety of coins provided, mutatis mutandis, a monetary equivalent to the linguistic phenomenon. The coins provide one means – limited but important – of assessing artistic developments at this time. But it is an extremely valuable means because it demonstrates, as the figural art before 1187 also demonstrated, the strongly independent, Eastern character of the Crusader outlook in regard to those visual productions that would enjoy a multicultural audience. This is in distinct contrast to certain other Crusader features, such as, for example, their military armor and weapons, which tended to be strongly Western in character, despite some appropriation of Eastern types.[273] What can we say of artistic developments in regard to the other figural arts and in regard to developments in western Europe at this time?

The Art of the Crusaders at the Time of the Third Crusade

We have seen on the basis of evidence pertaining to the First and Second Crusades that varied Crusader-sponsored artistic activity was possible in the Holy Land during the time a Crusade was in progress, but that the Crusade itself did not necessarily stimulate very much such work.[274] In the case of the Third Crusade, however, the Crusade not only directly stimulated and effected certain kinds of artistic or architectural activity, but also it was apparently responsible for the curtailment of other work. Let us consider the identifiable examples.

It must be said that the situation at the time of the Third Crusade was different from earlier times, first because of the damage and destruction to works of specifically Crusader art and architecture in the wake of the disaster at Hattin, Saladin's conquest of most of the Latin Kingdom, and his capture of Jerusalem in 1187–8. What would the Crusaders choose to rebuild and replace; what could they rebuild and replace?

We should recall that the Crusaders in the Holy Land had commissioned a great deal of art between the 1130s and 1187. There was a certain tradition of production in various media, venues for artists to work, established centers. Saladin's invasion and especially his conquest of Jerusalem seriously interrupted these developments. But just as the Latin Kingdom was not eliminated and the Third Crusade revived it politically, the art of the Crusaders would not have been eliminated, but relocated and revived. Where can it be found and under what circumstances, between 1187 and 1192?

It is also true that the Third Crusade generated developments in art not known from the earlier expeditions. For example, at the time of the preaching of the Third Crusade, visual art apparently played a role in the recruitment process. "The use of images naturally took its place alongside sermons, songs and liturgy in the dissemination of crusading ideology."[275]

What is interesting at the time of the preaching of the Third Crusade is that we find a new connection to the Holy Land in regard to the dissemination of the crusading ideology. Images are produced that would accompany the preachers and that would be shown to the crowds to spur them to take the cross. Ibn al-Athir reports that at Tyre,

> monks and priests and a crowd of Frankish knights and nobles dressed themselves in black and expressed great grief at the loss of Jerusalem. The Patriarch of Jerusalem [Heraclius] took them with him on a journey through the Frankish domains calling on the people to help, invoking their aid and inciting them to avenge the loss of Jerusalem. Among other things, they made a picture showing the Messiah, and an Arab striking Him, showing blood on the face of Christ – blessings on Him! – and they said to the crowds: "This is the Messiah, struck by Mahomet the prophet of the Muslims,[276] who has wounded and killed Him."[277]

Baha ad-Din also reports on the role of Conrad of Montferrat in the recruiting for the Third Crusade,

> the Marquis, the ruler of Tyre, was one of the most cunning and experienced of the Franks, and his was the chief responsibility for luring the crowds of Crusaders from overseas. He had a picture of Jerusalem painted showing the Church of the Resurrection, the object of pilgrimage and deepest veneration to them; according to them the Messiah's tomb is there,

19. Tripoli, anonymous copper coin with star and crescent. (photo: after Slocum catalogue)

20. Tripoli, gold bezant, 62% fineness. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

21. Antioch, helmet denier of Bohemond IV or Bohemond V. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

> in which he was buried after his crucifixion. This sepulchre was the object of their pilgrimage, and they believed that every year fire came down upon it from heaven... [the Holy Fire on Holy Saturday]. Above the tomb the Marquis had a horse painted, and mounted on it a Muslim knight who was trampling the tomb, over which his horse was urinating. This picture was sent abroad to the markets and meeting-places; priests carried it about, clothed in their habits, their heads covered, groaning: "O the shame!"[278]

It is remarkable that Muslim historians are commenting on this phenomenon. Apparently the reason they are aware of it is that these images originated with the Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom. Baha ad-Din clearly states that this kind of image was commissioned by Conrad, and the text suggests that it was produced in Tyre, before being sent overseas. Ibn al-Athir does not indicate precisely where the image of the Arab striking Christ was done, but Tyre is the most likely place based on what he says in his text. Also, we do not know exactly where Heraclius went after he left Jerusalem with many church treasures,[279] but clearly he may also have gone to Tyre as well as Antioch, as mentioned earlier. In any case, these texts suggest that one source of propaganda images for use in recruiting for the Third Crusade was imagery from the Holy Land, specifically from Tyre which Conrad commanded through the dark days of 1187, 1188, and beyond.

Unfortunately, nothing can be identified as yet that might give us a notion of what these propaganda images specifically might have looked like, but we can imagine a scene of the Arrest of Christ in Gethsemane, or the Mocking of Christ, being adapted for the scene described by Ibn al-Athir. We can also conjure up in our mind's eye what the components of the Holy Sepulcher and a mounted Muslim knight might have looked like if painted by a Crusader artist, based on comparison to existing paintings, especially from manuscripts of the second half of the thirteenth century.[280] Finally, perhaps we can see in Italian art the change of the image of the Arab generated by Crusader images, of which the placards would have been one type. Consider the development from the formulaic imagery based on Byzantine models found in the mosaics of San Marco in the twelfth century, to the more portraitlike handling, ethnically and otherwise, in the painting of St. Francis before the Sultan in the upper church at Assisi and Giotto's fresco in the Bardi Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[281]

The significance of these stories beyond the immediate association with propaganda images is the suggestion they give to the role of Tyre as a possible center of Crusader image making. Tyre was an artistic center we know about in the twelfth century in terms of architecture and coinage but from which we have nothing much extant in terms of painting or sculpture. Nonetheless we have good reason to think of Tyre as playing some kind of a role as a center for Crusader art because of its importance politically and militarily, because Saladin did not take it during his invasion of the Latin Kingdom, because it was therefore a place of refuge for many during that invasion, and because it was an important Crusader port. Are there any other indications from the story of the Third Crusade that would enlarge our picture of Tyre as some kind of an artistic center?

One of the notable features of the Third Crusade is the phenomenon of diplomatic missions, which are sent back and forth for various purposes. Diplomacy had formed a part of political life in the Latin Kingdom from early on.[282] From this point on, however, active diplomacy to arrange treaties, truces, and terms of agreements became an increasingly important aspect of Crusader political life in terms of foreign policy.

Between 1187 and 1192, negotiations were carried out for the surrender of Jerusalem in October 1187 and the ransom of the Frankish Christians in the city.[283] Arrangements were made for the terms of the surrender after the Christians retake Acre in July 1191.[284] When these terms were not met, new negotiations were opened that carried on until ultimately the Treaty of Jaffa is agreed on in September 1192.[285] The diplomatic interchange was effected between the Crusaders and Saladin, but the embassies actually involved a number of important persons, including Saladin and his brother, al Adil, and the Muslims were actively in contact with Conrad of Montferrat in Tyre as well as the main Crusader army, while Richard I was trying to involve him in the military activities farther south during the campaign of 1191–2.

Because such diplomatic exchanges usually involved the presentation of gifts as part of Near Eastern custom, and sometimes gifts of great value such as works in precious metals were involved, the Crusaders would have had to rely on certain places with treasuries and artist's ateliers as sources of these gifts. It is clear from the chronicles that diplomatic gifts often included objects captured in some military action.[286] Again Tyre, and later Acre, would be a source for certain objects to be stored and acquired, or even a place where they may have been produced. We know that Christians carrying their personal possessions, some quite valuable possessions, streamed into Tyre, and probably Tripoli and Antioch, during the dark days of 1187 and 1188. Some of these treasures no doubt remained in Tyre; some were probably later transferred to Acre. But these possessions and the treasuries in which they were preserved – royal, ecclesiastical, Hospitaller, Templar, aristocratic, commercial, knightly – as well as the artistic venues for making such objects in all of these cities, will need to be considered throughout the period from 1191 to 1291. We shall also wish to scrutinize all diplomatic exchanges involving the Crusaders for evidence of artistic activity in this period.[287]

Among the most valuable objects in Crusader possession, two that rank at the very top are the reliquary of the True Cross and the regalia of the king of Jerusalem. Despite the loss of the state relic at the battle of Hattin, it is clear that the Crusaders remained devoted to and identified with the True Cross in the succeeding years. Having suffered the loss of the official relic into the hands of Saladin, the defenders of the city of Jerusalem in 1187 turned to the Syrian relic of the True Cross in their prayer and procession for the protection of the city.[288] The Crusaders continually strived to effect the return of the state relic all through the diplomatic negotiations of 1191 and 1192.[289] Remarkably Conrad is reported to have sent a relic of the True Cross from Bethany found in Acre in 1191 to Genoa. King Richard I received two relics of the True Cross while encamped at Beit Nuba in 1192, and quite possibly one or both were given to the cathedral in Acre.[290] We note how devoutly the soldiers who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in September 1192 venerated the relic of the True Cross shown to them in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[291] We may also expect that the patriarch once again placed a relic of the True Cross in the chapel of honor in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Acre as soon as possible.[292] The Templars had a relic of the True Cross in Acre. It is evident, too, that the grand masters of the Hospitaller order retain the True Cross on their seal, and we can even note a subtle change in the depiction of that cross in the thirteenth century.

What can be the reason the True Cross on the Hospitaller seals is given a stand on its base in the seals of Garin de Montaigu (1207–28) and Nicholas le Lorgne (1277–85), in contrast to the unspecified bases on the seals of Caste de Murols and others before 1187?[293] Could it be that a new reliquary of the True Cross was manufactured when the Hospitallers were reestablished in Acre and that the seals reflect this new configuration? Furthermore, was the flourishing production of reliquaries for True Cross relics, found among Frankish and Syrian goldsmiths in Jerusalem before 1187, transferred to Acre, so far away from the holy site of Golgotha and the Chapel of the Cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher?[294]

The regalia of the king and queen of Jerusalem was obviously more controlled, but what happened to the regalia when Jerusalem fell? The last time the regalia had been seen was in Jerusalem when these objects had been taken out of a special treasury box or trunk for use by Guy de Lusignan and Sibylla in 1186.[295] Was this trunk then taken to Tyre for safekeeping, and eventually to Acre when preparations were being made for the coronation of Conrad that never took place? Both Tyre and Acre are important for the kings of Jerusalem in the period 1191–1291. We shall have to examine the evidence of both places to discover the artistic role they play for the king and queen, and for the kingship of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in terms of the regalia.

There are two final issues to consider here in regard to Crusader artistic activity in the Holy Land during the time of the conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, 1187–92. We have discussed instances where Frankish Crusader art was known to be hidden and preserved (e.g., the Nazareth Capitals). We have seen it destroyed or rebuilt (e.g., a number of city walls, fortifications and buildings, and especially the case of Ascalon). We have seen projects interrupted (e.g., the fresco program at Margat castle). And there have been works produced de novo (e.g., especially the coinage or placards for recruiting during the Third Crusade). What about the art of other Christians in the Latin Kingdom, in Jerusalem, in Acre, in Tyre, and elsewhere? Who were the Eastern Christians in Jerusalem and the Crusader cities on the coast?

In Jerusalem we know from various sources, some of which we have already discussed, that after the Frankish Christians had left in 1187, the Eastern Christians that remained were mainly local Arabic- or Syriac-speaking Christians, along with Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians, and Georgians.[296] Indeed many of these Eastern Christians were on good terms with the Muslims, some even with Saladin personally. Cahen tells the story of a physician, Abu al Khayr, son of a Christian physician whose father became a monk at the time of the Crusader King Amaury. Abu al Khayr had access to the Crusader royal court – he taught the leper king, Baldwin IV, to ride horseback – but he also was in contact with Saladin. In fact he sent Saladin a letter predicting that he would conquer Jerusalem on the basis of astrological information from his father. When Saladin did in fact conquer Jerusalem, Abu al Khayr was rewarded as a member of a family of Christian physicians.[297]

Certainly the art of these Eastern Christians who stayed on in Jerusalem was not destroyed. Certainly the art that these Eastern Christians commissioned continued to be produced. Certainly the Crusaders continued to have access to these Eastern Christians and could commission "Crusader" art as well, if not so readily in Jerusalem, then in Tyre, and eventually in Acre after it was retaken. It remains to be seen if we can identify "Crusader" art made for them by Eastern Christians, in the period from 1191 to 1291,[298] the way we have identified some examples in the period 1098 to 1187.[299] We shall search for examples in Crusader territory, such as Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, or Antioch, or in territory mostly in Muslim hands in this period, in particular the main Christian holy sites of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth.

The second issue deals with the interface between the Crusader States and the surrounding territories – near and far – including western Europe, Byzantium, and the Muslim states. We have seen that the presence of imported European coins is an important aspect of the Third Crusade in the Holy Land. In light of important artistic developments in Europe at this time, some of it characterized by strong Byzantine influcence,[300] what is the role of the Frankish East in these developments? Were works of Crusader art taken to Europe in 1187 with fleeing Frankish residents of the Latin Kingdom including some of the twelfth-century Crusader manuscripts now in Western libraries? Is there any evidence that European art was sent to the Levant to fill a need that the Crusaders could temporarily not fill because of the upheaval and destruction wreaked by Saladin in 1187 and 1188? How did the European developments embodying the transition from the Romanesque to the new Gothic style relate to new artistic activities in the Holy Land by the Crusaders? To what extent was the new wave of Byzantine influence in Italy at the end of the twelfth century and the strong byzantinizing presence there all through the thirteenth century related to Crusader developments?

One intriguing development in Rome highlights the importance of this question. Philippe II Augustus left the Third Crusade immediately following the capture of Acre, as we have seen, but his return trip home was infinitely more successful than that of Richard I. Richard, as we remember, was captured by Leopold of Austria, accused of murder, imprisoned, and turned over to the emperor, Henry VI.[301] He was only released many months later by the payment of a huge ransom. Philippe II Augustus, although maligned in some English sources as cowardly, was apparently in bad health, and he needed to attend to affairs at home, hence his decision to leave for France. On his way from Brindisi, he stopped at Rome, where the pope, Clement III, gave him an image of the Veil of Veronica, that is, "Veronicam i.e. pannum quemdam linteum quem J. C. vultui suo impressit."[302] The "Vericon" or "vernicle," which became the central image relic of Christ in Rome in the Middle Ages and later, and whose origin there is shrouded in mystery, is first mentioned specifically in Rome in this incident. Although ironically, Philippe Augustus does not bring the image to Rome, but rather receives it there, it is he, the Crusader homeward bound, who is connected with one of its first documented appearances there.[303]

Byzantium in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was severely weakened after the defeat at Myriocephalon in 1176 by power struggles in the imperial court and, of course, by the Crusader sack of the city of Constantinople in 1204. Crusader involvement with Byzantium increased during this period through interaction with Frankish settlers in Byzantine lands. The Crusader experience and their artistic developments in the Holy Land in the 1190s and 1200s has been largely overshadowed, screeened off, veiled from Western view by the events of the Fourth Crusade and the new Frankish presence in Cyprus, Constantinople, and Frankish Greece. It is hoped that by looking at the Crusaders' experience in the Holy Land, and their relationship with the Byzantines and Franks in Byzantine territory, from an Eastern vantage point, we can try to observe and recover more of what happened there artistically.

Finally, the importance of diplomatic interaction with the Muslims was greatly expanded during the Third Crusade. Even though Saladin would die at age fifty-four in 1193, the Crusaders had opened a new door to artistic awareness and influence in relation to the Ayyubid sultanate in Cairo. This diplomatic focus was paralleled by a new military strategy that apparently had been first aired in the Crusader council called by Richard I in camp at Beit Nuba in the summer of 1192. Resident Crusaders at that council had advocated the idea of attacking the Muslims in Egypt, thus diverting the military burden of battle and destruction to the south and away from the Crusader States. This strategy, first enunciated at the time of Richard I's Crusade, later materialized in the Crusades led by the legate Pelagius and then by King Louis IX and the legate, Eudes de Châteauroux. We shall have to examine whether this new orientation by the Crusade movement was paralleled by a new intercultural awareness artistically by the Crusaders in the Holy Land as well.

Conclusions

Compared with the First Crusade, the Third Crusade was a failure: Jerusalem and the other holy sites were not recaptured. Even measured on that standard, however, it was also a partial success, and compared with the Second Crusade it produced major accomplishments: Acre and the coast of Syria-Palestine were back in Crusader hands, and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was reestablished on a firm footing. Nonetheless, Saladin's conquest of the Latin Kingdom and the ensuing Third Crusade had resulted in a much-reduced territory under Crusader control, compared with the Crusader States at the time of King Amaury I. From this point on, during the hundred years from 1191 to 1291, Acre was the de facto capital of the Latin Kingdom and Frankish holdings in Syria-Palestine, apart from the few major castles they held inland, existed as wealthy maritime communities, with some industry and limited special agriculture in the environs, perched precariously along the coast. By virtue of the change in focus from the holy sites to these commercial ports, the Crusaders enjoyed a certain prosperity economically, but always in the context of a dangerous and volatile political, diplomatic, and military situation. The Crusaders relied on diplomacy and détente with Byzantium and their adversaries, to some extent depending on the disarray of their enemies to protect them. With the advent of the Mongols from the East and the Mamluks in Egypt in the 1250s, however, both economic and political activities came under direct attack and were eventually snuffed out. In the face of this peril, the Crusaders relied ever more heavily on their maritime lifelines, with Cyprus nearby, and with Italy especially, but also with France in the West.

The status of the Latin Church in the Crusader Kingdom had been much changed by the treaty of Jaffa in 1192 in which Saladin and Richard I had agreed on territorial rights.[304] A narrow strip of coastland was guaranteed to the Franks, which extended from Tyre in the North to Jaffa in the south, and the Muslims and the Crusaders exercised a condominium over the towns of Lydda and Ramla. The devastating fact was, however, that of the original thirteen episcopal sees under the patriarch of Jerusalem, only three cathedral cities remained in Frankish hands: Acre, where the new patriarch would reside; Tyre; and Caesarea. In the latter two cases, their archbishops had survived the invasion and the Third Crusade. In the case of Acre, a new bishop, Theobald, formerly the prior of Nazareth Cathedral, was named shortly after the city was retaken by the Crusaders, in August 1191. The Crusaders hoped to reoccupy other sees in the coming years.

Nonetheless, the Crusaders did reconquer the country in 1192, whether it was relatively a larger or a smaller area they held. In doing this they embodied the "pioneer" ideals of the Frankish period, as the successors to the heroic First Crusaders;[305] Certain individuals came to be idealized, even mythologized, in these terms, in particular, there was Godefroy de Bouillon from the time of the First Crusade; from the time of the Third Crusade there was Richard the Lionheart, and later there would be Louis IX. There was also Eudes de Nevers whose tomb became a cult center. Their goals, vows, and efforts were dedicated to the name of God; they were leaders devoted to the Crusader cause, to their faith, for which they were ready to fight and die if necessary. In the eyes of their contemporaries this was the source of their strength. It is interesting that, as the Crusades developed, these important heroes, men like Richard I and Louis IX, were also major builders.

In terms of artistic activity, the prosperity of the Crusader commercial port cities supported the work that needed to be done, such as rebuilding fortifications. There is also some major new construction in Acre especially, but it is better known in the written sources than as extant architecture because of later destruction and rebuilding. Demand for figural works of art is apparently vigorous at times, but the locations and periods of flourishing production are difficult to identify with precision, except in certain special cases. Furthermore, the identity of patrons and the conditions of patronage, as well as the origins and training of the artists in the multicultural contexts of these fortified port cities, along with a few important castles, are major issues. Other difficult questions arise in regard to the process of workshop activity and the functions of the works. All of these factors require intensive scrutiny to clarify when, how, and why this art was done.

In the period from 1191 to 1204 and the following early years of the thirteenth century, certain work can be identified. Fortifications destroyed by Saladin were being rebuilt, some new castles were constructed, some new coinage was being issued. But there is little evidence for the production of manuscript illumination, metalwork, or other works of figural art so popular before 1187, work that must have been done after 1187 as well. Part of the reason for this may be the impact of the results of the Third Crusade, especially the conquest of Cyprus in 1191. As we have said, the trend to drain Frankish resources away from the Holy Land may be a factor: with the advent of the Lusignan dynasty on Cyprus in 1192, with the Fourth Crusade and the founding of the Latin Empire in Constantinople in 1204, with the advent of the Albigensian Crusade called by Pope Innocent III in 1208 in southern France, and with the Fifth Crusade, which applied the new strategy of attacking the center of Muslim power in Egypt first, to get to Jerusalem, in 1217. However we account for it, the fact is that the period from 1187 to 1229 was a period of contrasts. At a time when Crusading was at its height in terms of papal calls and organization, financial support and repeated waves of expeditions, activity in the figural arts by the Crusaders in the Holy Land was apparently seriously reduced, even while architectural construction of fortifications was at one of its peak levels. How will the art of the Crusaders reappear after 1192?

In 1187, after the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Armenian patriarch of Hromkla, Grigor IV, wrote an "Elegy on the Fall of Jerusalem."[306] In this long poem, which laments the fall of the Holy City, we find the following lines, spoken by the personified City of Jerusalem:

> I was left alone like a widow
> suffered alone in silence
> And nobody came to help me,
> Not the king of the Greeks
> And not my troops with the French
> Not the great mighty leader of the Germans
> And not the Latins of Dalmatia
> Nor those who are called lords of Hungary
> And not who is lord of Sicily
> Not Charlemagne, the people of the Franks
> And not the English, who is my son
> Not the king of the people of the Serbs
> And not the Pisans, who were proud
> Not Patzinac and Poitevin
> And not the Russian with the Bulgar
> Not the Longobard and Lombardy
> Not the Provençal and Venetian
> Not the Amalfitan and Genoese
> Nor the Tuscan and the Limousin
> Nor the Breton, the people of Tanais
> Not the Brabançons and Flemish
> Not the Gascon and Spaniard
> Not the Bourgond and Normandy
> Not Westfalen and T'iaysi[307]
> Not the Swede and the Pole
> Not East with West
> Nor North with South,
> Who one after another came to me
> And having entered me, were merry.[308]

These Christian peoples had not come to the aid of Jerusalem in her hour of need in 1187. Some had answered the call to the Third Crusade. This is nonetheless a fascinating roll call of Crusaders and, one way or other, they would all play a role in her fate after 1192; most would be involved in the reappearance of Crusader art from that time on into the thirteenth century.

3

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ACRE AS THE CAPITAL OF THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM FOLLOWING THE THIRD CRUSADE

> Listen to my words.... Christ speaks to you today in his own words through my mouth and complains to you about the injuries that have been done to him. Christ has been driven out of his holy place, his seat of power; he has been thrown out of that city which he consecrated to himself with his own blood. Oh what an affliction!
>
> Abbot Martin of Pairis (1201) Sermon Preaching the Fourth Crusade

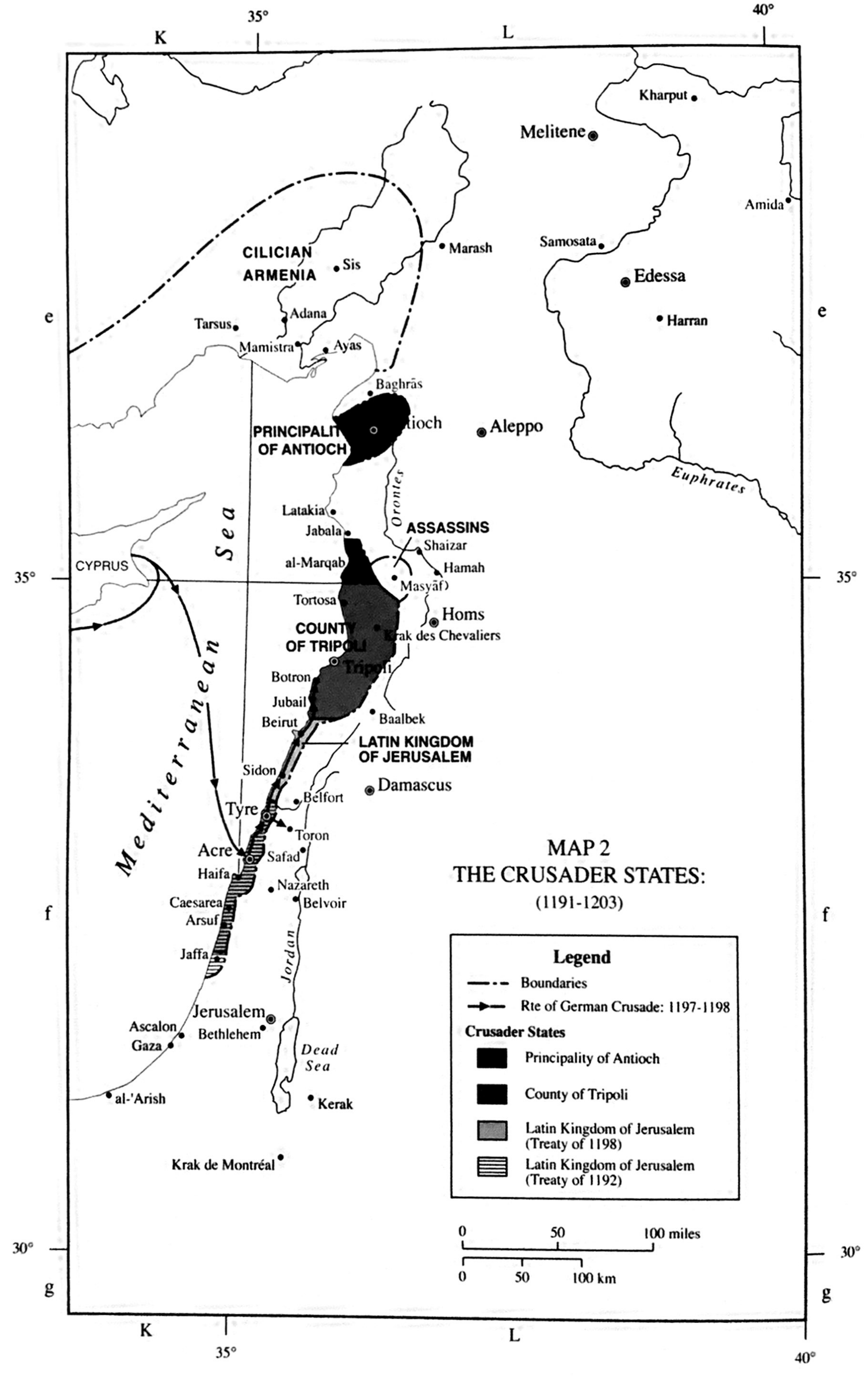
> You receive a soft and gentle cross; he bore one that was sharp and hard. You wear it superficially on your clothing; he endured it really in his flesh. You sew on yours with linen and silk threads; he was nailed to his with iron and hard nails.
>
> Innocent III (1208) Letter to Leopold of Austria

THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM FOLLOWING THE RECONQUEST OF ACRE: 1191–1197

The terrible events of the year 1187 resonated throughout the Holy Land and all over western Europe for a long time thereafter. With the Treaty of Jaffa in September 1192, the Third Crusade had succeeded in reestablishing the Latin Kingdom, but the Crusaders were confined to a narrow strip of territory along the coast from Tyre to Acre and Jaffa. Farther north they also held reduced versions of the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch. Under the terms of the treaty, a truce was maintained for three years and eight months during which Christian pilgrims would be allowed open access to the Holy Sepulcher, Latin liturgical ceremonies were allowed to be performed at the major holy sites, and open commerce was protected.[1]

These arrangements were not ungenerous from a Muslim point of view, but they had been accepted by Richard I under duress, and in the larger Crusader perspective they were unpalatable and unsatisfactory except on an interim basis for the following reasons. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were controlled by the Muslims. Ascalon, Gaza, and Darum had had to be returned to the Muslims and the walls of Ascalon, so arduously rebuilt by Richard's army, had been pulled down, leaving the city defenseless. Other cities formerly in the Latin Kingdom were also in Muslim hands; these places were important either because they were feudal holdings their Crusader lords could not control or have access to, because they were episcopal sees the Latin bishops could not reside in, or both. Among the major examples there were, besides Ascalon, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Sidon, and Beirut. In light of this situation and the time limit on the truce, what would happen when the treaty lapsed?

The response to these circumstances, in view of the partial success and the partial failure of the Third Crusade and the fact that Jerusalem and other holy sites were still in Muslim hands, was for the pope to call for a new Crusade. In fact, there was a whole series of new Crusades. Henry VI Hohenstaufen organized a new Crusade in 1195–7, what is sometimes called the German Crusade. Innocent III, the newly elected pope in 1198, called for another new Crusade – the ill-fated Fourth


MAP 2
THE CRUSADER STATES:
(1191-1203)
Legend
Boundaries
Rte of German Crusade: 1197-1198
Crusader States
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Treaty of 1198)
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Treaty of 1192)
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 km
35°
40°
30°
K
L
e
f
g
CILICIAN ARMENIA
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
ASSASSINS
CYPRUS
Mediterranean Sea
Orontes
Euphrates
Jordan
Dead Sea
Kharput
Melitene
Amida
Samosata
Marash
Sis
Edessa
Harran
Adana
Tarsus
Mamistra
Ayas
Baghrās
Antioch
Aleppo
Latakia
Jabala
Shaizar
Hamah
al-Marqab
Masyāf
Tortosa
Homs
Krak des Chevaliers
Tripoli
Botron
Jubail
Beirut
Baalbek
Sidon
Damascus
Belfort
Tyre
Toron
Acre
Safad
Haifa
Nazareth
Caesarea
Belvoir
Arsuf
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Bethlehem
Gaza
al-'Arish
Kerak
Krak de Montréal

Map 2

Crusade – to the East as soon as he took office. Popular sentiment in Europe generated a movement known as the Children's Crusade in 1212. The call for the Fifth Crusade was on the agenda of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and had been one of Innocent III's last acts before he died. Yet despite this prodigious outpouring of Crusading endeavors, the results were disappointing in the Latin Kingdom between 1192 and 1219. In 1192, on one hand, Ascalon was removed from Crusader control and had its walls dismantled. In 1210, on the other hand, Jerusalem, which had remained in Muslim hands through this entire time, was no closer to Christian control, and by 1219 the Holy City also had its fortifications taken down by order of the Emir al-Mu'azzam, along with those of the towns and castles of Toron, Banyas, Safed, and the castle on Mount Tabor.[2]

The loss of Jerusalem and the other major holy sites in 1187 and the relatively precarious situation of the Crusaders in the Holy Land in 1192 are clearly the causes that generated this unprecedented run of Crusade expeditions. What were the results of these Crusades on the Latin Kingdom and the other Crusader States, that is, the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch? How did the situation change in the Latin Kingdom and its former territories between 1192 to 1210? Finally, what impact did these developments have on the artistic activity of the Crusaders in the Holy Land? What art was produced in the Crusader States between 1192 and 1210? What art was exported from or imported into the Crusader States in those years?

The outlook for the Crusaders in the fall of 1192, following the departure of Richard I for the West, was unclear, even if Richard may have expressed his intention to return to the Holy Land to Henry of Champagne.[3] Saladin led a unified Ayyubid Sultanate, which virtually surrounded the three separated Crusader States, and only internal dissension prevented the Ayyubids from renewing their offensive against the Franks. Henry's immediate task, however, was to consolidate his position as ruler, a challenge made more difficult by the fact that he was never formally crowned, but only ruled as lord by the authority of his position as husband to Queen Isabel.[4] They had been married in Tyre, but resided in Acre, and Acre came to be identified as the de facto capital of the newly reconfigured Latin Kingdom, reestablished by the Treaty of Jaffa. Jerusalem, the traditional location for the coronation of the kings of Jerusalem since 1131, was obviously no longer accessible for this purpose. In any case the lack of royal investiture limited Henry's power. The regalia, which was presumably now deposited for safekeeping in the cathedral church of Tyre, had never been gotten out for the ill-fated Conrad of Montferrat and Isabel and, although we assume it was available, was never employed for Henry and Isabel.[5]

There were a number of issues that Henry had to deal with, crowned or not. He was faced with controlling the aggressive Pisan commercial interests in the major port cities and their political interests in Tyre, the latter on the part of Guy de Lusignan, who though not crowned, now styled himself as king on Cyprus. This produced direct confrontation in the spring of 1193, and Henry was forced to expell the Pisans outside the kingdom, except for a colony of thirty in Tyre. He also tried to imprison Aimery de Lusignan, the constable of the kingdom, who attempted to intervene on behalf of the Pisans and in the interests of his brother. In the end Henry was persuaded to free Aimery by the count's major supporters, including the grand masters of the Hospitallers and the Templars. Aimery took the opportunity to leave Acre immediately for Jaffa, where another brother, Geoffrey de Lusignan, was in charge; eventually Aimery retired to Cyprus with Guy.[6]

While Henry was fully occupied with these and other internal affairs of the kingdom, it was his great good fortune that Saladin, weakened by the exertions of his vigorous military campaigns and recent ill health, died on 4 March 1193 in Damascus. In keeping with Muslim custom, the dead Sultan

> was carried out in a coffin draped simply with a length of material procured, like the other materials needed to shroud him, by the qadi al-Fadil from permitted sources known to him. When the men saw the dead Sultan being borne away, voices and lamentations rose on high.... Then the body was carried back to the palace in the garden where he had lain during his illness and was buried in the west pavilion. He was laid in his tomb at about the hour of the evening prayer; God sanctify his spirit and illumine his sepulchre![7]

Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub was dead.

> The day of his death was a day of grief for Islam and the Muslims, the equal of which they had not known since the days of the right-guided Caliphs. The citadel, the city and the entire world was overcome with a grief beyond words, and, by God, I had heard before of people who have desired to ransom those dear to them with their own lives, and had thought it just a figure of speech, not to be taken literally, but on that day I knew that if it had been possible to ransom him with our lives I and several others would have been ready.[8]

No Crusader was present to honor the man who had been their most feared and respected adversary. Dead at age fifty-four, Saladin nonetheless had outlived all of the last five Crusader kings in years.[9] Strangely, the Old French continuations record the year of his death quite mistakenly, several years after the fact, in 1195 or even 1197, indicating apparently that their authors received word of his passing quite late.[10] Nonetheless, although his brother and his most powerful sons would reign after him and although all the emirs in Damascus had taken an oath to al-Afdal,[11] his son and heir to rule in Damascus, once again serious divisions quickly emerged in the Muslim confrontation states surrounding the Crusaders. By this single event, the death of one of medieval Islam's greatest leaders, Crusader fortunes suddenly took a decidedly positive upward turn. Reflecting on "what might have been," however, recall that Saladin died only six months after the Treaty of Jaffa. Had Richard I not felt compelled to conclude that treaty and been able to hold on for another six to nine months, the outcome of his Crusade, and the fate of the Holy City of Jerusalem, might well have been very different.

Even if Henry had not known of Saladin's demise immediately, he benefited right away by the diversion of Ayyubid attention away from the Franks because he had so many problems of his own to deal with. In the Latin Kingdom, he appointed a new constable, John of Ibelin, to replace Aimery, who was now in Cyprus. Meanwhile a new patriarch of Jerusalem had been elected by the canons of the Holy Sepulcher without Henry's knowledge or permission. Greatly displeased, he imprisoned the canons, but archbishop Josias of Tyre, his chancellor, persuaded him to release them with an apology. When Celestine III sent the pallium from Rome to the new patriarch, the pope also took the occasion to admonish Henry over his rash conduct. Furthermore, after he was consecrated in office the new patriarch, Monachus, formerly archbishop of Caesarea since 1181, would obviously not have been inclined to cooperate in seeing that Henry become crowned.[12] Arrangements for the coronation of the king of Jerusalem would have to wait for Henry's successor. Despite this somewhat rocky start, however, relations between the rulers of Jerusalem and the Latin church improved and remained cordial in the new "kingdom of Acre."[13]

An opportunity for improving Henry's political standing as ruler of Jerusalem occurred in May 1194 with the death of Guy de Lusignan on Cyprus.[14] Guy had bitterly resented his removal from the kingship of Jerusalem in 1192, following the death of his wife, Queen Sibylla. Even after Richard I arranged for him to take control of Cyprus, he harbored his claim to be king of Jerusalem. Evidence for this is to be seen in his coinage on Cyprus which includes issues inscribed "+REX GVIDO D" on the obverse, and "+ E IERVSALEM" on the reverse, along with those inscribed "REX GVIDO" and "+DE CIPRO," respectively.[15] Guy's death now removed Henry's primary and most dangerous co-claimant.

Guy had designated his younger brother, Geoffrey, to be his successor, but Geoffrey had declined and returned to the West. Therefore Aimery, Guy's elder brother, was chosen by his vassals. Although Henry obviously would have preferred some other choice and hesitated at first to recognize Aimery as the rightful heir, he could see the importance of harmonious relations between Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom. Already a number of Franks, both nobles and merchants, had joint holdings on the island and the mainland, attracted there by Guy. It would be essential for the future of the Latin Kingdom that Crusaders continue to come to the Holy Land and to settle there as well as on Cyprus. With the hope of fostering prosperity and growth in both states, Henry agreed to recognize Aimery de Lusignan as the legitimate successor of Guy de Lusignan as lord of Cyprus and his primary Frankish ally in the Levant. To cement their alliance they planned a remarkable wedding between the three young sons of Aimery, Guy, John, and Hugh, and the three young daughters of Isabel, Maria, Alice, and Philippa.[16] In fact when they came of age, in 1208, only Hugh was left among the three sons, and he married Alice. But even this one marriage would establish needed bonds between the two families that in time would bear what Runciman aptly called "dynastic fruit."[17]

Meanwhile, Henry had also gotten himself involved in Antiochene-Armenian affairs and current disputes.[18] In 1193 Levon II of Armenia had invited Bohemond III of Antioch to Baghras, whereupon he took him and his family prisoner and incarcerated them in Sis. Baghras Castle had been captured by Saladin from the Templars in 1191, and he then proceeded to dismantle the fortifications, as he had done to so many Crusader strongholds in the south.[19] When Saladin left, Levon occupied the castle, rebuilt it, and claimed it as his own. Despite Bohemond III's demands that the castle be returned, Levon retained it, and Bohemond's visit in October 1193 was presumably to discuss and resolve the situation. We can only imagine what happened in their meeting at Baghras to cause what appears to be such a breach of hospitality with such a violent result. With Bohemond in prison at Sis, Levon boldly demanded Antioch in exchange for his freedom. When Bohemond agreed and Levon sent troops to occupy the city, the Greek and Latin citizens revolted, expelled the Armenian usurpers, and sent messengers to Henry of Jerusalem and Bohemond of Tripoli for aid.

In the time-honored manner of Crusader rulers during the twelfth century, Henry responded to the appeal despite his problems elsewhere and went to Antioch to arbitrate the dispute. For the good of the Crusader States he sailed immediately to Tripoli, from which Bohemond, second son of Bohemond III, had already gone north to Antioch. Riding north also, Henry stopped first at the Assassin Castle of al-Kahf northeast of Tortosa. There, the new leader of the sect, successor to the Old Man of the Mountain, welcomed him seeking to establish cordial relations after the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat. Henry was shown warm hospitality and went away with "biaus joyaus et de riches."[20] Henry continued on to Antioch and then to Sis where he opened peace negotiations among the aggrieved parties. The details of the peace settlement need not concern us here except for the fact that Levon II retained control of Baghras and Bohemond III was released without ransom. The important result of this whole episode, however, was the fact that Henry achieved important new stature in his position as ruler of Jerusalem. But trouble loomed ahead. The truce agreed on in the Treaty of Jaffa was about to run out for the Latin Kingdom, and major political developments that would change the balance of power in the Frankish East were underway.

Count Henry of Champagne had apparently accepted his status as lord but uncrowned ruler of Jerusalem, but both Aimery de Lusignan on Cyprus and Levon II in Cilician Armenia had decided that their ambitions for rule required formal coronation as king. This Henry obviously could not give them, the Byzantine emperor apparently would not give them, and, for different reasons, they were unwilling to ask for it from the pope, so they both, separately and independently, approached the Holy Roman emperor, Henry VI Hohenstaufen, with this request.

In the fall of 1195, Aimery's envoy, Renier de Gibelet, presented his request and did homage for Cyprus to the emperor in Germany on behalf of Aimery.[21] Henry VI, who was in the process of organizing a new Crusade, willingly agreed to crown Aimery when he came east. In the spring of 1196, as a sign of this agreement Henry VI sent two envoys, the archbishops of Brindisi and Trani, with a royal scepter and possibly other regalia.[22] When Henry VI fell ill and could not lead his Crusade, he delegated the coronation into the hands of his imperial chancellor, Conrad, bishop of Hildesheim, who also became head of the expedition. Conrad arrived on Cyprus and Aimery was duly crowned in Nicosia in September 1197, the same month that Henry VI died in the West.[23] Aimery de Lusignan had now become King Aimery I of Cyprus. Count Henry of Troyes, ruler of the Latin Kingdom, was conspicuously absent at the ceremony.

Meanwhile, Levon II's request for coronation met a much less ready response. At first, Henry VI was not willing to crown someone he did not know who was not even in communion with Rome. But when Levon II therefore approached the pope with the idea of Armenian ecclesiastical submission to Rome, Henry VI changed his mind. Henry decided he would agree to crown Levon II in exchange for recognition of his suzerain rights over Cilician Armenia. Before the German emperor could send his delegates east, however, the Byzantine emperor, Alexius Angelus, had also sent Levon II a royal crown. Nonetheless, in January 1198, shortly after leaving Cyprus, Conrad of Hildesheim journeyed to Sis with Conrad, archbishop of Mainz, the papal legate, to conduct the ceremony on behalf of the German emperor. It must have been a remarkable ritual with the German catholic archbishop, Conrad, and the Armenian catholicus, Gregory Abirad, investing the new king in the presence of the papal legate, the Orthodox archbishop of Tortosa, the Jacobite patriarch, and Muslim ambassadors in attendance. Few Crusader kings would ever be crowned in such multicultural splendor.

Again Count Henry of Troyes, ruler of Jerusalem, was conspicuously absent.[24]

Henry of Troyes was absent at these two momentous occasions because on 10 September 1197 he had fallen to his death from a window of the palace in Acre. In a moving passage, the Lyon Eracles describes how shocked Isabel was when she heard the news and how deeply she grieved.[25]

Befitting his status as ruler, Henry was laid in state in the church of the Holy Cross. Then the text reports: "Sa sepulture est en une des eles de l'yglise, pres de la porte, qui est devers le Change."[26] This means that his tomb was placed in the south aisle of the Church of the Holy Cross near the door leading toward the exchange, that is, the south portal.

The Latin Kingdom therefore not only was suddenly without a ruler, but it was also rendered leaderless for the third time in five years, just when two potential Christian allies were receiving new royal status. Queen Isabel was understandably distraught, again. Furthermore, as was the case when her second husband, Conrad of Montferrat, was assassinated, she would have to remarry to provide the kingdom with a new ruler, and she would have to remarry very quickly. Among the strongest candidates considered by the High Court, the Hospitallers and the Templars favored Aimery de Lusignan, but Monachus the patriarch was opposed.[27] As the discussion continued, the German Crusaders arrived from Cyprus led by Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim. When Conrad was apprised of the situation, he also put forward the name of Aimery, new king of Cyprus.

Aimery de Lusignan had impressed the resident Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom with his leadership ability, demonstrated especially by his handling of affairs on Cyprus since the death of his brother in 1194. Conrad could see the advantage of Aimery to his imperial German lord. Having accepted the new royal crown of Cyprus from Henry VI, and by becoming king of Jerusalem with the support of the imperial chancellor, as Conrad saw it, Aimery would also bring the Kingdom of Jerusalem under the lordship of the German emperor. Aimery was offered the crown and agreed. He came to Acre in January 1198.

Aimery married Isabel in a ceremony that apparently took place in Acre, presumably in the Church of the Holy Cross.[28] Then the newlyweds were crowned king and queen, Aimery II[29] and Isabel, of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem by the patriarch, Monachus, apparently in Tyre.[30] The continuations all point out that Isabel, for all her involvement in the succession since 1192, was finally crowned queen, for the first time![31] The sources in fact do not say explicitly where these ceremonies occurred, but the events in the text immediately prior to the report of the wedding and the coronation took place in Acre. It therefore appears reasonable and possible to interpret the wedding to have taken place there, in the de facto capital of the kingdom, with the coronation in Tyre, the second city of the kingdom after Jerusalem in terms of ecclesiastical rank.[32] Suddenly, along with these events – the death of the ruler and the election of a new king – the Crusaders had had to deal with where, how and when to stage the burial, a wedding, and the coronation. Jerusalem was unavailable. Acre appears to have been the expedient choice in these circumstances for the burial and the wedding ceremonies. Tyre was the choice for the coronation.

The exigencies of the moment were pressing indeed, so these expedient choices had to be made. The Crusaders had had to face several emergencies at once. Moreover, the first contingents of German crusaders set in motion by Henry VI and nominally led by Conrad of Hildesheim and Conrad of Mainz for him were arriving in the Latin Kingdom during September 1197.[33] They were intent on engaging the enemy at once, with or without the cooperation of the ruler of the Latin Kingdom. Alarmed by the German advance, however undisciplined, the Emir al-Adil had responded by organizing his own army in the field and marching on Jaffa, which was under the command of the ineffective Raynald Barlais. Henry of Champagne was in the process of organizing his troops to go to the aid of Jaffa when he accidentally fell from his palace window and died on 10 September.

The main German contingent reached Acre on 22 September. Henry, duke of Brabant,[34] a recently arrived Crusader, stepped in as interim commander and prepared to go south to reinforce Jaffa. News that Jaffa had fallen to the Muslims reached the Crusaders just as Henry of Brabant set out. Regrouping and consulting with the new king-elect, Aimery and Henry of Brabant jointly devised a new strategy designed to reconnect the territory of the Latin Kingdom with the County of Tripoli. Henry led the German Crusaders northward along the coast to secure Tyre, to recover Sidon, and to besiege and retake Beirut and its environs. The German army also attacked the Crusader castle of Toron, inland east of Tyre.

The Crusader campaign up the coast was successful: Sidon, which had been demolished and largely abandoned, was reoccupied, and Beirut, whose walls were partly taken down by the Muslims, was captured with the city largely intact at the end of October 1197. The castle of Toron was besieged in late November. Now word of the death of Emperor Henry VI in Messina on 28 September had reached Palestine, however, and as the days went by, an increasing number of the German soldiers became anxious to return home. The siege was broken off at the start of February 1198, and Toron was never taken. The hope that this Crusade might succeed in attacking and capturing Jerusalem where the Third Crusade had failed had to be abandoned.[35] Most of the German Crusaders reembarked for western Europe in February 1198.[36]

When peace had been restored, King Aimery entered diplomatic negotiations with Emir al-Adil. Eventually a treaty was signed on 1 July 1198 in which the Muslims retained Jaffa and the Crusaders controlled Beirut and Gibelet; Sidon was dealt with as a condominium. This truce was to last for five years and eight months.[37] The German Crusade was over, much to the relief of King Aimery. This expedition had demonstrated how difficult it could be to control a Western army in the Crusader East, particularly one without its real commander. Moreover, the immediate results of the Crusade were modest at best with the recovery of Beirut as the main accomplishment. The primary long-term contribution to the Latin Kindom was the establishment of a permanent organization of the Teutonic Knights, modeled along the lines of the Knights Hospitallers.[38] The failure of the German Crusade to reconquer Jerusalem meant that another new Crusade would be needed, however. On 8 January Innocent III was elected pope, on 22 February he was consecrated, and in August 1198 he proclaimed the new Crusade.[39]

1197–8 was a momentous year during which the whole political structure of the Frankish East had been reconfigured, just when Innocent III would begin to reshape the papacy in the West and reorganize the whole machinery and administration of the Crusade movement. Within a few months of each other – September 1197 and January 1198 – two new royal figures, King Aimery de Lusignan on Cyprus and King Levon II of Armenia, had emerged in the Frankish levant under the overlordship of the German Holy Roman Emperor. Then Aimery joined the kingship of Cyprus with that of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, becoming Aimery II, also in January 1198. Instead of the independent royal stature of the king of Jerusalem as established in the early twelfth century with the coronation of Baldwin I in 1100 at the hands of the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Aimery II was now king of Jerusalem under different circumstances. He was elected by the High Court and supported by his vassals, crowned by the patriarch of Jerusalem, but with the Hohenstaufen shadow looming over the office and the inheritance. Whereas before 1187 it was the Byzantine emperor who was the primary imperial adversary and potential ally for the king and barons of Jerusalem, from 1198 to 1250 and beyond the Holy Roman emperor in the West would assume that role.[40] Moreover, it was impossible for the new king of Jerusalem and Cyprus – Aimery II of Jerusalem who was also Aimery I of Cyprus – or the new pope, Innocent III, to foresee the power struggle looming on the horizon between the papacy and the Hohenstaufen emperors, or what remarkable role the Kingship of Jerusalem would play in that confrontation.

With the coronation of Aimery II and the strengthening of the kingdom by the reoccupation of Sidon and control of Beirut by the German Crusade, the Latin Kingdom was in the process of reestablishment under somewhat new circumstances. In fact this process had been underway since the recapture of Acre in 1191 and the treaty of Jaffa in 1192. This reconfiguration extended to the ecclesiastical establishment as well. With the consecration of a new patriarch, Monachus, in 1194, it was possible for him to begin the reorganization of the Latin church.[41]

Monachus had relocated his own see to Acre, utilizing as his pro-cathedral the Church of the Holy Cross, which was simultaneously the cathedral of the bishop of Acre. This situation was feasible because the patriarchate possessed extensive resources in the West, and some property in the Latin Kingdom currently controlled by the Crusaders. Monachus also appointed new Latin bishops to the sees of Bethlehem and Nazareth, because of the importance of these sites as holy places. The Crusaders did not control these sites, which were in Muslim hands at this time, but as in the case of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, both churches, at Bethlehem and at Nazareth, had extensive holdings in the West. These properties produced the necessary income to support a bishop and a group of canons in each case. New bishops were also appointed to the sees of Beirut, Sidon, Caesarea, and Lydda between 1198 and 1202. This meant that by the time the patriarch, Monachus, died in 1202, the Latin hierarchy for the Church of Jerusalem had been reestablished as it had existed before 1187 at the time of King Amalric I, that is, 1163–74. Underneath the patriarch, there were three archbishops, at Tyre, Nazareth, and Caesarea, and seven bishops, at Acre, Beirut, Bethlehem, Lydda, Sebastia, Sidon, and Tiberias.[42]

Despite the arrangements already noted, which were made with the optimistic expectation of Western aid and the recovery of the lost territory of the kingdom in the near future, this reestablishment was not without its problems. The obvious difficulty was the fact that the original ecclesiastical boundaries of the various dioceses did not match the current political boundaries, which were much shrunken. Typically, a diocese consisted of a large slice of territory running from the coast inland to the Jordan Valley.[43] Furthermore, even when the Crusaders controlled part of a diocese along the coast, it was often the case that the cathedral city was in Muslim hands, inland. These circumstances required certain officials, in particular, the patriarch, the bishops of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lydda, Tiberias, and Sebastia to live elsewhere. Some (e.g., the bishops of Bethlehem and Lydda) lived for extended periods in the West; others moved into Acre. The bishop of Acre was suffragan to the archbishop of Tyre but was overshadowed in Acre by the presence of the patriarch living there and using his cathedral church.

The presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem in Acre also meant that other exiled bishops and religious communities were attracted there as well. In fact an astonishing number of clergy and religious from the various shrine churches in Jerusalem had relocated there: one finds the Austin canons of the Templum Domini, of St. Mary on Mount Sion, and from the Mount of Olives; there were the Premonstratensian canons of St. Samuel's, the Benedictines of St. Mary in Jehosaphat and at Santa Maria Latina, and the Benedictine nuns of St. Anne's and of the Convent of St. Lazarus in Bethany, among others, all in Acre.[44] Overall the hierarchy as reconstituted was, as Hamilton points out matter-of-factly, far in excess of the needs of the Frankish population in the Latin Kingdom at this time, and a large number of church officials were forced to live in Acre. The result was that the members of the hierarchy and the religious communities of the Latin church in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem were somewhat dislocated and increasingly dependent on resources in the West.

Even if the main institutions and the clergy of the Latin church moved from Jerusalem to Acre along with the political institutions of the kingdom after the Third Crusade, Acre was a very different place compared to Jerusalem for several reasons. First, Acre was a major commercial center with an important port, the most important center under Crusader control on the coast of Syria-Palestine. This meant that the most significant maritime powers had quarters and facilities here, including their own special churches: St. Peter for the Pisans, St. Lawrence for the Genoese, and St. Mark for the

Venetians. Second, Jerusalem was obviously a major holy place, whereas Acre was not. Along with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem was filled with other shrines, churches, monasteries, and convents which pilgrims wished to visit. In its new configuration Acre also became filled with more than fifty churches, but it was never really a focus for pilgrimage itself, only a waystop for pilgrims en route to pilgrimage sites. Third, one of the distinctive characteristics of Jerusalem was the multicultural richness of the oriental Christians who inhabited the city. When the Latin Christians left Jerusalem in 1187, many of these oriental Christians remained in the Holy City.[45] True, there was an Orthodox bishop and a Jacobite bishop in Acre during the thirteenth century, along with a substantial population of Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Jacobites. In any case, compared to Jerusalem in the twelfth century, Acre after 1192 and in the thirteenth century became a remarkably cosmopolitan Frankish commercial city, with a relatively larger Frankish population in relation to the numbers of eastern Christians, in contrast to what the situation in Jerusalem had been.[46]

There is also the consequential matter of the military orders.[47] Both the Hospitallers and the Templars had assumed roles of major importance in the kingdom during the Third Crusade, recuperating quickly from their devastation at the battle of Hattin. They both relocated their headquarters to Acre, along with other smaller orders such as the knights of St. Lazarus, and the new English order of St. Thomas of Canterbury, founded in 1190 from London.[48] Also the Teutonic order had been newly founded in Acre in 1198.[49] These orders were now functioning as independent international organizations; they were not vassals of the king of Jerusalem nor did they take an oath of obediance to the patriarch of Jerusalem.[50] Thus their substantial presence in Acre constituted an additional feature in making St. Jean d'Acre the most cosmopolitan Frankish city in the eastern Levant.

Finally, Acre was the most important if not the only commercial center for the Latin Kingdom. Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch were the only other Crusader centers of comparable significance on the coast of Syria-Palestine. The difference was that whereas Acre was focused on trade and commerce, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch were the main Crusader centers of production, and they were quite well known for certain products.[51] This means, too, that the major maritime powers had a significant presence in Acre to deal with shipping, transit, finance, import, and export, something Jerusalem basically did not have, but that Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch also had to a lesser extent. For this purpose Acre possessed separate quarters for the Pisans, the Genoese, and the Venetians.[52] Two other groups had similar independent rights and status in Acre, the Marseillaise, along with others from southern France, including merchants from Montpellier, and Barcelona also had a quarter.[53] But certainly the Italians were the most important here; their quarters contained residences apart, national churches, and unique access to ovens they controlled. The Pisans and the Venetians had their own markets, and they along with Genoa had special trading privileges. The merchants from Marseilles and Barcelona basically only had access to their own market. Even in the largest Italian quarters, the numbers of people who were permanent residents probably never exceeded five or six hundred in Acre.[54] But these merchants and their families were a significant presence in the city because of their economic power and the fact that they could inherit property outside their communal quarters. They definitely were a major feature of the multicultural character of the city.

In addition to the international commerce, there was also the commerce carried on in terms of local trade and local crafts.[55] It is within the latter that we can no doubt locate much artistic activity of the period, such as metalwork, goldsmiths work, book painting, ivory carving, and sculpture. Other crafts, such as ironwork, textile production, and pottery and glass making, were also important. Much book painting, and book production in general, was surely still carried on in ecclesiastical locations such as the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher, presumably now transferred to the Church of the Holy Cross, and in various monastic houses or in the convents of the military orders. So, too, was found icon painting, no doubt in Orthodox monasteries, such as the Monastery of St. Catherine in Acre, but also quite possibly some panel painting was done in Latin institutions as well, probably by members of some of the religious congregations transferred to Acre from Jerusalem. Some painting probably also began to be done outside of church institutions, and as in Jerusalem, other craftwork was mostly produced by laypeople. Trade and local crafts were carried on by Franks, Eastern Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the open marketplace, effecting the interface between the Crusaders and the indigenous population, obviously not all of which was Christian. In these circumstances of multicultural artistic and economic interchange, there do not seem to have been guilds for artisans and craftspeople, except perhaps among the Italians, unlike the situation in Western towns.[56] Workshops here were apparently different with a combination of resident and transient artisans working together in settings that seem to have encouraged interactive conditions and stimulated intercultural exchange to some extent. Precisely the factors of common "national" or city origin and religion that were features of the guilds in the West would not have been found in the ateliers of Acre, except inside the Italian quarters.

In this setting, the resident Frankish aristocracy and the Latin church officials formed the major class of Crusader patrons in the city of Acre and elsewhere, mostly in the cities, in the Latin Kingdom. Among transients, there were pilgrims and travelers on a more or less constant basis, although their numbers fluctuated according to conditions of access; there were also from time to time new Crusaders from the West who came with each expedition. These latter three categories were mostly all temporary visitors. But new patrons among the permanent or long-term residents were also developing, among which we can think not only of the important burgesses and well-to-do merchants (e.g., Italian merchants in their quarters, some of them even members of the aristrocracy[57]) as individuals, but, also members of new confraternities that had started to form.[58] Like their counterparts in Italy, these confraternities were sometimes organizations dedicated to works of charity, but in the Latin Kingdom their special function was to aid in the defense of the Holy Land.[59] The earliest known confraternities in the Crusader East were the confraternity of Sts. Andrew and Peter, also known as the confraternity of St. Andrew or the confraternity of Acre, and the Societas Vermiliorum. The former was founded by 1185 in Jerusalem, but moved to Acre where its privileges were renewed by Count Henry in the 1190s.[60] The latter was a Pisan organization formed to help defend Tyre against Saladin in 1188.[61] Later on we find other such confraternities such as the Italian Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in 1216,[62] and organizations for Spaniards, Englishmen, Greek Orthodox, and even Nestorians from Mossul, among others.[63] Besides their activities to aid the Holy Land of Jerusalem and to do good works, these organizations were also important politically, as, for example, the Confraternity of St. Andrew during the commune of Acre between 1232 and 1244.[64] Because of the language of their statutes it is clear that these *confratres* saw themselves as Crusaders, and because of their stated purpose to aid and succor the Holy Land, their organizations functioned mutatis mutandis as military orders mostly for laypeople, parallel in certain ways with the Hospitallers and the Templars.[65] They must have also been corporate sponsors of works of art.

Outside of Acre and the other towns of the kingdom, the necessary agriculture was carried on by a combination of Franks, local Christians, and Muslims.[66] Crusaders controlled certain agricultural lands and their settlements included villages both fortified and unfortified, manor houses, seignorial strongholds, and flour mills. In addition there were a few settlements where the Franks mixed with local Christians. Although the agricultural activity was obviously essential for the welfare of the kingdom, little artistic activity appears to have taken place in the rural hinterlands, other than in certain castles, as we shall see. Some Frankish owners of the farming properties must have been absentee landlords, many if not most living in large cities such as Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, or Antioch. But it is clear there were numerous Frankish settlers in the rural countryside controlled by the Crusaders and landlords lived mostly in their fortified holdings. Nonetheless, the identifiable artistic patronage of the landowning classes, be they nobles, ecclesiastical institutions, merchants, or military orders, appears to be found primarily in their castles or in the cities. Acre now was to be the most important city in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem between 1191 and 1291, but not the only city of importance.

In sum, St. Jean d'Acre by 1198 was newly flourishing as the de facto capital of the Latin Kingdom. Furthermore, Acre represented an important aspect of Crusader life, the rise of the city, that is also found in western Europe at this time.[67] Not only was Acre – the city – newly important because of the relocation of institutions there, but also because of the growth of its population.[68] Acre alone, compared with the other major centers, including Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre, or even Beirut, was developing a new suburb along the north wall, where many non-Frankish citizens lived. This suburb, known as Montmusard, at first was not defended by a wall, but later it received a single and then a double wall like the rest of the city.[69] From inside the heavily fortified walls of the older part of the city, the king attempted to manage the political affairs of the kingdom. The patriarch directed the ecclesiastical affairs of the Latin church. The military orders, especially the Hospitallers and the Templars, in effect controlled the military defenses of the kingdom, as well as those of the northern Crusader States, in terms of the large number of important castles they held and the fortifications of Crusader cities for which they were responsible. The words which the Armenian ruler was reported to have spoken to King Amalric I in the 1160s were also applicable in the 1190s:

> Sire, dist Thoros au roy, quant je vinç parmi vostre tiere, et je demandois des castiaus cui il estoient, li uns me disoit: 'C'est del Temple'; li autres: 'De l'Hospital'; . . . Si que jou ne trouvai ne castiel, ne cité, . . . qui fust vostre, ne mais seulement.III., mais tout à Religion.[70]

Of all the castles in the Crusader States, he could find only three that belonged to the king; the rest were controlled by the military orders. A similar situation existed in 1198 except that the overall number of castles controlled by the orders had been reduced by Saladin's conquests. Meanwhile trade and commerce flourished in Acre, and in the Crusader Kingdom, and some of the constant challenges for the king consisted of maintaining order among the maritime powers. He had sometimes to quell wars, to negotiate tax privileges with the various commercial powers and maintain vigilance over political activities they participated in, for the purpose of increasing their power and influence, and the power and influence of those political figures they supported.

The years between 1198 and 1205 were no less consequential for the Latin East than 1197–8 had been, but the difference was that, on the whole, developments in those eight years had a negative impact on the Crusader States in the Holy Land. With his call for a new Crusade in August of 1198, Innocent III had put the Levant on notice that a major new military expedition would be coming eastward. Unfortunately, except for the tangled developments in the north concerning the Antiochene succession after the death of Bohemond III of Antioch in April 1201, this new Crusade overshadows developments in the Latin East. Even sources such as the various continuations of William of Tyre's *Histoire d'Outremer* (e.g., the Paris Eracles) and the Chronicle of Ernoul focus mainly on events of the Fourth Crusade, not on developments in the Latin Kingdom. What significant developments were there in the Crusader States of the Latin Kingdom, the County of Tripoli, and the principality of Antioch in those years? What impact did the new Crusade, the ill-fated Fourth Crusade, have on the Frankish East?

One of the most consequential aspects of the reestablishment of the Latin Kingdom was the commencement of the compiling of the *Assises de Jérusalem*, an artificially created library of different books. The first book to be written was the *Livre au Roi*, which was done during the time of Aimery II, that is, 1197–1205.[71] It is the first of the great legal treatises written by the Crusaders in the thirteenth century.[72] Although this was probably Aimery's most important effort toward the strengthening of the king's legal position in the Latin Kingdom, he did not attempt the obvious measure to increase its political power. At an early moment he made the decision not to combine the crowns of Jerusalem and Cyprus, maintaining them separately in terms of courts, finances, and military resources. This policy would be followed all through the thirteenth century by his successors. What of course did happen is that very cordial relations were established between the Latin Kingdom and Cyprus. The Latin Kingdom benefitted from time to time by resources drawn from Cyprus, but Cyprus also drew Franks away from Syria-Palestine because of its more secure situation and the economic and commercial advantages which it offered.[73]

Among his royal responsibilities, Aimery II was forced to deal with the effects of a major earthquake which occurred in

Syria in 1202.[74] This was the most serious quake of the thirteenth century.[75] By this time most of the rebuilding of the fortifications taken down by Saladin in his campaigns of 1187–8 would have surely been completed. But this earthquake was severe enough to inflict serious new damage on Crusader structures and force the Crusaders to return to the arduous task of reconstruction yet again. Specific projects that are mentioned include the king's residence in Acre; and the city walls and towers, churches, and domestic dwellings of Acre, Tyre, Beirut, Gibelet, and Tripoli, among other sites, including the two great Hospitaller castles of Crac des Chevaliers and Margat; and the Templar castle of Chastel Blanc. Referring to the destruction at Tyre in his letter, Geoffrey of Donjon, a Hospitaller, describes the destruction of walls, churches, and domestic dwellings, "Tirus, . . . , in muris et turribus, ecclesiis et domibus tantam passa est eversionem, ut nullus hominum iam vivens eius possit expectare vivendo restauracionem."[76] To say that people would not live to see the rebuilding completed in their lifetime seems to have been a figure of speech for how great the damage was. But it is certain that the reconstruction of walls, towers, churches, palaces, domestic dwellings, and castles must have taken a long time, perhaps many months for the fortifications and even several years for the nonmilitary structures.

Aimery himself was personally involved in a few minor military activities during these years, which are mentioned in the continuations between accounts of the Fourth Crusade. He sent out ships to retaliate against a Muslim pirate, capturing a convoy of ships sailing for Lattakieh. He also conducted a raid into Galilee going as far as Mount Tabor, and he sent a Crusader fleet south into the Nile delta, past the town of Rosetta to Fuwah.[77] This attack on the delta was the precursor of a number of unsuccessful Crusader incursions into Egypt in years to come. The editors of the *Recueil des Historiens* and of Ernoul's *Chronique* date these events to 1203–4. Meanwhile the Hospitallers from Crac des Chevaliers and Margat carried out raids against Hama at about the same time.[78] Clearly the truce of 1198 was no longer being strictly honored, but both sides had heard of the new expedition being organized in the West, and neither wanted to provoke the other seriously to the point of risking open warfare with the new Crusade in the process of formation.

Meanwhile, Aimery II continued to be concerned about Antiochene problems, much as Count Henry and his twelfth-century predecessors as rulers of Jerusalem had been. In this case it was mainly the Antiochene succession at issue.[79] At the root of the dispute were claims and arrangements made before the death of Bohemond III in 1201. In 1197 Raymond of Antioch, eldest son of Bohemond III, had died, leaving only Raymond Roupen, his infant son by an Armenian princess, Alice. In 1198 Bohemond III, persuaded by a papal legate who was acting to strengthen the ties of a possible union between Rome and the Armenian church, saw to it that the barons of Antioch would recognize Raymond Roupen as his successor. Raymond Roupen was, however, problematic because through his Armenian linkage the new king of Cilician Armenia, Levon II, would be regent in the event of Bohemond III's death while his son was in his minority. Moreover, Bohemond, count of Tripoli, and younger son of Bohemond III, also had his own ambitions in regard to Antioch, and he did not wish to have his claim to power displaced by Armenian interests. Finally, the Templars who had lost Baghras to Levon II, sought its return from the Armenian king. Thus the Antiochene commune, Bohemond of Tripoli, and the Templars were opposed to the arrangements put in place by Bohemond III, and then Bohemond III died, in 1201.

In this situation, Bohemond of Tripoli claimed his right to be Bohemond IV by seizing power with the support of the commune and the Templars. The venerable and experienced Latin patriarch of Antioch, Peter of Angoulême, although supported by the Hospitallers, could not intervene effectively because he was constrained by the policy of Innocent III regarding union of the Armenian church with Rome. Hostilities erupted between Antioch and the Armenian king. Bohemond IV in Antioch was supported by Saladin's son, az-Zahir of Aleppo, but at that moment neither he nor the Seljuk Turks wished to become actively involved in a quarrel that involved the Christians and effectively kept their borders safe.

Meanwhile, King Aimery II watched, worried, and waited, trying to keep the peace or find a way to restore it. He leaned sympathetically toward Raymond Roupen, whom he saw as the legitimate successor, but he did not wish to confront Bohemond IV, and he did not want to get embroiled in a northern conflict when there was the threat of attack by al-Adil from the south, from Egypt. After all, al-Adil still held Jaffa and other important coastal sites farther south. As mentioned earlier, while the Fourth Crusade was underway, al-Adil had sent a raiding party into the Latin Kingdom, into Galilee; Aimery parried with a foray into the Nile delta, but both sides stopped short of breaking the truce with these incursions.[80] The promise, or threat, of the new Crusade sailing from Europe hung over Syria-Palestine in 1201–4. How would King Aimery be able to steer the Crusaders to productive use for the Latin Kingdom when they arrived in the Holy Land?

Clearly the overwhelming focus of the Latin East and the potential hope for the Frankish future of the region rested on the newly called Fourth Crusade (1198–1204). The view of this Crusade from the Latin East was, however, quite different in certain aspects from the accounts we have in the eyewitness Western sources, such as Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Robert of Clari, or Gunther of Pairis.[81] Geoffrey and Robert never made it beyond Constantinople to the Holy Land. Gunther's abbot, Martin of Pairis, did in fact go to Acre twice, en route while going and coming to Constantinople, and his account does shed some light on the Latin Kingdom in these years, but his view is still decidedly Western. Certainly no one could have predicted the fragmentary and disorganized fashion in which many of the soldiers on this Crusade made their way to the Frankish East. No one could have foreseen its short- or long-term impact on the Crusader States; and, of course, no one could have imagined its catastrophic result.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE[82]

Following the proclamation of the new Crusade by Innocent III on 15 August 1198, the administrative machinery of the Crusade got underway immediately. A tax to support the Crusade was levied on churchmen and laypeople alike. Papal legates, abbots, and priests were sent out to preach the Crusade in Italy, France, Germany, and elsewhere. For example, Soffred, cardinal priest of Sta. Prassede and eventual Latin Patriarch designate of Jerusalem, went to Venice. Martin, abbot of Pairis in Alsace, went to Germany. A country priest named Fulk of Neuilly became widely known as the most inspired, charismatic preacher in France.[83] Innocent's goal of March 1199 for having the army start out proved to be wildly unrealistic. There had been some hope that Richard I of England would be willing to take the Cross, again, but his untimely death on 26 March 1199 removed that possibility.[84]

The Crusade began to develop at a tournament held at Ecry sur Aisne (Asfeld-la-Ville) by Count Thibaut of Champagne, brother of the late Count Henry, lord of Jerusalem.[85] There on 28 November 1199, several important nobles took the Cross, including Thibaut himself, Louis of Blois, Simon de Montfort, and Renaud de Montmirail. Later, on 23 February 1200, another important group of nobles including Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut and his brothers, Henry and Eustace, also joined the Crusade, taking the Cross in Bruges. It is interesting that in his lengthy listing of the nobles and knights who took the Cross, Robert of Clari, a knight of very modest means himself, identifies them as follows: "Those whom we have named you here were the richest men and they carried banners, and we have not by any means named all those who carried banners."[86] Meetings were held at Soissons and at Compiègne to work out arrangements. Six delegates were named to seek transportation among whom Geoffrey de Villehardouin[87] and Conon de Béthune were the most prominent. Conferring among themselves, they set off for Venice where they arrived in early 1201.[88]

The doge of Venice, Henry Dandolo, was very old and blind, but he was an able leader. He welcomed the six delegates and a treaty was duly worked out.[89] The Venetians would provide ships (transports and horse transports) for 33,500 men and 4,500 horses, and they would provision the army for a year at a cost of 85,000 marks of Cologne. The Venetians would furthermore join the Crusade, supplying fifty war galleys of their own and would accordingly split any spoils of war evenly with the other Crusaders. The Crusaders agreed to make payment by April 1202, and the Crusade was scheduled to sail on the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, 29 June 1202. No specific destination for the Crusade was named in the treaty, but the envoys and the Venetians had agreed in their discussions to sail to Egypt.[90] When the documents were approved and signed, papal approval of the treaty was sought and granted in May 1201.

When the delegates returned to France, they found Count Thibaut of Champagne seriously ill, and he died on 24 May 1201.[91] Accordingly, the Crusaders eventually decided to approach the marquis, Boniface of Montferrat, to lead the Crusade. Boniface was the brother of the late Conrad of Montferrat, who had died at Acre in 1192 before he could be crowned king of Jerusalem, and brother of the former king of Thessalonica, Nerio (=Renier).[92] The marquis could clearly see the advantages of accepting such an offer, and after conferring with his cousin, King Philippe Augustus, on this decision, he went to Soissons to meet with the Crusaders and formally take the cross as their leader.

Following the meeting at Soissons, Boniface stopped at Citeaux on Holy Cross Day, 14 September 1201. Fulk of Neuilly, the great preacher, was there. Since the time of Bernard of Clairvaux, the Cistercians had supported the Crusade movement enthusiastically and now for this Crusade, a number of prominent Cistercians were enlisted by Innocent III to join in the preaching.[93] Here, in the presence of many Cistercian abbots and monks, numerous people from Burgundy and Champagne took the Cross, and much money was collected to aid the Holy Land.[94] Boniface then proceeded to Hagenau, just north of Strassburg. There at the court of his cousin, Philip of Swabia, he met Alexius Angelus, son of the dethroned Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelus and brother of Irene, Philip's wife.[95]

It was here in Hagenau, in the fall of 1201, that the notion of steering the Crusade to Constantinople was apparently born. This idea can be seen as the product of Alexius's plea for help in conjunction with two powerful nobles whose families had strong traditions of Crusading activity and who could envision substantial support for the newly forming expedition deriving from a Byzantine emperor they helped establish on the throne.[96] Furthermore, seen in the larger context of the strategy to attack Egypt already formulated, diverting the Crusade to Constantinople at this point would only mean a stop en route, not necessarily an end in itself. With the idea under discussion, a variety of questions remained unanswered on the part of Philip and especially Boniface. In early 1202 Alexius went to Rome to seek papal support for his cause. Innocent III was unwilling to aid Alexius Angelus, a youthful pretender to the throne with many extravagant promises, when the pope was endeavoring to persuade Alexius III, the reigning emperor, however weak and vacillating, to agree to a reunion of the Greek and Latin churches under the primacy of Rome.[97] Shortly thereafter Boniface also came to Rome to convey the support of Philippe Augustus for the coming Crusade, as well as the king's personal appeal on behalf of Philip of Swabia and the Hohenstaufen cause. At this point, Boniface apparently also took the opportunity to raise the possibility of supporting Alexius Angelus as the Crusade moved eastward. The pope reacted strongly and warned Boniface not to participate in any endeavor directed against Christian lands.[98] Along with his interest in the reunification of the Greek and Latin churches, the pope had high hopes for the success of this Crusade that he did not want to jeopardize. It is clear that Innocent heard and considered the idea of using the Crusade to assist Alexius Angelus and rejected it as dangerous, ill-advised, and completely inappropriate. Thus twice in two months he had made clear and explicit his opposition to any plan for the Crusade to threaten a Christian city.

Boniface left Rome and returned home to prepare for the upcoming expedition. Soldiers began to set out for Venice in the spring, but the date for sailing on 29 June came and went. The papal legate, Peter of Capuano, arrived only on 22 July; Boniface himself could not get there on time, and when he arrived in Venice on 15 August 1202, the situation did not look promising. Unfortunately many fewer Crusaders had arrived than expected. The Venetians, however, had fulfilled their obligations to the letter, having prepared and provisioned a magnificent fleet of several hundred vessels.

How would the Crusaders be able to meet their contractual payment with so many fewer participants than anticipated?

A variety of reasons have been advanced to explain the serious shortfall of participants.[99] Without speculating on the merits of these possibilities, the fact of interest to us here is that clearly a number of Crusaders did not go to Venice, but left from other ports en route to the East. The Paris Eracles and also Ernoul mention Crusaders who sailed for the Holy Land from Marseilles and John of Nesle, who sailed from Flanders. Geoffrey of Villehardouin discusses these early defections at some length.[100] John of Nesle[101] sailed from Flanders with Thierry of Flanders[102] and Nicolas de Mailly[103] in fine ships, some of which belonged to Count Baldwin of Flanders himself. They had promised to join the host at Venice but instead they sailed on to the East. Others went from Marseilles, Genoa, or from one of the ports in Apulia. The bishop of Autun, Count Guignes de Forez,[104] and Pierre Bromont[105] are mentioned, along with others from the Ile de France: Bernard de Moreuil,[106] Hugues de Chaumont,[107] Henri d'Araines,[108] Jean de Villers,[109] Gautier de Saint-Denis,[110] and his brother Hugues. All of these Crusaders sailed from Marseilles. Vilain de Nully,[111] Henri d'Arzillières,[112] Renaud de Dampierre,[113] Henri de Longchamp,[114] and Gilles de Trasignies[115] sailed from ports in Apulia.[116] "Ha," Villehardouin exclaims, "what immeasurable harm was caused by those who had gone off to other ports when they should have come to Venice! Had they only done so, Christendom would have been exalted, and the land of the Turks brought low."[117]

The consequence of these defections was that by the start of September 1202, only about a third of the expected number of soldiers had arrived in Venice. After everyone present had made a contribution, the Crusaders found they still owed more than half of the agreed-on sum. In view of the situation, very generous additional contributions were made by some of the great nobles to help the cause, but even after that the Crusaders collectively still owed some 34,000 marks of the 85,000 stipulated. Understanding the predicament that had arisen and naturally wishing to protect the investment the Venetians had made in preparations for the expedition, the doge sensibly proposed to defer payment of the outstanding amount until the army could achieve conquests and acquire booty to split according to the terms of their treaty. As this idea made the rounds, a concrete target presented itself in the form of Zara, an independent port city on the Adriatic. The Venetians depended on Zara for their supply of Dalmatian oak for shipbuilding and for provisioning its ships on the long voyage to and from the Levant. Zara had, however, been a thorn in the side of Venice all through the twelfth century. Since 1188 it had flirted with Pisan overtures and had placed itself under the protection of the king of Hungary, who had himself also taken the Cross, but had failed as yet to honor his vow.[118]

The proposition to attack Zara was received with mixed reactions by both the soldiers and the clergy among the Crusaders, but it became obvious that they had no choice if the Crusade was to move ahead. Meanwhile envoys from Prince Alexius Angelus had arrived in Venice in late August requesting help from the Crusaders in restoring him and his father to power.[119] In the midst of the discussion and controversy over these options, the doge, Enrico Dandolo, personally took the Cross in San Marco in a dramatic and emotional spectacle meant to express his commitment to the Crusade and help the Crusaders overcome at least their reservations about Zara.[120] In the face of these developments, Peter Capuano and Boniface of Montferrat apparently left Venice for Rome to report separately on the situation to Innocent III. The pope deplored the idea of the Crusaders attacking Zara, but he could see the practical requirements of the situation and would do nothing to damage the Crusade. So he sent a letter severely warning the army not to attack fellow Christians, but the letter only arrived after the Crusaders landed at Zara.[121] In regard to Alexius Angelus, Innocent wished the Crusade to have nothing to do with his appeal. After their meetings with the pope, Peter Capuano and Boniface of Montferrat remained in Rome and symbolically, as papal legate and leader, did not rejoin the Crusade until later.

Whatever options were being discussed by the leaders of the Crusade – the great nobles and high clergy and those who sought to use the expedition for special purposes – we should not lose sight of the fact that for the vast majority of rank-and-file participants,[122] the goal of this Crusade was Eastern lands in Muslim hands, especially the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Evidence for this can be found not only in the account of Robert of Clari, but also in a will apparently made immediately before leaving Venice by one Walframe of Gemona. Walframe leaves his estate, that is, the dowry of his wife, three houses and four slaves, as well as three hundred lire to Palmera his wife. As he put his affairs in order before leaving, Walframe states that he is "prepared to go in the service of the Lord and his Holy Sepulcher" on this Crusade.[123] Whatever intermediate stops were being contemplated and even advocated by some, the goal of the Crusade was still ultimately Jerusalem via Egypt in the minds of the vast majority of its participants.

Meanwhile the Venetians had delivered the ships and provisions to the Crusaders and the fleet prepared to weigh anchor. At the beginning of October, over three months later than planned, the Crusaders set sail. Robert of Clari was dazzled as the ships left the lagoon:[124]

> When the fleet set out from the Harbor of Venice . . . it was the finest thing to see that has ever been since the beginning of the world. For there were fully a hundred pairs of trumpets, of silver and of brass, all sounding at the departure, and so many drums and tabors and other instruments that it was a fair marvel. When they were on that sea and had spread their sails and had their banners set high on the poops of the ships and their ensigns, it seemed indeed as if the sea were all a-tremble and all on fire with the ships they were sailing and the great joy they were making.[125]

Stopping at Trieste and Pola, this impressive fleet stood offshore while the Venetians went into these cities, received their submission, and agreed on terms. On 10 November 1202 the Crusaders arrived at Zara and began a siege the next day. Two weeks later, on 24 November, the city surrendered after some heavy fighting.[126] The Crusaders entered the city and prepared to winter there. On 10 December, Boniface of Montferrat rejoined the Crusade as its leader, but by now it was clear that the overall commander of the fleet, de facto, was Enrico Dandolo.

By the end of December 1202 and the start of 1203, there were several important developments for the Crusade. First, envoys from Alexius Angelus had reached Zara with the offer of new terms if the Crusaders would assist him and his father in regaining the throne of Byzantium. Alexius proposed to subject the Greek Empire to the Roman church. He offered large sums of money and provisions for the Crusader army. In addition, he vowed to go to the Holy Land himself and bring an army of ten thousand men. Finally he promised to install and maintain at his expense a garrison of five hundred knights in the Holy Land for its constant protection.[127] Second, in a papal letter that arrived after Zara had been taken, Innocent III indicated that members of the Crusade would automatically be excommunicated for attacking a Christian city like Zara and shedding the blood of Christians.[128] It is not altogether clear exactly how the Crusade was put on notice of Innocent's stern message, but when it became a matter of common knowledge, the idea of the excommunication frightened and disconcerted many of the Crusaders, especially those who had not wished to attack Zara in the first place.[129] Third, the Crusaders possibly had now been able to make some sort of payment on what they owed the Venetians, drawn from splitting the fruits of their conquest of Zara. Surprisingly little is said about this, however, so it is not certain where the state of the debt stood. Fourth, it had now been several months since the Crusade had set out from Venice and many months since most of the soldiers had left their homes in France to start this journey. The soldiers were becoming restless and wanted to get on with the Crusade. These developments caused great discussion, dissension, and concern among the Crusaders.[130]

In general the ordinary people among the French Crusaders opposed the idea of aiding Alexius. The clergy was split. The great nobles were also divided. Villehardouin was focused on the army and does not report on the views of the doge and the Venetians. When the time came to make a decision about the proposal of Alexius, the response was far from wholehearted approval. Villehardouin reports: "I must tell you here that only twelve persons in all took the oaths on behalf of the French; no more could be persuaded to come forward."[131] Among those supporting the idea were Boniface of Montferrat, Count Baldwin of Flanders, Count Louis of Blois, the Count of St. Pol, and eight others, including Villehardouin. According to Villehardouin, the barons met with the envoys from Alexius in the "l'ostel le duc," that is, the residence of the doge, to make the decision on this proposal. Clearly, therefore, the doge must have been involved in the process and must have supported the proposal. Even though the proposal was accepted with less than enthusiastic approval, a date was set for the Crusade to sail, fifteen days after Easter. Presumably the assumption was that everyone would go along when the time came.

In the course of the winter, the Crusaders also decided to send a deputation to Rome to confer with the pope over his displeasure with the conquest of Zara. Villehardouin mentions four men, Jean de Friaize[132] and Robert de Boves,[133] along with bishop Névelon de Soissons,[134] and Jean de Noyon,[135] the future bishop-elect of Acre.[136] These four all took an oath on the Holy Gospels that they would faithfully carry out their mission and then return to the army. Of this group Robert de Boves chose to break his word and left the delegation to go to Syria.[137] Gunther of Pairis says that Abbot Martin of Pairis also went with these delegates, and while he was there he tried to have his Crusader vow annulled.[138] The pope made it clear that he found it unbelieveable that the Crusaders would have attacked Zara, but he also did not wish to harm the expedition. He gave the delegation a strongly worded letter demanding proper penitence and sworn assurance that papal strictures would be followed in the future. Jean de Friaize, Névelon de Soissons, and Jean de Noyon returned to Zara with the papal instructions.[139] The pope refused to allow Martin to return home from the Crusade without first reaching the Holy Land. So Martin left the delegates and set out for Syria directly.[140] He met Peter Capuano at Benevento and the two of them set sail for Acre from Siponto (Manfredonia), probably arriving in May 1203.[141]

After the agreement was made to aid Alexius, and the reduced delegation returned from Rome with Innocent III's strict instructions, the question became, which of the Crusaders would still be there as part of the army on this expedition when it was time to sail? While the Crusaders were wintering at Zara, Villehardouin refers repeatedly to men who deserted the army and, therefore, in his view, injured the Host. Villehardouin presents his narrative in terms of those who sought to break up the army and disband it versus those who were loyal to the Crusade. In most cases, however, it appears that those who left the army were honestly trying to honor their Crusade vow by fulfilling what they understood to be their obligations.[142] They wanted to go to the aid of the Holy Land and liberate their Christian brethren and the holy places from Muslim control. Villehardouin bitterly condemns their action as plainly disloyal to the Crusade, and he laments that by attempting to sail to Syria on their own, they could do nothing by themselves, whereas by staying together, the army could be successful. At Zara there were many defections. Doubt was raised over the future of this Crusade.

Villehardouin states candidly that because of these defections, "l'armée allait diminuant fortement chaque jour."[143] Five hundred men attempted to flee on a merchant ship but drowned when it sank. Others tried to flee on land but were attacked and forced to return after many were killed. An important German Crusader named Garnier von Borland took passage on a merchant ship and deserted. Even some of the highest nobles arranged to leave. Simon de Montfort, who would later gain fame in the Albigensian Crusade, arranged a safe conduct with the king of Hungary.[144] Then he and his men, including his brother, Guy, and the abbots of Vaux-de-Cernay[145] and Cercanceaux – Robert Mauvoisin,[146] Simon de Neauphle,[147] among others – departed via the long and difficult overland route to Apulia where he hired transport to Syria.[148] Meanwhile Renaud de Montmirail[149] with the support of Count Louis of Blois proposed to go on a mission[150] to Syria in one of the ships of the fleet. He and his men – Hervé du Châtel, Guillaume de Chartres, Geoffroy de Beaumont,[151] Jean and Pierre de Frouville,[152] and others – swore on the Holy Gospels that they would deliver a message from the army, and then within fifteen days, sail to rejoin the Crusade. They never came back.

When the time came for the Crusade to leave Zara in the spring of 1203, part of the fleet set sail and put in to port on the island of Corfu to wait for the rest of the expedition to follow.[153] Before Boniface of Montferrat and Enrico Dandolo set out in the second contingent, Alexius Angelus, the Byzantine prince arrived to travel with them. The Crusaders were all reunited on Corfu, but the presence of Alexius precipitated a crisis that almost destroyed the army. A large number of soldiers, in fact a majority of the French army, including Eudes de Champlitte, Jacques d'Avesnes,[154] Pierre d'Amiens,[155] Guy de Coucy,[156] Ogier de Saint-Chéron,[157] Guy de Chappes,[158] Guillaume d'Aunoi,[159] Pierre Coiseau,[160] Guy and Aimon Pesmes,[161] Guy de Conflans,[162] and Richard and

Eudes de Dampierre,[163] among others, decided they would not continue with the expedition. The leaders who had endorsed Alexius's proposal could not persuade them to continue. The dissident Crusaders removed themselves from the army and encamped in a separate place from which they intended to send word to Walter of Brienne to send ships to take them to Brindisi, which he currently occupied in Apulia. The Crusade leaders along with Alexius and all the high clergy went in desperation to the encampment and literally pleaded on their knees that the soldiers not desert the army. The dissident soldiers agreed to this only on the condition that if they were willing to go to Constantinople, the leaders had to swear on the Holy Gospels that they would only be there a limited time, and that after the treaty with Venice expired (29 September 1203), they would provide ships to take the army to the Holy Land within fifteen days after they were requested. With this solution, the complete disintegration of the Crusade army was narrowly averted. Once again the resolve of the great majority of the soldiers to honor their vow to go to the Holy Land was demonstrated. (Map 3)

No soldier left the army on Corfu, as it turned out, but at Zara before that there were clearly many men who left the army to go directly to Syria. We do not always know what happened to them en route or after they reached the Holy Land. Some went to the Holy Land and then came to Constantinople; some stayed in the Holy Land, fought there, and died there; some came to the Holy Land and then returned home. The continuations to William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* and Ernoul report the arrival of some of these Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom. The results of their activities varied, but each one presented a new challenge for King Aimery II.

The Paris Eracles, among other sources, reports the sailing of Crusaders from Marseilles direct to the Holy Land. Some of these sailings brought soldiers that created difficulties, in particular the arrival of Renaud de Dampierre in Acre in 1202.[164] Renaud had been commissioned to take the place of Count Thibaut III of Champagne, who had died in 1201. Renaud told King Aimery that he wished to break the truce currently in effect and attack the Muslims. The king responded that he should not break the truce but wait for the "hauz homes de France" who were coming from Venice. This made Renaud angry and "si parla moult vilainement au roi en tel maniere que il n'i deust mie parler." Nonetheless "li rois fu sages," and when Renaud saw that he could do nothing in the Latin Kingdom, he and his men decided to go north to help the prince of Antioch fight the king of Armenia. He made it to Jabala north of Margat, where the emir treated them hospitably, but warned them that the emir of Lattakia would not let them pass through his territory without a *laissez passez* from the sultan of Aleppo. Renaud and his men paid no attention, tried to press on, and were ambushed near Lattakia. Most were captured or killed; Renaud himself was taken prisoner and remained in captivity for thirty years![165] Those survivors who made it to Antioch eventually joined John de Nesle who had also come north and ended up fighting with King Levon II *against* the prince of Antioch.[166]

Other ships brought more welcome arrivals to Acre in 1202. During the recruiting period for the Crusade, a large amount of money had been donated to aid the Holy Land. The Paris Eracles and Ernoul report that this treasure, which Fulk of Neuilly had deposited with the Cistercians, was sent "outre mer" and that it could not have arrived at a better time. The Latin Kingdom had just suffered the terrible earthquake of 1202, and the walls of Acre, Tyre, and Beirut were rebuilt with a large part of this money.[167] After these reports, both the Eracles and Ernoul recount a curious story about negotiations between the brother of Saladin and the Venetians. According to this agreement, the Muslims discussed the possibility of the Crusade coming to Egypt with the Venetians and offered them commercial incentives to divert the expedition elsewhere. The gist of this story is to lay blame on the Venetians for secretly obstructing what the Crusaders understood to be their strategy from the time of the treaty of 1201. It marks the beginning of questions voiced about Venetian motives on the Crusade, questions that have had a long history as part of the historiography of the Fourth Crusade. There seems to be no evidence to support this story however, and Queller and Madden comment, "the whole story should be regarded as nothing more than an interesting example of the suspicions and accusations that would naturally arise among the Christians of Palestine cheated of the aid upon which they had counted."[168]

Later, the Paris Eracles and Ernoul briefly return to their narratives of the Crusade. In the Eracles the story picks up in 1202, from the time the army gathers in Venice until it reaches Zara; Ernoul is more complicated but still follows the same main points. We hear about the various defections of Robert of Boves, Simon de Montfort, Renaud de Montmirail, and Jean de Nesle.[169] Resuming developments in the Holy Land in 1203, we also learn about King Aimery's attack on an Egyptian convoy of ships in retaliation for an emir who was engaged in pirating activity along the coast of Sidon, and his foray to the Nile delta to the town of Fuwa, along with other squirmishes. Some of them were quite serious at the time, but neither side wanted to break the truce.[170] Surprisingly, we do not hear about the plague in Acre during the spring and summer of 1203 from the Eracles or from Ernoul, but instead it is described by Gunther of Pairis, and it seems to have been serious during the "dog days" of summer. Gunther includes details on the plague as part of his account of the first visit of abbot Martin of Pairis to Acre from 25 April to 8 November 1203.[171] Meanwhile, other sources describe military actions on the part of the Hospitallers who mounted a number of raids inland toward Hama from Crac des Chevaliers and Margat in 1203 and 1204.[172] However, we are told in the Eracles and by Ernoul that after some of the most prominent recent arrivals, soldiers such as Simon de Montfort; Guy, his brother, who had married the lady of Sidon; Robert of Boves; and others decided to return home in 1204, King Aimery and al-Adil arranged for a new truce.[173]

This truce appears to have been initiated by King Aimery because he feared and expected that the Crusade, which had been diverted to Constantinople, was not going to make it to the Holy Land in the end. The numerous but fragmented contingents of soldiers who had split off from the Crusade and had come east directly had been too small to be of much help; in some cases they had been difficult to deal with and even disruptive. For the most part, after they fulfilled their vow of aiding the Holy Land as they saw fit, if they survived they all seemed determined to return home after their sojourn in the Levant. A few went to Constantinople. Al-Adil for his part feared that the Crusade might in fact still come, and he wanted to put an end to the desultory fighting of recent months. Therefore, he was quite willing to agree to the truce, and the terms were generous. In any case, this truce was scheduled to last for six years, from September 1204 to 1210. Al-Adil would give up Jaffa, the Muslim part of Sidon, and split Ramla and Lydda, so that the Crusaders controlled the former and he, the latter. Arrangements were also simplified for Christian pilgrims who wished to visit the holy places in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth.[174] It was an advantageous treaty for Aimery II, which strengthened his position in the Latin Kingdom, but only briefly, because ultimately the results of the Fourth Crusade seriously weakened the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine. Personally, Aimery did not have long to enjoy his position of greater power and prestige because he died only six months later, on 1 April 1205.

The story of the Fourth Crusade at Constantinople has often been told and need not be recounted here in any detail, except insofar as it sheds light on developments in Crusader Syria-Palestine.[175] Having left Corfu in May 1203, the Crusaders completed their journey in excellent time. En route they met two ships returning from Syria. These ships carried soldiers who had gone to Acre, but finding the city infested with a serious plague, they left to return home, and sighting the Crusader fleet they were ashamed to be identified. One of the refugee soldiers, however, rejoined the main army for the final approach to the Byzantine capital, according to Geoffrey of Villardouin.[176] The Crusader fleet sailed by the walls of the city on St. John's Day, 24 June 1203. When the Crusaders landed and eventually attacked the city, the attack failed, but Alexius III fled for his life even though he did not yield his crown. The blind Isaac II Angelus was placed on the throne nonetheless and forced to accept the terms of the Crusader agreement with Alexius Angelus at Zara. On 1 August 1203, Alexius IV Angelus was crowned co-emperor. The Crusaders then camped across the Golden Horn at Galata, where the new emperor paid them a first installment, enough for them to settle accounts with the Venetians.[177]

At this point the Crusaders had had their first chances to visit the city in any numbers to see its many churches and palaces. Thus they learned about the wealth of the city and its relics. Villehardouin exclaims over, "the marvelous wealth of a city richer than any other since the beginning of time. As for the relics, these were beyond all description; for there were at that time as many in Constantinople as in all the rest of the world."[178] Robert of Clari describes the marvels of the Great Palace complex and other parts of Constantinople in a large narrative section after the fall of the city, but he must have seen these things on earlier visits.[179]

At this point the Crusaders also had their first major disagreement over how to proceed at Constantinople. Alexius IV had requested that the Crusaders remain there beyond the time their treaty expired with the Venetians, to March 1204. There was much discussion and argument. Those who had attempted to leave the Crusade at Corfu demanded their ships so they could go to Syria now. The others argued:

> If we go to Syria now, we shall get there at the beginning of winter, when it is impossible to make war; and so our Lord's work will remain undone. But if we wait till March, we shall leave this Emperor safely established and go away well supplied with money and provisions. Then we can go to Syria, and from there make expeditions into Egypt.[180]

Eventually the Crusaders agreed to stay, some very reluctantly. Alexius IV also arranged with the doge to keep the Venetian fleet in service with the Crusade for the same period of time.

After the disposition of the army was settled, difficulties began to arise. Many Crusaders had accompanied Alexius IV on a campaign to take control of the lands around Constantinople stretching to Adrianople where Alexius III had established a temporary capital. In their absence there was a large anti-Latin riot in the city in which the Greeks attacked and burned the Italian quarters along the Golden Horn. In retaliation, a group of Franks, consisting of Flemings, Pisans, and Venetians, attacked the Mitaton Mosque in the city and set it on fire. The fire spread into a huge conflagration that destroyed a large portion of the city and burned for three days.[181] The fire also poisoned relations between the Latins and the Greeks; the remaining Latin citizens of Constantinople sought refuge with the Crusaders in their camp.

When Alexius IV returned to Constantinople with the army after a campaign of several months, he grew more distant to the Crusaders and he was able to pay them only very little. Even that diminished to nothing although he kept them supplied with food. The Crusaders grew restive; the Byzantine court wanted to see the Latins disposed of. It was December 1203. As Steven Runciman characterized it, Alexius discovered that "an Emperor cannot be as irresponsible as a pretender."[182] As the situation deteriorated, the Crusaders finally delivered an ultimatum for Alexius either to meet his obligations or they would no longer support him. The Greeks were offended by the blunt demands of the Crusaders, and open hostilities broke out between the Greeks and the Latins.

Once the Byzantine court realized that Alexius IV had been cut off from his Latin support, there was a coup d'état in January of 1204. The great-great-grandson of Alexius I Comnenus, Alexius Mourtzouphlus, was crowned Alexius V.[183] He had Alexius IV imprisoned and eventually strangled in February. Isaac II died from natural causes amid the stress of it all. Alexius IV was not a popular ruler, but to the Crusaders he represented the end of all their agreements with the erstwhile Byzantine emperor, Alexius V. They now had only their Crusade vow, and the oath of their leaders to take them to Syria in March. The soldiers in the army mostly saw themselves as genuine Crusaders once more. The leaders of the army and the doge of Venice saw it differently. With the help of the clergy, they argued that the new, immediate object of the Crusade was defined to be Constantinople, and the perfidious Greeks who were schismatics, led by an emperor who was a murderer. Despite the fact that Innocent III had explicitly forbidden any attack on Christians or Christian holdings, a crusading indulgence was approved for members of the army. The clergy preached that an attack on Constantinople was a Crusade against schismatics.[184] The leaders of the Crusade met and worked out how the spoils of victory would be apportioned with cooly conceived calculation. A new treaty was signed among them to this end.

Preparations now went forward for an open assault on the city, and it was only a matter of time before the operation started. On 8 April everything was ready and the attack began.

By 12 April the Crusaders had entered the city by military force, something no other army had succeeded in doing in the history of Constantinople. Alexius V fled with the wife of Alexius III and her daughter, by ship. A new emperor was named, Constantine Lascaris, but he also fled with his brother, Theodore. On the morning of 13 April the Constantinopolitans were ready to acknowledge the victors. A delegation of Greek clergy and the Varangian guard came to greet Boniface of Montferrat and deliver the city into his hands.[185] The Latins were now in control and the horrible result was that the city was sacked with unmitigated greed and violence. Nicetas Choniates, a prominent Byzantine senator, wrote one of the most eloquent laments ever penned concerning the atrocities committed by the Latins in Constantinople;[186] he writes, "O City, that hast drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his fury."[187] Even the Paris Eracles matter-of-factly characterizes what the Crusaders did as abandoning the cause of God and embracing that of the devil, destroying and robbing churches and abbeys.[188]

In regard to the gigantic quantity of booty seized by the Crusaders, the Latin and Old French sources provide, for the most part, only brief references that characterize the vast amount, but offer few details. Robert of Clari declares, "not since the world was made, was there ever seen or won so great a treasure or so noble or so rich, not in the time of Alexander nor in the time of Charlemagne nor before or after that."[189] For his part, Geoffroy de Villehardouin here declares that, to his knowledge, "so much booty had never been gained in any city since the creation of the world."[190] An appalling amount of this booty – gold, silver, gems – was religious material plundered from churches and monasteries: liturgical vessels and decorations stripped from holy altars, jeweled covers torn from sacred icons, and conceiveably treasure bindings pried from precious books.[191] There was also terrible destruction of antique artifacts including literally thousands of bronze statues, some melted down weeks later by the Latin emperor to use for coinage.[192] Some of the loot miraculously survived more or less intact and is very famous even today, like the magnificent gilded bronze horses sent to Venice by Enrico Dandolo and placed on the façade of San Marco overlooking the piazza or certain precious objects now in the treasury of San Marco.[193]

But it was the relics and their costly and precious reliquary containers that were the most treasured prizes for many Crusaders.[194] As Jonathan Riley-Smith has written, "the sack of Constantinople was a massive *furtum sacrum*, made against the background of the hysteria that had swept Europe following the loss of the relic of the True Cross of Jerusalem, at the Battle of Hattin in 1187."[195] In arguing that the Crusade was sanctioned by God and had resulted in a partial but substantial victory for Christendom, it was the relics which Western chroniclers cited especially as evidence. True, the Fourth Crusade had not yet recovered Jerusalem; nonetheless, the relics the Crusaders brought back to western Europe from Constantinople were seen as items of divine favor, were to many evidence of the fulfillment of their vow, and were certainly believed to be continuing sources of blessing for the servants of the Lord.[196]

Gunther of Pairis is one of the few main Western sources to refer to the looting of churches that took place. In regard to Abbot Martin of Pairis, Gunther describes how he went to the Church of the Pantokrator where an old Orthodox priest opened the treasury for him. Martin took as many relics as he could carry concealed in his garments and made off. He took these relics back to his ship as quickly as possible and stored them away to protect them, only bringing them out for private prayer and veneration.[197]

One of the sources[198] that actually lists relics taken is the Anonymous of Soissons which identifies the following items acquired by Nevelon, bishop of Soissons, and shipped back to France.[199] He brought many relics destined for a number of churches:

For the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary and the holy martyrs Gervais et Protais at Soissons:

> The head of the most blessed Protomartyr Stephen;
> The finger of the blessed Apostle Thomas which he placed in the side of the Lord;
> The crown of the head of the blessed Mark, the Evangelist;
> One thorn from the Crown of the Lord;
> A large part of the stately robe of the Blessed Virgin Mary;
> A portion of the towel with which the Lord girded himself at the Last Supper.[200]
> The head of the blessed John the Baptist;
> The head of the blessed Apostle Thomas;
> The crown of the head of the blessed Blaise with one of his ribs;
> Two large crucifixes made from the wood of the Lord;
> The staff of Moses;
> A part of the reed with which the Lord was beaten, and many other relics.[201]

For the Abbey of Notre-Dame de Soissons:

> The belt of the Blessed Mary.[202]
> The head of the blessed Apostle Thaddeus; one crucifix made from the wood of the Lord.[203]

For the Abbey of St. Jean des Vignes:

> The forearm of that same John the Baptist.[204]
> The head of the blessed martyr James.[205]

For the Cistercian monastery of Longpont:

> The head of the blessed Dionysius the Areopagite, with one crucifix made from the wood of the Lord.[206]

Some of these relics were said to have come from "Maquerel," identified as Mount Machaerus near the Dead Sea in the Holy Land. According to tradition, the relics of St. John the Baptist had been taken from this place of his martyrdom in the Holy Land, to Alexandria, and then to Constantinople.[207]

For our considerations here, it is very important to distinguish this flood of relics that came to the West from Constantinople, wherever their original source may have been, and those relics which may have come directly from the Latin Kingdom at this time. As we shall see, many relics and reliquaries from Constantinople began to appear in western Europe following the Crusader conquest of the city in 1204. Few appear to have come from the Holy Land recently and directly.

When the clamor died down after three days, on 15 April, order was restored and the Crusaders were faced with the problems of dividing the spoils, nominating a ruler, and determining their agenda for the future. Would the Crusade continue? How would Constantinople and its surrounding lands be administered? How would papal approval of this conquest be obtained? In May six electors were chosen by the army and six by the Venetians. The six Frankish delegates were all clergy: Bishop Nevelon of Soissons, Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt, Bishop Peter of Bethlehem, Bishop John of Acre, Bishop Garnier of Troyes, and Abbot Peter of Locedio. The six Venetian delegates were chosen by a committee. Every effort was made to ensure the impartiality of the electors. Bishop Nevelon of Soissons announced their choice at midnight on 9 May 1204; it was Count Baldwin of Flanders. He was crowned in the Cathedral Church of Haghia Sophia on 16 May 1204. Boniface of Montferrat became king of Thessalonica, where his brother, Nerio, had reigned before. Shortly after the coronation of Baldwin, the Venetians had taken over Haghia Sophia and installed canons who elected Tommaso Morosini the first Latin patriarch of Constantinople, pending papal approval.[208]

For the new Latin emperor, Baldwin, and the men he invested with land, offices, and fiefs and made knights in his service, for Boniface and his men, for the Venetians, the Crusade was over. In the months following his coronation, Baldwin sought to move ahead with the task of organizing the new empire. Baldwin wrote to the pope exclaiming what a glorious victory the Crusaders had won;[209] he also wrote requesting that the pope send members of the major orders, that is, Cistercians, Cluniacs, canons regular, among others, and that service and prayer books be provided: missals, breviaries, and gospels for the Latin liturgy.[210] He even asked the pope to urge masters and students of the University of Paris to go to Constantinople "to reform the study of literature."[211] Pope Innocent III for his part was concerned that the union of churches be accomplished, that order be established in the new Latin Empire, and that the Crusade be continued.[212] Clearly Innocent III intended that the Crusade go on to the Holy Land; the fact that he employed bishops from sees in the Latin Kingdom to be legates and pro-legates (e.g., Soffredus patriarch of Jerusalem, John bishop of Acre, Peter bishop of Bethlehem, among others) clearly indicates his expectations in this regard. But despite the ideas and will of the pope, this Crusade was, in effect, over. A few Crusaders subsequently set out for Syria, but the vast majority stayed in Constantinople. Some may have conveniently forgotten their original vow to go to the Holy Land, but most probably were able to convince themselves, aided by the preaching of certain members of the clergy, that they would complete their vow by remaining to protect the new empire until the spring of 1205.[213]

Among those Crusaders who did not stay in Constantinople but went on to the Holy Land to fulfill their vow, there were a number of prelates. One was Abbot Martin of Pairis. In fact he sailed in late summer 1204 directly to Acre, where he arrived on 1 October.[214] He arrived some weeks after Marie, the wife of Count Baldwin of Flanders, had died in Acre on 9 August 1204.[215] Marie had sailed from Marseilles directly to Acre, suggesting that she expected her husband to join her there on the Crusade, but she was cruelly disappointed. Before she could rejoin him in Constantinople where he had been recently crowned emperor, she became ill and died. Abbot Martin by contrast maintained good health, and in fact he seemed to travel with his precious cargo of relics under the special safe passage of exceptional good fortune.

While Martin was in Acre he revealed his sacred treasures only to one trusted person, Werner of Egisheim. Werner was amazed at the relics and feared greatly for their safety and that of Martin should he attempt to return home to Pairis with them. He proposed that Martin stay in the Latin Kingdom and take a position presiding over a monastery of the new Carmelite order, or, if he preferred, his own order, the Cistercians, which would also allow him to honor the Holy Land with these precious objects. Martin declined, and apparently sought additional relics while he was in Acre. In any case he sailed on 31 March 1205 in the same convoy as Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt.[216] They arrived in Venice on 28 May 1205. From Venice Martin went unmolested with all his treasures over the Alps to Basel where he began his journey, and then to his home monastery in Pairis, on 24 June 1205.

Gunther is at pains to inform us about these holy relics that Martin had so lovingly brought from the East, and he provides us with a list, which is of great interest.[217]

> In order to encourage a firmer belief in them in our readers, we have decided to list them by name. . . . a trace of the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . .
> . . . wood from our Lord's cross. . . .
> . . . a not inconsiderable piece of St. John, forerunner of the Lord.
> . . . the arm of St. James the Apostle.

There are also relics of other saints, whose names follow:

> Christopher, martyr
> George, martyr
> Theodore, martyr
> Item: the foot of St. Cosmas, martyr
> Item: a relic from the head of Cyprian, martyr
> Item: a relic of Pantaleon, martyr
> Item: a tooth of St. Lawrence
> Item: a relic of Demetrius, martyr
> Item: a relic of Stephan, protomartyr
> Item: relics of Vincentius, Adjustus, and of Mauritius, and his companions
> Item: relics of Crisantius and Darius, martyrs
> Item: relics of Gervasius and Protasius, martyrs
> Item: relics of Primus, martyr
> Item: relics of Sergius and Bacchus, martyrs
> Item: a relic of Protus, martyr
> Item: relics of John and Paul, martyrs
> Item: a relic from the place of the Lord's Nativity
> Item: a relic from the area of Calvary
> Item: a relic from the Lord's Sepulcher
> Item: a relic from the stone rolled away
> Item: a relic from the spot of the Lord's Ascension
> Item: a relic from the stone where John stood when he baptized the Lord
> Item: a relic from the spot where Christ raised Lazarus
> Item: a relic from the stone on which Christ was presented in the temple
> Item: a relic from the stone on which Jacob slept
> Item: a relic from the stone where Christ fasted
> Item: a relic from the stone where Christ prayed
> Item: a relic from the table on which Christ ate the Supper
> Item: a relic from the place where He was taken captive
> Item: a relic from the spot where the Lord's mother departed from her sepulcher
> Item: a relic from the sepulcher of the apostle Saint Peter
> Item: relics of the holy apostles Andrew and Philip
> Item: a relic from the place where the Lord gave Moses the law
> Item: relics of the holy patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob

Item: a relic of St. Nicholas, bishop
Item: a relic of Adelasius, bishop
Item: a relic of Agricius, bishop
Item: a relic of John Chrysostom
Item: a relic of John the Almsgiver
Item: a relic of the milk of the Lord's mother
Item: a relic of Margaret, virgin
Item: a relic of Perpetua, virgin
Item: a relic of Agatha, virgin
Item: a relic of Agnes, virgin
Item: a relic of Lucy, virgin
Item: a relic of Cecilia, virgin
Item: a relic of Adelgunde, virgin
Item: a relic of Euphemia, virgin.[218]

This list contains an amazing array of relics that are grouped in interesting ways. There are obviously the special important relics in the first group including relics of the True Cross, the early medieval relics in the second group, a group of relics related mostly to the sites of Christ's activities in the Holy Land, and a group of relics of holy bishops, martyrs, and virgins. It is unclear why Gunther refers to the relics of some saints using the title of "saint" and some he refers to only by their name. Perhaps this is based on the tituli that these relics carried, which he is recording as he found them. But it is striking to find in the midst of this list, a series of relics – all from the Holy Land – that are pieces of stone or wood from the locations of sacred events in the life of Christ. These are the kind of relics pilgrims to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth collected from Early Christian times on. Their grouping here led one eminent nineteenth-century scholar to suggest that Abbot Martin may have gotten them from Syria-Palestine instead of Constantinople.[219] I think it is indeed likely that Martin collected them from the holy places during one of his visits to Acre, both of which lasted about six months. Perhaps it was more probable during the second visit when he was so focused on his collection of relics. The fact that Gunther says nothing about the acquisition of relics in Acre apparently indicates that Martin did not make notes of all his activities.

This list, and especially the group of relics from the Holy Land, points up a perplexing problem that now becomes a factor all through the period, 1204–61. When relics come from the East, their origin is often assumed to be from Constantinople when in fact they may have come from the Holy Land.[220] The origin of the relics is one thing: many came from the Holy Land or from Rome or even from Constantinople; the location of the relics in the years around 1204 is another: for example, a relic from the Holy Land could have been in Constantinople for years, but another relic from the Holy Land could have been newly acquired in the Holy Land in 1204 or 1205. Either relic could then have been taken later to a church or monastery somewhere in western Europe. It is not always clear in these lists of relics said to be from Constantinople where and when the relics came from originally. We shall have to be vigilant about this issue when assessing the origins of relics, identifying where and when pilgrims could have acquired them in the East and where and when they may have been placed in reliquary containers.

It seems likely that many, indeed most, precious relics related to Christ, the Virgin, or the saints taken to the West from the Holy Land were carried in metal reliquary containers. Certainly this is the indication we have with regard to the relics of the True Cross sent to Europe from Jerusalem in the twelfth century, and we may imagine that such was the case for most such relics taken West from Constantinople in 1204 as well. For rather more modest relics, however, such as those pieces of stone, wood, or even soil included in the list of Martin of Pairis cited here, we may well wonder about the nature of the containers into which they were placed.

We know that early Christian pilgrims carried items of this sort in boxes, like the famous wooden container with the painted lid in the collection of the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome.[221] Besides such boxes, Durand and Gauthier also mention the possibilites that relics and precious souvenirs were placed in small leather or silk purses or in carved ivory oliphants, an example of which is the ensemble of relics of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, which in 1255 was in the Cathedral of Angers and is now in the museum there.[222] These oliphants are usually attributed to S. Italy or Sicily and probably do not come from the Holy Land, but there are a number of objects of Fatimid Islamic origin – coffrets of ivory or gold and ampoules of rock crystal – that are found in church treasuries in western Europe and which may have served in such a capacity.[223] This whole matter needs more study, but in fact there may well be as much or even more of this kind of use in the thirteenth century as there was in the twelfth.

It is obvious, of course, that because of the conquest of Constantinople many thousands of relics were acquired there by the Frankish Crusaders and by the Venetians and were brought back or sent back to western Europe.[224] We know of a number of relics of the True Cross, among others, for example, some of which we have already encountered in the evidence concerning Bishop Nevelon of Soissons[225] and Abbot Martin of Pairis.[226]

Other such relics are known as well; for example, Conrad of Krosigk, Bishop of Halberstadt, brought back a relic of the True Cross in a handsome reliquary from Constantinople, along with other "dominical" relics, that is, relics of Christ.[227] Conrad of Halberstadt sailed from Constantinople to the Holy Land shortly after Martin of Pairis, arriving in Tyre on 7 October 1204.[228] From there he continued on to Acre where Soffredus and Peter Capuano, among others, were about to leave for Constantinople.

In contrast to Martin of Pairis, Conrad of Halberstadt actively engaged himself in the affairs of the Latin Kingdom. A number of prelates delegated him to perform duties on their behalf: Soffredus, Peter Capuano and Clerembaut, archbishop of Tyre, all set out for Constantinople shortly after Conrad's arrival. Conrad was deputed to care for the Cathedral of Tyre, and while he lived in the archbishop's palace there, he directed work on the rebuilding of the fortifications of the city – walls still needing repair after the 1202 earthquake – dispensed alms to the needy in the city, and even consecrated the new bishop of Sidon, Terricus.[229] So valuable was his service said to have been that when he prepared to board his ship for home, "Lord Amalric [Aimery II], king of Jerusalem, as well as Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, and citizens of both Tyre and Acre, along with all the clergy and laity, attended him with sorrow, declaring with truth that indisputably their whole land was left desolate by the single absence of him whose presence, they asserted without doubt, had happily been a blessing for the Holy Land."[230]

While he resided in the Holy Land, Conrad is reported to have had a number of life-changing experiences. At one point during his travels, Conrad came down with a serious illness, and accordingly he visited the shrine of the Virgin in the Church of Notre Dame in Tortosa. This shrine was said to have been constructed by St. Peter in honor of the Virgin, and as a pilgrimage site, it had become famous for its miraculous cures. When Conrad was cured, he attributed his healing to the efficacy of divine intervention resulting from the response to his prayers at this place.[231] Even more amazing was the fact that Conrad had taken the vow of a Crusader and had participated in the entire Fourth Crusade, from the time he took the Cross on 7 April 1202 to the winter of 1204–5 in the Holy Land, in a state of excommunication. He had been excommunicated in February or March of 1202, shortly after his consecration as bishop, because of his open support for the Hohenstaufen, Philip of Swabia, in defiance of Pope Innocent's support of Otto of Brunswick.[232] In Acre, before the two papal legates left for Constantinople, Conrad prevailed on them to pardon him, releasing him from the sentence of excommunication on the understanding that he would be required to visit Rome on his return journey and secure papal confirmation. Finally, while in the Holy Land Conrad was also reported to have had an experience that resulted in his decision to enter the Cistercian order.[233] Suffice it to say that Conrad was pardoned by the pope in 1205, and in 1208 he entered the Cistercian order at Sittichenbach.

Given his importance and high-profile activity, it is notable that Conrad returned to Halberstadt on 16 August 1205 with a number of relics acquired during his travels on the Fourth Crusade and in the Holy Land.[234] The list recorded by the *Gesta Episcoporum Halberstadensium* contains an impressive number of dominical relics, including not only precious fragments of the True Cross, but also the Holy Sepulcher, the Crown of Thorns, a trace of the Holy Blood, pieces of the Holy Shroud, and the Sudarium, among others associated directly with the Passion and death of Jesus.[235] The nature and importance of these dominical relics are comparable to those acquired later in the thirteenth century by King Louis IX for the Sainte Chapelle, and for the most part they are significantly different from the most important group acquired by Martin of Pairis and placed at the beginning of his list. In particular, however, there is no group of relics in Conrad's list comparable to the set of relics collected from holy sites noted in Martin's list. None of the relics collected by Conrad necessarily suggests that he acquired some of them while living in the Holy Land, although we cannot absolutely rule out this possibility. But the contrast of types of relics in the two lists seems to lend additional credence to the likelihood that Martin of Pairis obtained some of his relics directly from the Holy Land, perhaps acquired in Acre, if not necessarily directly from each holy site indicated, that is, places in and around Jerusalem.

As we have seen, other important relics are mentioned besides those of the True Cross in these lists and in the chronicler's accounts. The argument has been offered that the Holy Shroud, what Robert of Clari calls the "sydoine,"[236] was taken to the West at this time.[237] In discussing the marvels of the city, Robert of Clari described a long series of relics in the Great Palace. There in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of the Pharos, he saw important dominical relics besides two large pieces of the Holy Cross, such as part of the Holy Lance, two Holy Nails, a vial of the Holy Blood, the seamless Robe of Christ, and the Crown of Thorns.[238] There were also other major relics such as the robe of the Virgin Mary and the head of St. John the Baptist in this same chapel.

Besides these precious relics, Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari, among other sources, also discuss the capture of an important Byzantine icon, which provides some significant evidence of how this icon, and icons more generally, were viewed by the Crusaders.[239] During the siege of Constantinople in the winter of 1204, just as Alexius V Mourtzouphlus took the throne, Henry of Flanders led a troop of Crusaders northwest of the city to Philia on the Black Sea. The object of this raid was to provision and "pay themselves" some of what the rulers of Byzantium had now refused to pay. While Henry and his men were on the way back from this successful raid, Mourtzouphlus ambushed him. The Crusaders fought off the attack, and when Mourtzouphlus retreated with his bodyguard, "They were in such haste, he and those of his company, that they let fall the icon [ansconne] and his imperial helmet and the standard and the icon, which was all of gold and charged with precious stones and was so beautiful and so rich that never was one seen to equal it. When the French saw this, they left off their pursuit."[240] Thus Mourtzouphlus escaped, but lost his imperial standard, his helmet, and this holy icon. Villehardouin says, "It was one in which he and the other Greeks placed great faith, because it bore the picture of Our Lady."[241] Nicetas Choniates tersely comments, "the icon of the Mother of God, which the Roman emperors reckon as their fellow general, was taken by the enemy."[242] This is apparently a holy icon of the Hodegetria, a palladium of the city of Constantinople, which Alexius V has surrendered here.[243] Robert of Clari continues:

> When they came near the camp, the bishops and the clerks who were in the camp came out in procession to meet them and they received the icon with great joy and rejoicing, and it was entrusted to the bishop [Garnier] of Troyes. So, the bishop carried it into the camp, to a church to which they all repaired, and the bishops chanted a service, and they made great rejoicing over it. And from the very day on which it was captured, the barons all decreed that it should be given to Cîteaux, and later it was taken there.[244]

This is one of the most informative stories about icons in the chronicles of the Fourth Crusade. It demonstrates with what reverence the Crusaders held such a holy image. It describes the icon as encased in gold with jewels, which means that it had been given a riza, which gave the icon the appearance of a reliquary, of which the image itself was the relic.

Therefore the Crusaders were impressed with the icon as a holy image, as a precious object, and as a quasi-relic. It is not surprising that this holy object was put in the hands of a bishop, but we may wonder what service they chanted with it. The claim voiced here and in other sources that the icon was taken to Cîteaux has no known basis in fact, but it does underline the extraordinary importance of the role which the Cistercians played in this Crusade.

Before 1204, Crusaders and others pilgrims had heard of the wealth of Constantinople, but most had never seen it. Now these Crusaders not only could see such splendid and lavishly appointed Byzantine churches, such extraordinary relics in such sumptuous reliquaries, or such beautiful icons so lavishly decorated, they could now possess them, or parts of them, as their own. For many of these Crusaders, Jerusalem and the Holy Land were forgotten, and they had been replaced by the glittering reality of Constantinople, its wealth, and the opulence of its religious holdings.

THE IMPACT OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE ON THE LATIN KINGDOM AND THE CRUSADER STATES IN THE LEVANT

The coronation of the new Latin Emperor of Constantinople on 16 May 1204 was a major event in which the new ruler assumed the splendid regalia of the Byzantine emperors.[245] Baldwin IX of Flanders became Emperor Baldwin I with the blessing of the Frankish and the Venetian electors. The Latin Empire thereby came into being as the newest "Crusader State" in the Levant, along with the Crusader States on mainland Syria-Palestine and the Kingdom of Cyprus. Ambitious men saw the Latin Empire as filled with the potential for gaining land and new fiefs in the specific territories – the Kingdom of Thessalonika, the Lordship of Athens, and the Principality of Achaia – that were rapidly set up after 1204 in what became known as Romania or Frankish Greece. Overall, the Latin Empire and Frankish Greece were political entities that were comparatively attractive to many Crusaders for a variety of reasons.[246]

Following the coronation, Baldwin I began the task of establishing the Latin Empire. The division of the city and rights to the spoils were administered according to the pact agreed on between the Venetians and the Franks before the conquest.[247] The Venetians received three-eighths of the city including Haghia Sophia and three-eighths of the empire. Baldwin as emperor ruled the rest of the city, and a quarter of the empire including Thrace, certain Aegean islands, and some land to the south. Boniface of Montferrat eventually received the kingdom of Thessalonica after he sold Crete to the Venetians. These arrangements then formed the basis for a new partition treaty which was signed in October 1204.[248] Basically the western part of the Byzantine empire was to be divided among the Latin conquerers of Constantinople in the same proportions as before, one-quarter to the emperor, three-eighths to the Venetians, and three-eighths to the other Crusaders, but with adjustments in regard to the specific territories involved. Many of the provinces were still unconquered, and some would never be captured; the Venetians took more than they could control with their maritime power, but they focused their attention on Crete and the ports of Modon and Croton. After the pact was signed, Baldwin assembled his court and granted fiefs to hundreds of vassals.

For a fleeting moment, the prospect of Crusader and Venetian control of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire offered a shining hope for the Crusaders in the Holy Land. Without the obstruction of the Byzantine emperor and the xenophobic resistance on the part of the Greek populace to Crusaders en route to Syria-Palestine, with the empire as an ally and source of economic and logistical support, manpower and resources would be close at hand to come to the aid of the Holy Land; the Latin Kingdom would theoretically be strengthened.[249] Both Crusader and Muslim chroniclers saw this possibility. But the reality was to be quite different. From the very first, the Latin Empire diverted Christian men and wealth away from the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine. In some cases men already in Syria were drawn to the Latin Empire.

Among the Franks who had come to Baldwin's coronation in May had been "many knights from Outremer."[250] This could mean knights from the West or from the Latin Kingdom. Villehardouin names several of the Crusaders who came from Syria to settle in the Latin Empire. There was Stephen of Perche[251] and Renaud de Montmirail,[252] who had left the army and sailed to Syria first when the Fourth Crusade got underway, and only now came to Constantinople. With them were Hugh of Tabarie; Raoul, his brother; Thierry of Tenremonde, "et grant plenté de la gent del pais, de chevaliers, de Turchoples, et de serjanz." Finally, he mentions also his nephew of the same name, Geoffrey de Villehardouin,[253] who came from Syria to Modon.[254] Stephen of Perche became the duke of Philadelphia in Asia Minor and Geoffrey of Villehardouin eventually established himself in the Morea as the prince of Achaia. Slightly later, the Paris Eracles and Ernoul both claim that Baldwin sent a call out to the Latin Kingdom in early 1205 for men at arms, and that a hundred knights went along with ten thousand others.[255] These are obviously inflated numbers and although the actual number of knights and other soldiers was probably not tremendously large, the fact was that the Latin Empire and Frankish Greece now joined the kingdom of Cyprus in luring men away from the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine, the latter which were always strapped for manpower. Runciman observes, "after the conquest of Romania recruits for the military orders were almost the only knights to come out from Europe to defend the Holy Land."[256] And the lure of Constantinople was not only confined to soldiers.

When the patriarchal see of Jerusalem had become vacant with the death of patriarch Aimery in 1202, a papal legate to the Fourth Crusade, Cardinal Soffredus was eventually named to replace him, sometime before May of 1203.[257] By this time, however, it was becoming apparent that the Fourth Crusade was not going directly to the Holy Land, but rather would go first to Constantinople. In this situation, Soffredus, thinking more of his office of cardinal, sought permission of Innocent III to resign his see. Already having turned aside numerous other Crusader requests to have their vows dismissed, the pope attempted to persuade Soffredus to honor his appointment. Not only did he fail, but also when Constantinople fell in April of 1204, both Soffredus and Cardinal Peter Capuano, the other legate, eventually left Acre and went to Byzantium to be part of the new Latin Empire. Thus the patriarchal see of Jerusalem was left vacant until Innocent III managed to appoint Albert of Vercelli, who took office in December of 1205.

Soffredus was not the only prelate from the Latin Kingdom to absent himself at this time. Peter, bishop of Bethlehem, who apparently had been living in the West, and the new bishop of Acre, John II, went to Constantinople with the army and stayed there, serving as electors for the new emperor.[258] Both were killed at the battle of Adrianople in 1205, and therefore John could never return to his diocese.[259] Not only, therefore, did the new Latin Empire draw ecclesiastics away from Crusader Syria-Palestine, but also episcopal sees were left unfilled for many years in the early thirteenth century. In contrast to the enlarging and developing hierarchy of the Latin patriarchate in Constantinople, the sees of Acre, Bethlehem, Lydda, Nazareth, and Tiberias had no incumbents until 1208, 1218, 1210, 1223, and 1241, respectively.[260] In the wake of the Fourth Crusade and the new ecclesiastical requirements of the fledgling Latin Empire, clearly the hierarchy of the Latin Kingdom was being neglected.

Furthermore, the European vision of the Holy Land was being intercepted and diverted as well by the fabled wealth of Constantinople. Whereas before 1204, and especially before 1187, the Latin Kingdom had been the source of important dominical relics of the passion and death of Christ, foremost among which was the relic of the True Cross,[261] after 1204 Constantinople became the highly visible source of such relics for several decades. The Latin Emperor himself, in his quest to attract support to the weak and financially strapped Latin empire, sent a stream of major relics westward.[262] Starting with a large and important bequest to King Philippe Augustus from Emperor Baldwin I in September of 1205, which included a relic of the True Cross,[263] we also note relics sent by Baldwin I's successor, Emperor Henry I, in 1206 and 1208.[264] These examples were all gifts, but the most famous consignments in 1239 and 1241 were acquired by Louis IX, who paid a significant amount of money to secure a remarkably full set of relics of the Passion for the Sainte Chapelle in Paris.[265] Besides these relics from the Latin Emperor, many others, clergy or laymen, sent or brought relics of the True Cross, among many others, home between 1205 and the 1210s.[266] After 1204 Constantinople in a sense eclipsed the Holy Land and Jerusalem as a source of religious "wealth" for the simple reason that Constantinople was in Frankish hands and Jerusalem was not.

In sum, the Fourth Crusade was a tremendous disaster for the Crusaders in the Holy Land, as well as for the Byzantine Empire. The Fourth Crusade not only did not bring aid to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, but it also diverted men and resources away, it lessened the presence of and the focus on the Holy City in the consciousness of western Europe, and it weakened Frankish defenses against the Muslims in the Levant. If the Fourth Crusade had been able to conquer all of the remains of the Byzantine Empire in 1204–5, the Latin Empire might have provided major support to the cause of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. As it happened, the Fourth Crusade could not conquer but a portion of the former Byzantine imperial territory, some of which Greeks ousted from Constantinople controlled in the form of the empire of Nicaea to the east and the despotate of Epirus to the west, and some of which was still controlled by the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor or by the Bulgars north of Romania. The land route from Europe to the Holy Land therefore became even more dangerous and difficult, and the result was that no Crusade in the future would even attempt to march in the footsteps of their First Crusade ancestors.

Meanwhile, within the bosom of Christendom the effects of the Fourth Crusade were even more catastrophic. Far from unifying the Greek and Latin churches, the taking of Constantinople effectively eliminated this possibility, one which has remained unattained to this day. The sack of the city and the barbarity of the Crusaders as conquerors would never be forgotten by the Byzantines. Orthodox and Latin Christians viewed each other with suspicion and sometimes hatred that not even their common Muslim enemy could always dispel.

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM FROM THE END OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE TO 1210

In a certain sense, the Fourth Crusade ended a sustained effort to regain the Holy Land and Jerusalem that had been initiated in response to the conquests of Saladin in 1187–8. King Aimery II had hoped for significant reinforcement from the Fourth Crusade. When that failed to materialize, he was able to protect the Crusader States from errant Crusaders who came to fulfill their individual vows but threatened to disrupt the status quo in mainland Syria-Palestine in terms of the existing truces with the Ayyubids. When it was clear that the Fourth Crusade would not move beyond Constantinople, Aimery and al-Adil agreed on a six-year truce, from September 1204 to July 1210. It is not certain who wanted the truce more or for what reasons: Aimery, to guard and preserve Crusader lands now that military reinforcements would not be arriving anytime soon, or al-Adil, who could imagine that the Frankish conquest of Constantinople would result in the strengthening of Crusader power as the Muslims had seen it happen in the twelfth century when the Byzantines were allied with King Amalric I.[267] Whoever initiated the truce, the fact is that the terms were very favorable for the Crusaders: recall that Beirut, Sidon, Jaffa, and Ramla were returned to the Crusaders along with access to Nazareth. Unfortunately Aimery II was not able to enjoy the benefits of this diplomatic achievement for long. A few months later, on 1 April 1205, he died at Acre after a short illness.[268]

Once again the Latin Kingdom was forced to deal with the loss of its ruler. It was clear that with the death of Aimery II, the crown of Cyprus would pass to Hugh, his son by Eschiva of Ibelin, who became Hugh I and reigned from 1205 to 1218.[269] Hugh was only nine years old at this point and a regent had to be named, Walter of Montbéliard, an ambitious newcomer to the Latin East only two or three years previously.[270] Furthermore, the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem had separate institutions and separate systems for electing their own rulers. Hugh had no claim on the throne of Jerusalem, and in any case, Queen Isabel, now the most widowed royal woman ever in the Latin East, was still alive, albeit briefly. She survived Aimery apparently only for a few weeks and then John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, her half brother and the acknowledged leader of the nobility in outremer, was elected regent for the new queen. Maria of Montferrat, eldest daughter of Isabel and Conrad of Montferrat and niece of John of Ibelin, was the designated heiress, but she was only thirteen at the time. Fortunately the truce arranged by Aimery II held, and John of Ibelin ruled for three years in comparative peace and tranquility.

In 1208 as Maria reached her seventeenth birthday, envoys were sent westward to find her a husband who could become the new king. With the help of King Philippe Augustus, another knight from Champagne was identified, John of Brienne. Despite his relative obscurity, compared with Count Thibaut who had been chosen to lead the Fourth Crusade or Count Henry who ruled the Latin Kingdom from 1192–7, and his position of genteel poverty, John of Brienne was knowledgeable and experienced, and although he was probably about thirty-five, not sixty years old as he has usually been regarded, he proved to be durable and quite sensible.[271] John of Brienne finally arrived at Acre on 13 September 1210. The new patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert, presided at his wedding to Maria on 14 September, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The royal couple were crowned at Tyre on 3 October in the presence of major clergy and knights of the realm.[272] Present were the patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert; Clerembaut, archbishop of Tyre; Peter of Limoges, bishop of Caesarea; Robert, archbishop of Nazareth; Walter of Florence, bishop of Acre; Raoul of Merencort, bishop of Sidon; William of Chartres, master of the Temple; Garin de Mont Agu, master of the Hospital of St. John; Hermann, master of the German Hospital; John d'Ibelin, Balian of Sidon; Raoul of Tabarie; and Guy de Montfort, among others of lesser importance.[273] Once again such coronation ceremonies were staged in rather grand style.

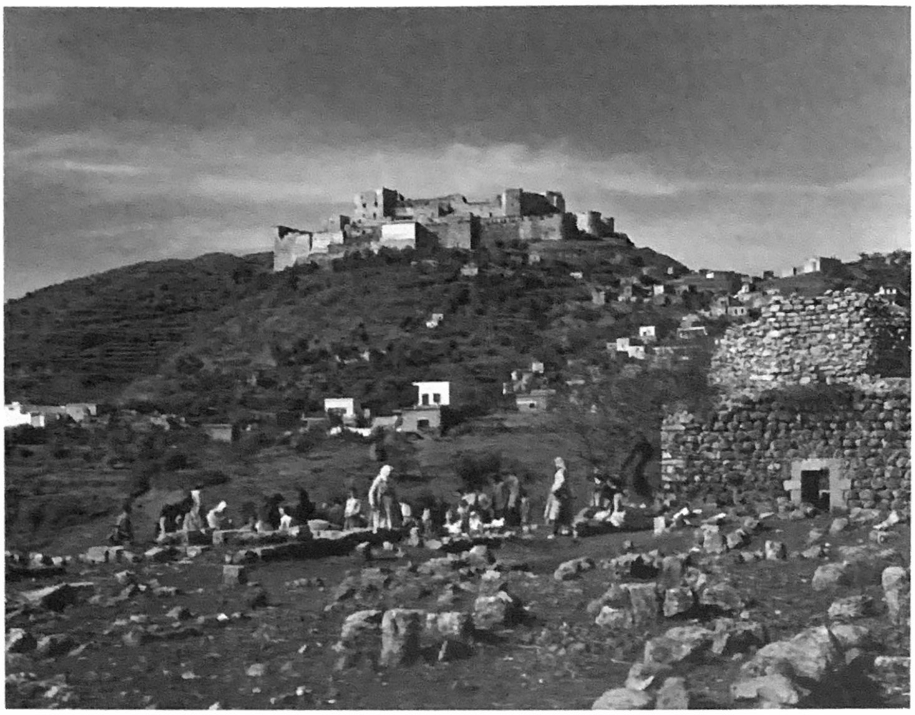
Despite the relatively peaceable period between 1205 and 1210, there were certain Muslim incursions, and open hostilities flared continuously in the north over the seemingly intractable problem of the Antiochene succession. Furthermore, the Latin Kingdom was vulnerable given how narrowly its territory was situated along the coast. The fact was that even though the Crusaders controlled Jaffa, the road north beyond Arsuf past Caesarea to Acre was undefended and dangerous for travel because it was open to raids. North of Acre and Tyre, the kingdom extended little beyond Beirut, and Sidon, located between the latter two cities, was depopulated. The Latin Kingdom therefore, could hardly be said to be in a strong position. Serious attention had to be given to the defense of the realm. Refortification was an important activity when the men and the wherewithal were available. More resources were needed but were not available from other states in the Frankish East. The new Latin Emperor, Henry I (1206–16), was fully occupied in attempting to establish the power and prestige of the fledgling Latin Empire; the Kingdom of Cyprus saw the fall of the ambitious regent, Walter of Montbéliard, when King Hugh I came into his majority in 1210.[274] For the Latin Kingdom, a new Crusade seemed to be required, but it would be many years in coming.

Compared with the Latin Kingdom, however, the situation in Antioch was volatile and unstable.[275] After considerable fighting, Bohemond IV had been able to return to Antioch in 1206. Before that he had endeavored to turn the conquest of Constantinople to his own benefit. To strengthen his claim as ruler of Antioch in opposition to that of Raymond Roupen as supported by King Levon of Armenia, in 1204 Bohemond did homage for Antioch to Mary, wife of the new Latin Emperor, Baldwin, while she was in Acre. The idea was to recognize Bohemond's dynasty as the legitimate heirs of the Latin Empire's Byzantine predecessors.

Bohemond's ambitions to rule Antioch, his rabid opposition to Raymond Roupen and his Armenian supporters, and his long-standing antipathy to the Latin patriarch of Antioch, Peter of Angoulême, also eventually inspired Bohemond to place a Greek prelate on the patriarchal throne of Antioch, Symeon II, in 1207. A year later, in 1208, Bohemond even made an alliance with the Greek emperor of Nicaea, Theodore Lascaris. These anti-Armenian/pro-Greek Orthodox measures brought Bohemond in direct conflict with Pope Innocent III and with Peter of Angoulême. Bohemond reacted to the situation by imprisoning the patriarch in Antioch, who promptly died of thirst from his brutal treatment.[276] Innocent III could not move militarily against Bohemond, who was defending the Crusader States from the infidel, so he had Bohemond excommunicated by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, later in 1208, until Bohemond would make satisfaction for this murder. Bohemond would not have the sentence of excommunication lifted from his shoulders until 1232. In fact, as Hamilton points out, the situation in Antioch was indeed strange. At a certain point in this period, the pope, and the Latin patriarch of Antioch, had watched "not only the unedifying spectacle of a Frankish prince fighting against an Armenian king in communion with the holy see, while allied with a son of Saladin, but also the development of a schism between the Latins and the Orthodox in the patriarchate of Antioch which was never subsequently healed."[277]

In an effort to regain some control of the situation, the pope moved to appoint a new Latin patriarch, a new departure in the principality of Antioch from customary practice in the twelfth century. The pope himself gave Peter of Ivrea, a Cistercian, the pallium and Peter then traveled to the East, arriving in Antioch in October 1209.[278] As he assumed his new position he was given possession of the patriarchal treasury, which the Hospitallers had been guarding.[279] Fortunately when Peter arrived in late 1209, the pope was beginning to temper his support of the Armenian cause. Bohemond meanwhile obviously saw it was to his advantage to be on good terms with the new patriarch, so despite the fact that the war over the succession continued, he and Peter managed to cooperate. Nonetheless, developments in Antioch took an even stranger turn than before. One of the reasons for the pope's changing position vis-à-vis the interests of Cilician Armenia was pressure being put on him by the Templars to regain their castle of Baghras,[280] northeast of Antioch, from King Levon II. When Innocent III ordered Patriarch Peter to attempt to negotiate a settlement, Levon II refused to return Baghras and confiscated all Templar property in his kingdom. The pope surprisingly excommunicated Levon II, and, to protect his patriarch, he requested the emir of Aleppo, az-Zahir, a son of Saladin, to guard him against Armenian attack. Bohemond had established an alliance with az-Zahir earlier, but this was the first time that a pope negotiated directly with a Muslim prince in the Crusader East. There would be much more diplomatic interaction between the Crusaders and their Muslim adversaries in the thirteenth century.

In 1213 Levon II returned the Templar property he had seized, and his excommunication sentence was removed. But he did not return Baghras on the border, so that irritant still remained. At the end of the year, the young prince Raymond, at age eighteen Bohemond's son and heir to the rule of Antioch, was assassinated by the Assassins in the cathedral at Tortosa. These were the same Assassins who had earlier attacked Conrad of Montferrat in 1192. In retaliation, Bohemond attacked the Assassins in their land north of Tripoli and east of Margat. This weakened Bohemond's alliance with az-Zahir, the latter who was also concerned about the news of a possible new Crusade being formed in the West. Innocent III had sent out the invitations to a new church council, what would be the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which had on its agenda a new Crusade. Thus the year 1213 brought a slight respite to Antioch itself, but the war over the Antiochene succession raged on.[281]



22. Crac des Chevaliers: general view from the east side. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

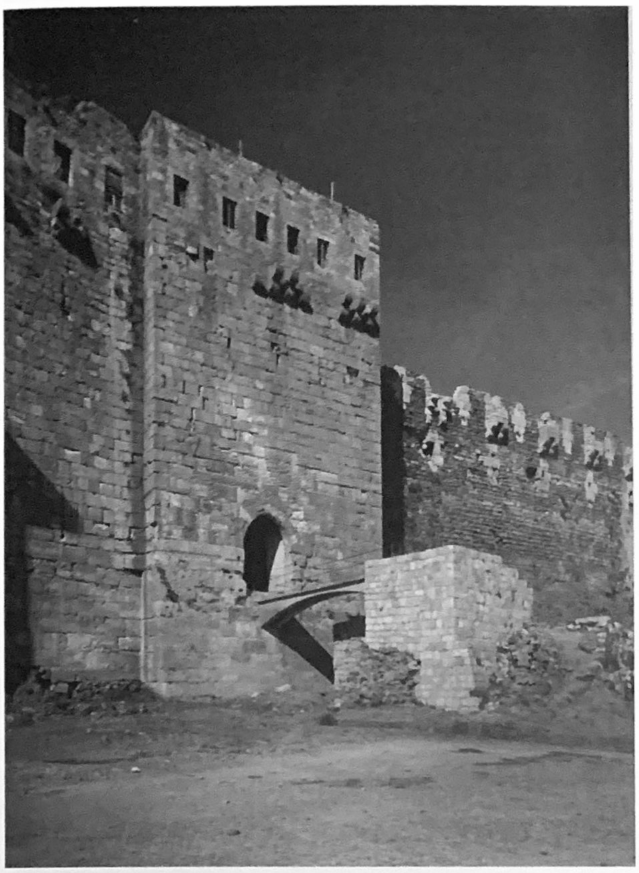
THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS BETWEEN 1192 AND 1210

This period was concerned with the reestablishment of the Latin Kingdom after the Third Crusade, as we have seen. Overall we can preface our discussion of the art of the Crusaders in this period by saying that, other than architecture, very little has survived. What can be recognized nonetheless suggests that there was a larger production that suffered more destruction, damage, and dispersal than usual, even in the turbulent Crusader East. The reasons for our difficulty in identifying works are numerous. Among the most important are the facts of the more or less continuous destruction and rebuilding of major Crusader cities and castles in the period, combined with the political and military turmoil over the rulers of the Latin Kingdom and the Principality of Antioch especially. These factors in the Crusader East combined with the complication caused by the Fourth Crusade, which unleashes a glittering avalanche of relics and presumably associated metalwork and painting on western Europe after the sack of Constantinople in April of 1204, result in serious problems in identifying artistic work from the Crusader States between 1192 and 1210. Nonetheless, the written sources yield some clues to what artistic activity went on. There are a very few extant works of art from this difficult period, and there are some works of art that provide us with indirect evidence of the production of the figural arts in the Holy Land.

All this being said we can in fact discern artistic activity – in some cases, vigorous activity – by the Crusaders in these years, and it is of the greatest importance that we turn our efforts to identify what we can. The artistic work of this period would form at least a partial basis for later activity, artistic production that has become visible mostly in the period after 1250. Can this later art help us understand its predecessors? Can we find in the work attributed to the period after 1250 any examples that may directly or indirectly reflect an earlier model? Are there works that may even have been wrongly attributed to a later phase of development when in fact they belong to the years around 1200?

Architecture

It is evident from the story of events in the Crusader East in this period that much architectural work was carried on during and after the Third Crusade, during and after the German Crusade of 1197, after the earthquake of 1202, and during and after the Fourth Crusade as men and materials were available. Quite possibly there was more rebuilding in this period than at almost any other time in the Crusader States. Much of what was done, however, is invisible to us. The problem of identifying most of this architecture resides in the fact that much of building activity was in the nature of rebuilding fortications, or even building new walls and towers. Therefore, most of it has disappeared in the process of later damage or reconstruction, it is often joined with other building or rebuilding campaigns that make it difficult to identify specifically, or it has disappeared in the face of later building projects that may even have mined these fortifications for construction materials. A few examples will suffice. In Acre, the land walls for the main part of the city that were rebuilt after 1202 no longer exist, and major portions of modern fortifications built in the eighteenth century are all that survive. It is difficult to identify a postearthquake-1202 phase in any of the remaining churches, commercial buildings, or residential buildings at Acre that belong to the Crusader period. However, the new Hospitaller compound in Acre must have been built at about this time, in the decade 1194–1204, after Guy de Lusignan granted them a large tract of land in the city in 1193.[282] Current excavations are shedding important

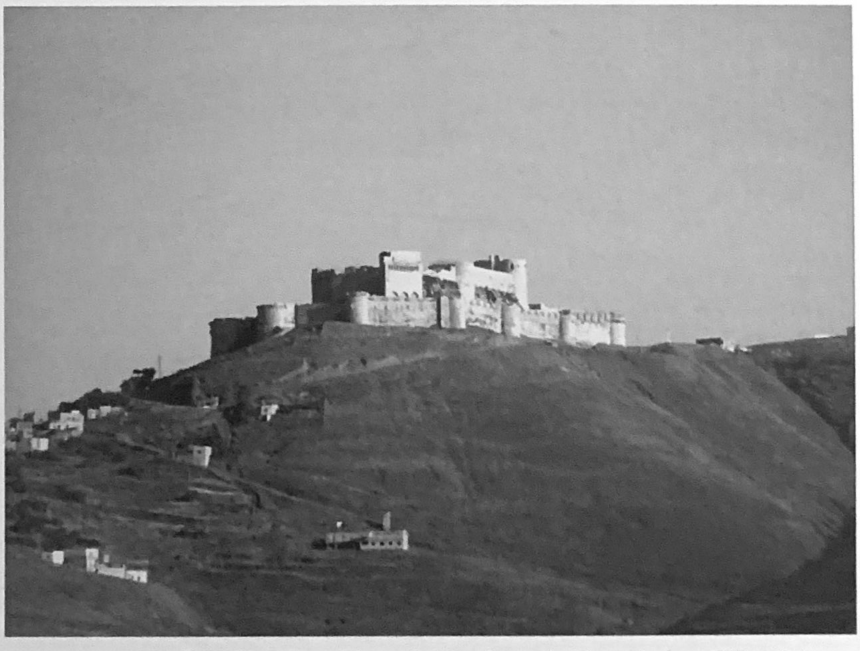


23. Crac des Chevaliers: view of the main entrance. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

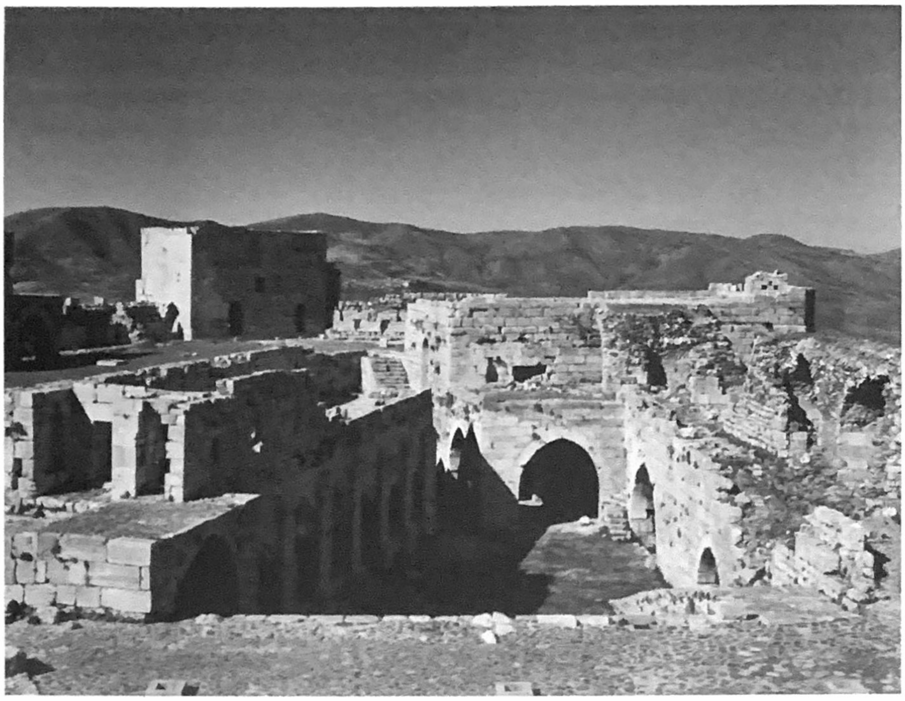
new light on this grand complex of buildings.[283] At Beirut we find a similar situation, where again the Crusader walls and the palace have disappeared and only the Church of St. John still survives.

Crac des Chevaliers

One important site where we can see and identify significant reconstruction work which is extant from after the 1202 earthquake at the moment is in the Castle of Crac des Chevaliers[284] (Figs. 22–28). Clearly the Hospitallers took the opportunity of rebuilding after the earthquake to strengthen the defensive system of the castle in a number of important ways. First the inner enclosure castle was given major new fortifications to supplement the rectangular tower at the north end (Figs. 24–26). These took the form of gigantic taluses on the southern and western side walls (Figs. 27 and 28), which were commanded above by a system of newly expanded round towers, three on the south side plus one on the west side to join the large machicolated rectangular tower from the twelfth century at the northwest corner (Fig. 26). The new glacis, rebuilt walls, and enlarged towers are constructed in impressive large stone and carefully fitted masonry. The curtain walls and towers have box machicolation, and there are arrow slits in the walls and in the center of each box machicolation. These rebuilt fortifications are among the most distinctive aspects of Crac des Chevaliers as we see it today, but they are joined by an entirely new system of concentric outer defensive walls (Fig. 28). The main extant early thirteenth-century portion of this system that survives intact is located along the west side of the castle, starting from the northwestern end and including the five round towers of this outer enceinte. These walls are much lower than the inner enclosure, approximately nine meters high, but they are strong and formidably defensible with a full set of arrow slits and box machicolations in both the curtain walls and towers. These systems are newly interdependent with the towers organized not only to strengthen the walls, but also to allow their defenders to support the defenders along the curtains. This support was realized by virtue of the projection of the towers beyond the face of the curtain walls and the positioning of arrow slits in the towers to provide for cross fire along the face of the walls,



24. Crac des Chevaliers: view of the castle from the north. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

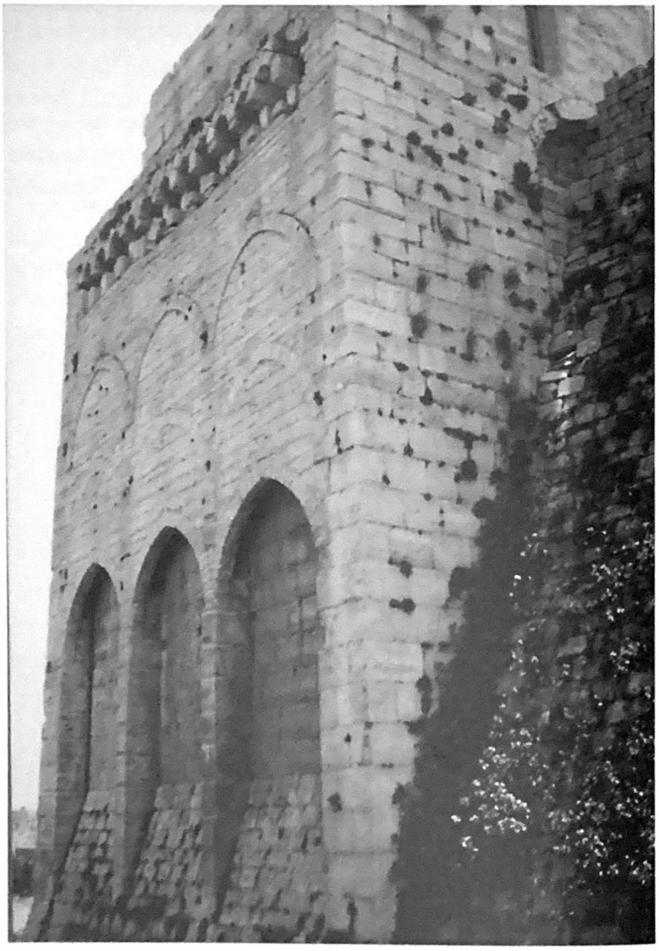


25. Crac des Chevaliers: view of the inner castle from the south. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

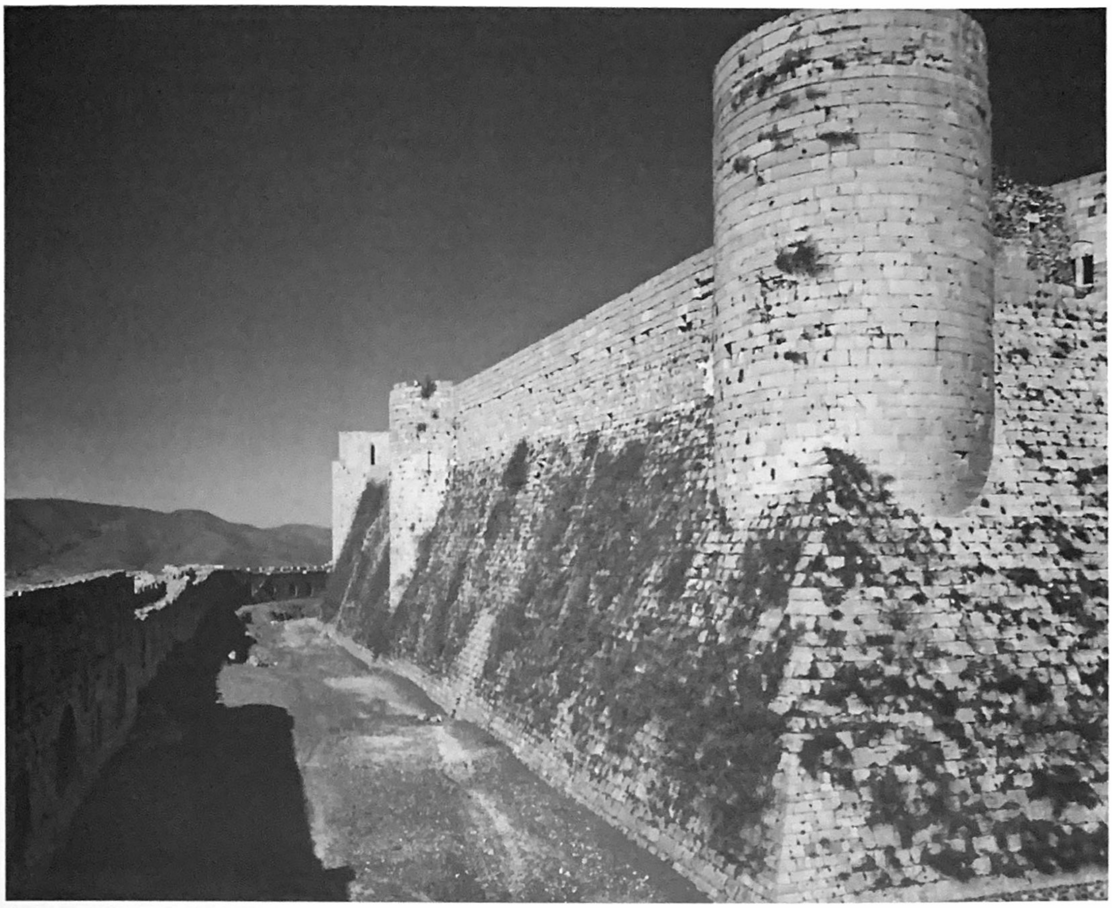
enabling the defenders to drive off possible mining, ramming, and scaling attempts by attackers.[285]

It is worth remembering that the achievements of Crac des Chevalier's defenses are justifiably celebrated among the greatest accomplishments of Crusader military architecture. In this regard it is significant to realize that a large measure of the defensive configuration that makes Crac so formidable, and so famous through the years, was accomplished by the Hospitallers in the campaign to rebuild the castle after the earthquake of 1202. Not only is this design and construction the most impressive part of what we see now as a large and complex defensive system,[286] but also it demonstrates significant innovation.[287] These defenses project great strength in terms of size and mass, offer formidable obstacles to any attacker in terms of optimum use of the site and the structure and organization of the defensive systems, and provide maximum protection for the Hospitaller defenders while allowing them effective means of delivering firepower to repulse attacks.

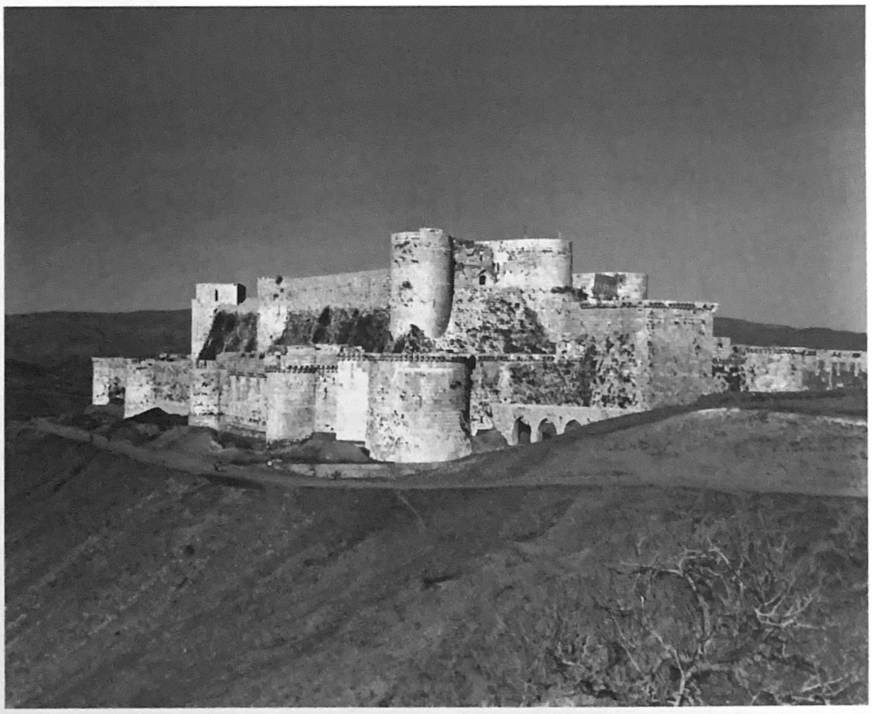
Although from the point of view of artistic achievement measured by architectural sculpture, painting, or other means of aesthetic enhancement, this phase of Crac des Chevaliers only preserves one notable example, the fresco of the Presentation of Christ, to be discussed later, the achievement here in military architecture was truly significant. Its importance can be considered from several points of view. In regard to contemporary defensive design, this castle shows notable innovation and sophisticated refinements. We can point to, for example, the impressive large stone ashlar masonry almost free of mortar with joins so tight one cannot insert a knife edge between the blocks, the almost fully concentric design,[288] the use of multiple round towers with curtains,[289] the arrow slit design and the use of box machicolation.[290] Furthermore, most of these innovative features, remarkably, are identified more or less simultaneously in Muslim defensive systems (e.g., at Aleppo and Damascus).[291] Clearly there appears to be simultaneous developments on both



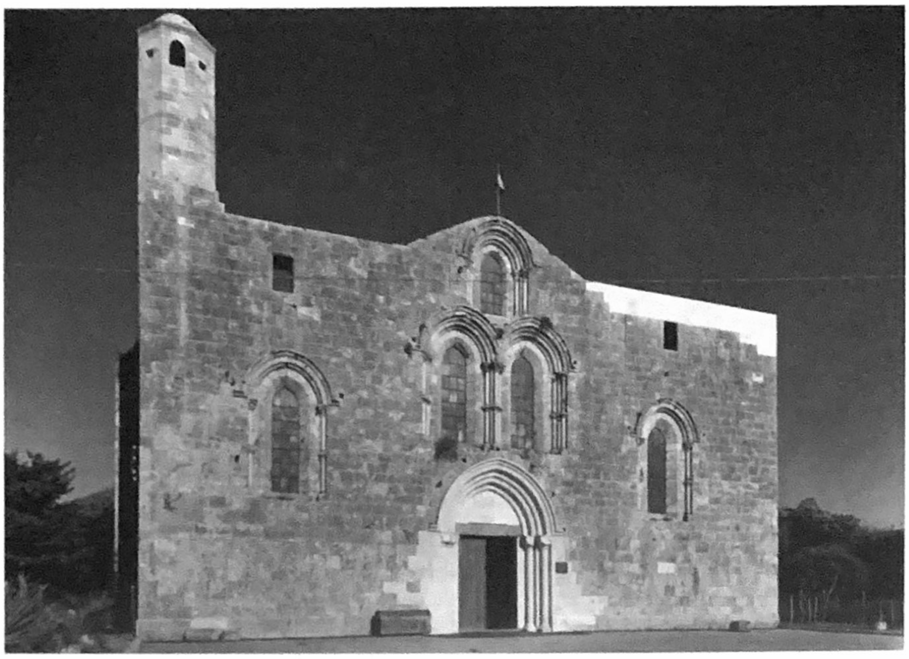
26. Crac des Chevaliers: view of the rectangular tower at the northwest corner.



27. Crac des Chevaliers: view of the outer defensive walls on west side. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)



28. Crac des Chevaliers: exterior view from the west. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)



29. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: view from the west. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

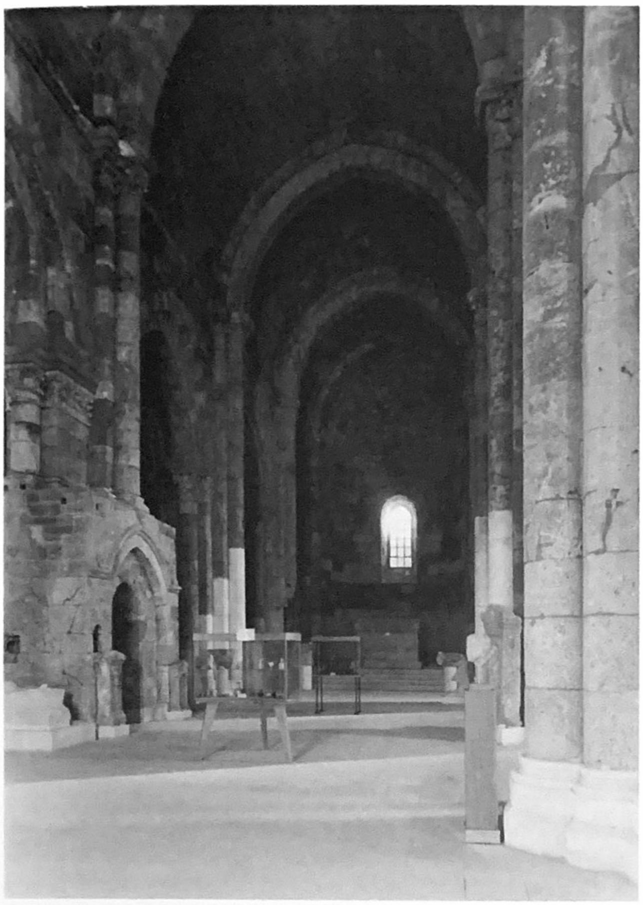
sides, and this evidence surely suggests knowledge about military architecture being transmitted across Crusader and Muslim lines.[292] This reflects the emphasis on military architecture at this time and the extent to which the substantial construction between 1192 and 1210 was generating rapid development. It is evident, however, that the size and scale of these fortifications at Crac des Chevaliers were extraordinary and carried out by accomplished masons of top quality whose work has survived the test of function and time. Crac des Chevaliers was never taken by frontal assault, only by siege and strategem.[293] It was never torn down, but only repaired and strengthened by its later Muslim occupants. It still stands today as the best preserved, the most impressive, and the most famous of Crusader castles in the Crusader States.

Finally, Crac des Chevaliers is an important example that we can use to measure and project the achievements of Crusader architecture elsewhere in the Crusader States, in terms of military design and construction, for those sites whose defenses built in this period no longer survive. I am thinking here of the fortifications that were rebuilt following the earthquake of 1202 at major cities such as Acre, Tyre, and Beirut, among others, as well as other castles, such as at Margat. Margat in particular is important, but we do not have an analytic study comparable to that by Deschamps for Crac, to identify and date its separate phases.

Looking at this period of 1192 to 1210 overall, we must recall that these numerous building campaigns, at the castles and on the various city walls, were the continuations in many cases of a long series of reconstructions. These rebuildings and new constructions had started after the reconquest of Crusader territory following Saladin's incursions in 1188. They were necessitated or facilitated as the case may be, by the destructions caused by, or the treaties and truces signed after, the Third Crusade in 1192 and the German Crusade in 1198, and the damages inflicted by the earthquake in 1202. Thus substantial defensive design and construction was underway over a sustained period of time, nearly a decade and a half, and we can consider the results at Crac des Chevaliers to show the fruits of these developments. Conversely we can use Crac to help us imagine the impressive fortifications that must have been given to the major city defensive systems that no longer survive. Furthermore we can realize more readily that this period must have been to some extent a prosperous one, despite the political turmoil, one that enabled the Crusaders to finance major building operations.

The obvious question that arises in light of the significant developments in military architecture is what comparable examples do we have for ecclesiastical architecture? We know that churches were damaged and required repair in Acre when the Third Crusade succeeded in taking the city. There may have been further needs after the earthquake of 1202 in Acre, not to mention Tyre, Beirut, and other cities that suffered heavier destruction such as Ascalon, Sidon, Caesarea, or Jaffa. In Acre much of the fabric of the Crusader city still survives in the old quarter, but the Cathedral of the Holy Cross was razed in modern times, possibly to make way for modern buildings, and the architecture of other Crusader churches in Acre is difficult to date as yet. Even Enlart did not attempt to date any churches to this period, 1192–1210, from St. Jean d'Acre. The excavated crypt of the Hospitaller Church of St. John still exists and may date from this period, according to Denys Pringle. We also have the so-called crypt of the Hospitaller compound with its pointed arches and its rib-vaulted bays featuring early square profile ribs, along with a capital decorated with a fleurs-de-lis, all of which may also belong to this period. Publication of the current excavations by the Israel Antiquities Authority and the forthcoming publication of Volume 3 of Pringle's corpus of Crusader churches will provide substantial information about the Hospitaller complex and other churches in the city that may belong to this phase of architectural development.

There is, however, one important church farther north that does warrant our attention in these years, namely, the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Tortosa.



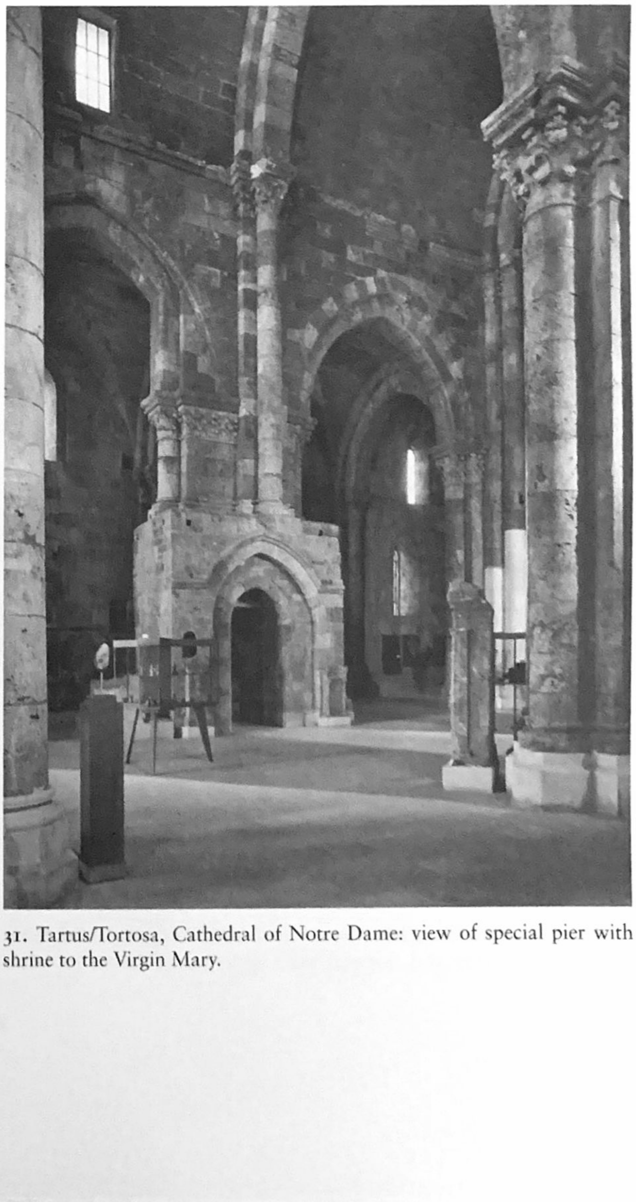
30. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: interior view of the nave.

The Cathedral Church of Notre Dame in Tortosa

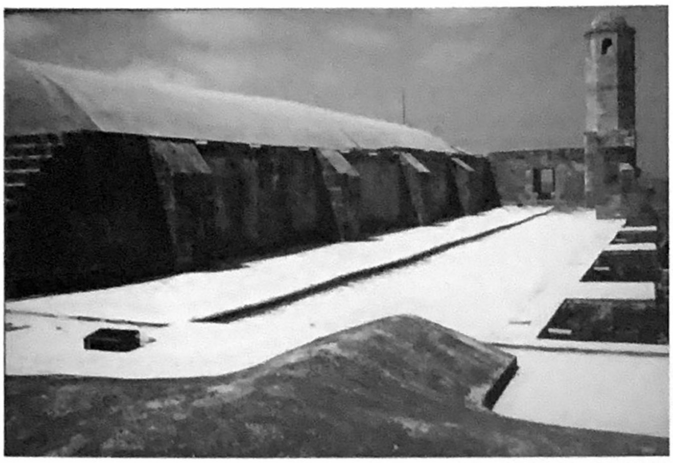
Notre Dame in Tortosa was probably left unfinished, and Muslim sources claim that it was seriously damaged, during the heavy fighting that accompanied Saladin's attack on the town in early July 1188.[294] But the Templars never lost their castle at Tartus and it became their most important center in the northern part of the Crusader States, that is, in Tripoli and Antioch. Therefore when the Templars reclaimed the town following Saladin's departure, no doubt the cathedral church received immediate attention and repairs were made. One of the reasons for the prompt attention was Templar protection for Tortosa. But another reason, perhaps even more important, was the new prominence of this church as a pilgrimage site.

There was located in the Church of Notre Dame (Figs. 29–35), according to one tradition, the oldest shrine in Christendom dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Fig. 31). It was said to be as old, or even slightly older than the church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, or the church of St. Mary Mount Zion in Jerusalem, both of which also claimed apostolic foundation.[295] The claim to be the oldest church or chapel may have been thirteenth-century hyperbole once Jerusalem and Nazareth were no longer readily accessible as pilgrimage sites. In any case, by the twelfth century it was believed to have been founded by the apostles led by St. Peter, and the main altar was consecrated by Peter. Here it is reported that one could see an authentic icon of the Virgin and Child painted by St. Luke.[296]

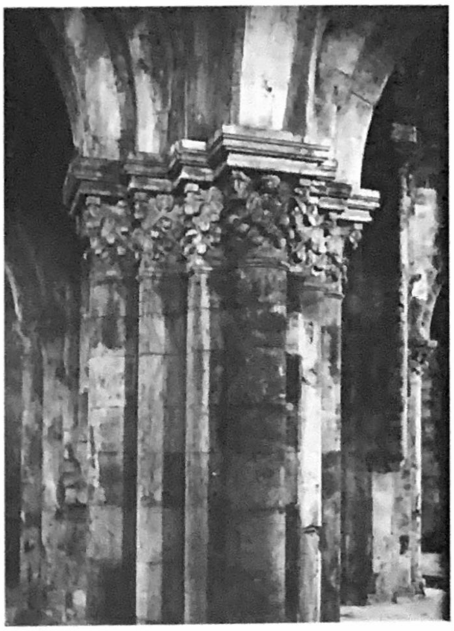
Although everyone who has studied the church to date seems to think that it was not completed until the mid-thirteenth century, Enlart, among others, has proposed that some significant new work was done on the church in the early thirteenth century, presumably as part of the repairs needed after the damage at the time of Saladin's incursion, and in particular after the 1202 earthquake.[297] He finds this work in the fabric of the church located where the enlarged base of the pier on the north side of the nave has received a passage perpendicular to the axis of the nave. It is this unusual structure and its handsome sculpture, especially the carved capitals with naturalistic foliate designs that are associated with it, that Enlart identifies to be the most important part of the work done about 1202.[298] Beyond this, it is difficult to identify specific work done at the start of the thirteenth century. Given the importance that this shrine of the Virgin Mary enjoyed at this time, based partly on the testimony of Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt, who came there to be healed in 1205,[299] I assume the church, although presumably still incomplete, would have been rendered functional immediately after the earthquake of 1202 and that the pilgrimage shrine, its most important feature for visitors, would have been rebuilt fully at that time. On the other hand, the completion of the rest of the church at the west end (Fig. 30), some of the groin vaulting (Fig. 33), and the new foliate-style Gothic capitals (Fig. 34) would apparently only have been accomplished later, by the second quarter of the century, when incidentally, the pilgrimage to Tortosa was at its peak.



31. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: view of special pier with shrine to the Virgin Mary.

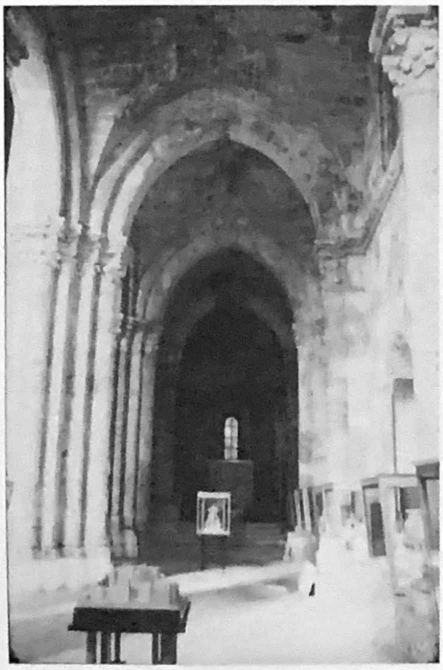


32. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: view of the roof on the north side.



34. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: foliate capitals.

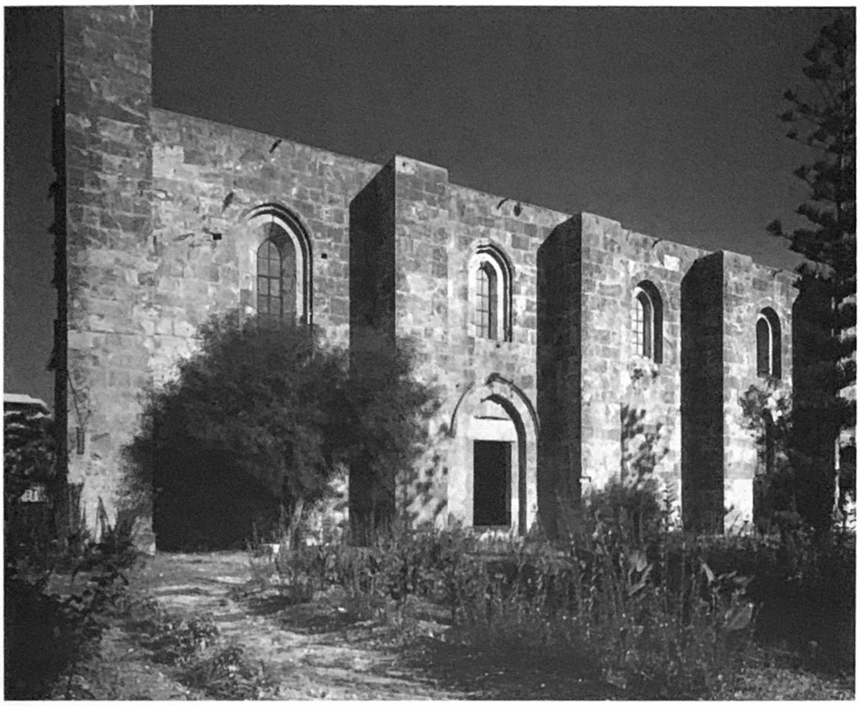
Despite the importance of this church and its relatively large size, the fact is that it still seems to be somewhat austere, rather simple with few decorations for a Gothic building, and it clearly projects a muscular, fortified appearance on the exterior with its strong buttresses, heavy walls, and a flat roof line (Fig. 32). The fact that as a church with certain new Gothic features, such as the forms of its portals and windows, the pointed arches, and the colonnettes, moldings, and naturalistic foliate designs, it is still so conservative, so low and heavy in proportions, and so wall-oriented with small openings reflects a number of important points. First, this church was designed and built in the second half of the twelfth century when the Crusader levantine Romanesque was the mainstream architectural style, and even in terms of that development this church seems heavily endowed with buttresses and somewhat austere (Fig. 35). Second, much of the "Gothic" aspect of this church is applied later in the form of refinements but was not incorporated in terms of any extensive rebuilding that might have produced the use of more obvious Gothic building techniques and vaulting systems. Third, this church was built in a region – the northern part of the County of Tripoli and the southern part of the principality of Antioch – where the dominant architectural activity at this point was military construction. Thus it appears the thinking about church architecture here and the execution at the hands of the local masons, many of whom who probably had worked on the fortifications of Tortosa if not some of the major castles nearby, was carried out to some extent under the influence of the aesthetics of the contemporary military architecture.[300]



33. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: groin vaulting in the south aisle.

The Church of Notre Dame at Tortosa, in contrast to other contemporary but smaller chapels started in the twelfth century and repaired at this time,[301] is the sole major survivor of the new urban ecclesiastical architecture at this time. It provides important evidence to demonstrate that church architecture continued to develop along with the significant innovations in military fortifications. No doubt other notable churches were also built in Crusader port cities farther south during these years, especially in Acre, but they no longer survive for us to examine.

The perhaps surprising indication that emerges from our consideration of Crac and the church at Tortosa is that, despite the absence of any extensive survivals of widespread church architecture in these years, there was vigorous architectural activity, both military and ecclesiastical. This activity is striking, but the fact is that little of it is reflected in the accounts of political turmoil and uncertainty that fills the pages of the various versions of the Eracles or the *Chronique d'Ernoul*. Yet even though these narrative written sources do not shed much light on the sizeable commitment of Crusader men, resources, and creative energy to these architectural projects, whether military or ecclesiastical, except perhaps for the description of the building campaign at Ascalon during the Third Crusade, we can at least glimpse in these major examples how important they were. The Fourth Crusade then, in effect, further diminishes our ability to "observe" the architectural activity in the Crusader States by dropping a veil that obscures the view of



35. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: exterior view from the south with buttresses and the flat roof line. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

the Crusader States from the West, and diverts attention in the chronicles away from Syria-Palestine between 1201 and 1204 and later. Nonetheless, we should not lose sight of the important architectural work underway in the Crusader States between 1192 and 1210. Had there been a major detailed narrative chronicle written by a participant in the Fourth Crusade who, unlike Geoffrey de Villehardouin or Robert de Clari, had not considered their Crusade vow to be fulfilled by the conquest of Constantinople but who had continued on to the Holy Land and had given a full report on their activities there, we might have had a much clearer picture of developments there in these years than we do now.

Finally, Steven Runciman, writing in 1954, made an insightful observation that deserves to be quoted here, to frame our other remarks about the art of the Crusaders between 1192 and 1210: "The slightness of the [artistic] evidence should not be interpreted to mean that little was done. If architecture flourished, it is likely that the other arts flourished also, and gave the same reflection of life in Outremer."[302] In light of this comment we are challenged to identify and characterize what important artistic activity there was that paralleled the new developments in the architecture.

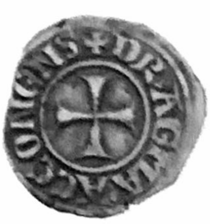
Coinage

In contrast to the military architecture, in coinage there were few new developments in this period. Given the political situation, it appears that most coinage tended to be quite conservative, either employing immobilized issues or introducing rather simple types already familiar in the context of coinage in the Crusader States and Cyprus. Indications are that the royal coinage maintained the immobilized Amalric type deniers with the distinctive Holy Sepulcher obverse imagery, despite considerable scholarly discussion over the nature of these coins.[303] The use of gold bezants imitative of Fatimid coinage continued in the Latin Kingdom. And the most important baronial coinage was found in Beirut and Sidon, with conservative coin types retained farther north in the County of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch.

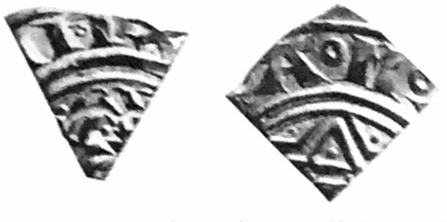
In observing how few major innovations can be seen in the Crusader coinage during these years, 1192–1210, we must not, however, imagine that little coinage was struck. Despite the nature of the coinage and the difficulties caused by the rapidly changing rulers in some cases or by the contested lordships in others, this appears to have been a prosperous period in which the supply of coinage was maintained to facilitate financial health for the Crusader States.

The minting of coins in the period 1192 to 1210 appears to have been, compared with the years 1187–92, relatively stable, with few new issues and none of the special issues we have seen in the earlier period. This reflects the more controlled circumstances in the Crusader States without the disruptions of major military invasions and the subsequent upheavals caused by the Muslims, which were such a feature of the years between the battle of Hattin in 1187 and the Treaty of Jaffa in 1192. It is nonetheless well to remember once again the caution expressed by Metcalf about this larger period as a whole: "What happened to the currency between the 1180s and the 1220s? We have a gap of no less than 40 years in the hoard evidence. Until some new hoards come to light to help us, our reconstruction of monetary history during those 40 years is bound to rest on extrapolation."[304]

For the royal coinage, three men were important in the period 1192–1210: Henry of Champagne (1192–7), Aimery II (1197–1205), and John of Ibelin (regent, 1205–10). We have already seen in Chapter 2 that Henry of Champagne introduced copper coins that are quite French in appearance, although not drawn from types in Champagne. One copper coin type employs the



36. Acre, silver *Dragma Acconensis*. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)



38. Acre, cut gold fragments. (photo: after Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*)

title "+COMES HENRICUS" with a cross on the obverse, and on the reverse, a six-pointed star – relatively rare, or a fleur-de-lis, with the unusual designation of its denomination: "+PUGES DACCON."[305]

A silver coin thought possibly to be the companion to these *pougeoises* does not carry the name of the ruler (Fig. 36). Instead it is designated "+DRAGMA ACCONENSIS" with the cross on the obverse, and on the reverse, "+SEPULCHRI DOMINI" with an image of the Holy Sepulcher much as we found it on the deniers of Amalric. There is no consensus on the date of this coin. Metcalf thinks it may possibly date from the reign of Count Henry, in which case it would be a very early coin of the gros type, or a multiple denier. Porteous dates it later, to 1220–40, after Venice had started minting silver grossos, when such coins were becoming more common.[306] Metcalf's argument is intriguing.[307] By using the word "SEPULCHRI" in the genitive, it means that this was a drachma of Acre of the Sepulcher of the Lord. He thinks it is a coin deliberately struck in the amount equivalent to a Muslim dirham for use by pilgrims to Jerusalem in the period following the Treaty of Jaffa. The reference to the Sepulcher and not Count Henry would seem to suggest this function as a real possibility. Certainly we cannot imagine the patriarch of Jerusalem issuing such a coin. My question would be whether we could consider this to be a possible coin type issued by the regent John of Ibelin who otherwise would not be expected to have coins bearing his name. In any case, few of these coins survive. If it is a coin issued by Count Henry or by the Regent John of Ibelin, this denomination would not be continued until the new king, John of Brienne, takes up this type in 1210.

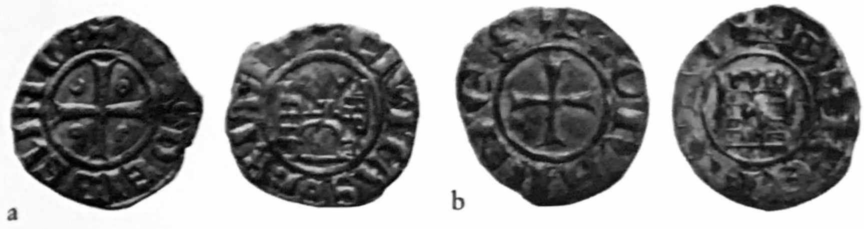
Count Henry was followed by King Aimery II. The only coin firmly attributed to Aimery, or in fact to John of Ibelin, is an immobilized type (Fig. 37). It is a denier with "AMALRICUS REX" and the cross on the obverse, and "+de ierusalem" on the reverse with the image of the Holy Sepulcher, as found both on the coinage of King Amalric, and the mysterious dragmas mentioned earlier.[308] Some controversy surrounds the question of how many of these coins were issued by Aimery II or any of Amalric's successors.[309]

37. Acre, billon denier, *Amalricus Rex*, immobilized type. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

The new gold bezants, of approximately 68 percent gold instead of the earlier 80 percent gold content, introduced after 1188, apparently continue to be produced in this period with no special features.[310] The main problem for the period 1192–1210 is that few can be identified to have been struck in those specific years. The most controversial coinage related to the royal mints in these years, however, concerns the cut gold bezants[311] (Fig. 38). Most of the cut gold has a partial inscription that can be reconstructed as bearing the names "AMALRICUS" or "BALDUINUS." A few have "CON" or "COM" and have been interpreted as having the designation, "Comes Henricus." The extraordinary and puzzling fact about these cut gold pieces is that no complete coin of these types has ever been found. Furthermore it is not clear what their function may have been. Metcalf has conjectured that they may have been used as offering pieces by pilgrims.

The situation with baronial coinage was surprisingly meager. Because of a passage in the "Livre au Roi" that restricts the minting of coins to the king and the idea that the power of the king had been severely compromised following 1187, it has been proposed that coinage by Crusader lords proliferated.[312] In fact this does not appear to be the case. There is almost nothing known in this period from Tyre or Jaffa; only Beirut and Sidon have any new types to speak of, and they are quite conservative and typically Crusader. In Beirut, John of Ibelin produced deniers in two types found in this early phase with variant inscriptions on the obverse and reverse, either "+IOHANNES" or "+IOHSDEIBELINO" on the former, and "+CIVITAS BERITI" or "+DEBERITI" on the latter.[313] The reverse featured a typically Crusader architectural motif of a fortified city gate with arched portal and two turrets (Fig. 39).

Sidon is the most surprising case, because whereas the other fiefs were held mostly through this period, Sidon was in a ruinous state until 1197 and then even though nominally under Crusader control after 1204, Crusader rule did not effectively return until well after 1210, namely, after 1227. Despite all this, coins were issued. The early ones were minted by Raynald of Sidon from the 1170s until about 1204 (Fig. 40). They were inscribed "+RENALDUS" on the obverse with a fortified tower, again the Crusader architectural motif, and on the reverse, "+Sydonia" with an arrow. The arrow was a pun on the Old French name for Sidon, "sagète" or "saiette."[314] The most common coin type from Sidon that followed this was issued by Balian Grenier, but it is not clear whether it appeared before 1227 or not (Fig. 41). This coin is remarkable because, like the *pougeoise* of Henry of Champagne, it carries the denomination on the obverse: "+DENIER" with the cross.[315] On the obverse the typical Crusader architectural motif is rendered as a



39. Beirut, billon denier of John of Ibelin. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

handsome arched building with a two-story central tower topped by a cupola.[316] The cross for the cupola is supplied by the start of the inscription above.

The coinage farther north was similarly conservative. In the period, 1192–1210, the Tripoli bezant appears to have maintained its traditional type but followed the lead of the royal mints in reducing the gold content, debasing the coins from 80 percent to 62 percent, that is, 4 or 5 percent lower than with the royal coins.[317] Tripoli produced its characteristic eight-pointed star deniers in the name of Bohemond IV between 1187 and 1233, but in the same period it maintained the typical Crusader architectural motif with a copious series of copper "castle" coins that feature a fortified gateway.[318] Meanwhile Antioch continued its distinctive "helmet" denier. The primary variation appears to have been the reversal of the head to a position looking left and an inversion of the chain armor so that the crescents are curving downward, which Metcalf dates to the period 1188–1216[319] (Fig. 42). It is worthy of note that during this same period the Armenian king, Levon I, also issued a denier with a cross and his name, "+LEO DEI GRATIAS," on the obverse and a crowned bust-length king on the reverse and the inscription "+REX ARMENIOR." This is a rare coin; Metcalf cites five specimens with the Latin inscriptions, and he mentions only two with the inscriptions in Armenian.[320] It is interesting the extent to which Levon copies Western royal issues in his coin type, even though the shape of his crown is Armenian, not English or French as his models must have been.

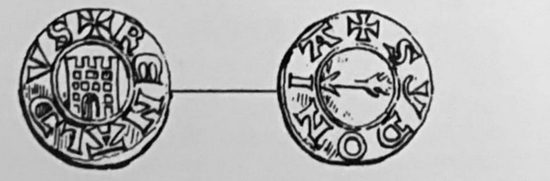
Finally, one of the most important changes in coinage in the Crusader States is described by Metcalf as follows:

> If European deniers were imported into the Crusader principalities in the decades before the fall of the First Kingdom [1187–1188], it would seem that in principle they were required to be melted down and reminted into the official issues of the Latin Kings or the counts of Tripoli or the princes of Antioch.... From the time of the Third Crusade a totally different situation obtained in the Latin Kingdom.... A profuse variety of French, Italian, and other west European coins are found in five important hoards from Tripoli, Kessab, Châtellerault, the Lebanon, and Syria, all from the early thirteenth century....
>
> It is not possible to construct precise figures, because loss-rates may have varied from decade to decade, but it seems safe to say that millions of European coins accumulated in the Latin East mainly ... in the last decade of the twelfth and the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[321]

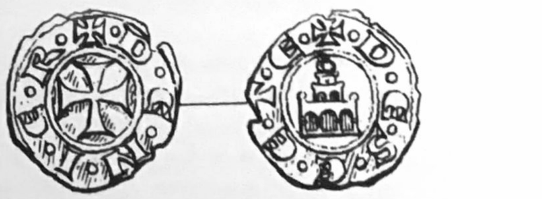
The introduction of significant numbers of western European coins is a phenomenon that parallels the situation during and after the First Crusade, but the numbers involved were apparently greater in the 1190s and 1200s. The European coins are significant evidence that Western aid for the Holy Land was flowing West to East. One of the landmarks to this support was the treasure sent by the Cistercians to aid the Holy Land, money received as contributions for the Fourth Crusade as the result of the inspirational preaching of Fulk of Neuilly and his compatriots.[322] It is a period, therefore, when we can see the development of a new expectation by the Crusaders for Europe to send aid, in the form of money, military or ecclesiastical manpower, or works of art primarily for ecclesiastical use. So far the relevant hoards found in the Near East have yielded representative indications of the new presence of these Western coins, including a remarkable variety of sources. Metcalf illustrates examples from the following: Angoulême, Anjou, Berry, Bourbonnais, Bourgogne, Bretagne, Champagne, Languedoc, Limousin, Normandy, Orleanais, Poitou, Touraine, as well as Ancona, Venice, Sicily, and England. Compared with the Western coins that one finds in the Crusader East after the First Crusade, this list shows new emphasis on France, scarcity of coins from Italy, a virtual absence of coins from Germany, but greater diversity in places of origin. The lack of hoards from the period *c.*1180 to *c.*1220 remains as a great obstacle to understanding the complete range of these coins, and the full nature of Crusader coinage throughout this period however.

Textiles and Metalwork

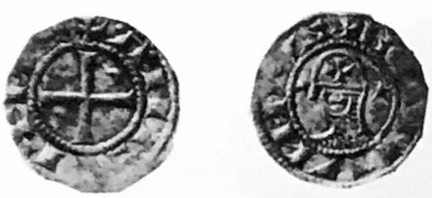
Textiles: We have seen the importance of religious metalwork in this period indirectly in relation to the enormous traffic in relics associated with the Fourth Crusade, relics which were sent from



40. Sidon, billon denier of Renaud Grenier. (photo after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)



41. Sidon, billon denier of Balian Grenier. (photo after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)



42. Antioch, billon helmet denier. (photo after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)

Constantinople to the West. We also know that relics, and the reliquaries that contained them, continued to be an important part of devotional life in the Holy Land. Furthermore, because so many reliquaries were sold, lost, or even destroyed at the time of Saladin's invasions in 1187–8, there is no doubt that many reliquaries and other liturgical vessals had to be replaced when the Crusaders reestablished themselves in new quarters, in Tyre, in Tripoli, in Antioch between 1187 and 1192, or in Acre after 1192.

Part of our problem is the lack of records of any sort, inventories, hand lists, and the like to help us assess what the losses were in 1187–8. Even if, as we proposed in Chapter 2, clerics may have attempted to preserve their church treasures, including reliquaries, by various means, no doubt much could not be saved. In view of the magnitude of the losses in these two years, however, headlined in particular by the loss of the relic of the True Cross at the battle of Hattin, we can entertain the likelihood that some replacement relics were identified and new reliquaries were produced in the Holy Land itself. Certainly the possibility that Martin of Pairis acquired a set of relics from various holy sites during his stay in Acre is a concrete bit of evidence that relics and reliquaries from the Crusader Holy Land were still in demand and were still being produced in the Latin Kingdom, possibly now in Acre.[323] Certainly there was the possibility that some replacement metalwork, liturgical vessels and precious objects with enamel or in ivory from the West, may have been sent to the Holy Land with new clergy appointed there.[324] The specific request that Baldwin I in Constantinople made to the pope for the needs of the Latin liturgy in the Latin Empire,[325] can, mutatis mutandis, perhaps be applied to the new patriarch and bishops in the Latin Kingdom in terms of certain kinds of liturgical metalwork as well as liturgical books in Latin.[326] What does not seem to be likely, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, is that any significant amount of the Byzantine religious metalwork harvested from the sack of Constantinople in 1204 was sent to the Crusader States to help supply their needs.[327] We can make this statement judging from the experience of Martin of Pairis, who was in the Holy Land with his religious booty from Constantinople after the sack, and who declined to donate a single reliquary from his collection to any establishment in the Latin Kingdom despite the impassioned requests of Werner of Egisheim.[328] For Abbot Martin, his monastery back home in western Europe came first.

One of our most important sources of evidence for the contents of a church treasury, including some metalwork, and other liturgical objects, especially textiles, that a major Crusader church would have and would need, is found in an important Hospitaller document from Antioch. In 1209, when Peter of Ivrea, patriarch of Antioch, arrived to take control of his see, the treasury of his patriarchal church, which had been deposited by the previous patriarch, Peter of Angoulême, into the protective hands of the Hospitallers, was turned over to the new patriarch. The inventory of this treasury is extant and its contents provide us with an invaluable look at what a bishop, or in this case, the patriarch, possessed in liturgical objects, including metalwork but most especially pontifical vestments.[329]

> Petrus, Dei gratia sancte et apostolice sedis Antiochene patriarcha.... Sciant omnes... quod nos, de commenda quam deposuit Petrus felicis memorie,..., in domo Hospitalis in Antiochia,[330] a thesaurario ejusdem domus..., videlicet et omnia ea que nominantur et exprimuntur in hoc scripto:
>
> videlicet veram crucem auream, margaritis et aliis lapidibus preciosis ornatam;[331]
> magnum calicem aureum, margaritis et aliis lapidibus preciosis ornatum;
> duo magna texta aurea, margaritis et aliis lapidibus preciosis ornata;[332]
> cyrothecas cum lunis aureis, cum margaritis ornatas;
> cuneos ferreos ad bullandum;
> septem cultellos cum manubriis eburneis.[333]
>
> ...Preterea recepimus a dicto thesaurario hos tres cofros, duos albos et unum rubeum, in quibus hec omnia subsequentia erant:
>
> videlicet planeta una rubea;
> dalmatica una rubea;
> tunica alia rubea;
> due dalmatice rubee,
> pluviale unum subalbidum;
> paramentum unum album, stola et manipulum alba deaurata;
> cingulum unum album;
> cingulum aliud rubeum;
> stola rubea et manipulum;
> stola una ad confirmandum;[334]
> giraudellum unum;[335]
> duo amicta, unum laroratum, aliud non;
> turribalum unum argenteum;[336]
> vas argenteum ad confirmandum;
> paramentum altaris;
> pecten eburneum;
> duo paria sandalium;[337]
> iconia un argentea;[338]
> pluviale maximum deauratum,
> auro laboratum;[339]
> due mape;
> stola una;
> mapa altaris parata;
> pluviale rubeum;
> samiteum aliud croceum;
> casula dalmatica;
> tunica crocea;
> casula dalmatica;[340]
> tunica de panno imperiali deaurata;
> stola;
> manipulum rubeum;
> massa ad serviendum;[341]
> casula doxi;
> pluviale unum album de samito;
> missale;
> liber evangeliorum;
> liber epistolarum cum tabulis argenteis;[342]
> duo anuli aurei cum lapidibus topacis;
> tres pinule auree;[343]
> casula dalmatica de sammito albo;
> tunica de sendato albo;

> casula dalmatica;
> tunica de amito nigro;
> casula de samito Narengi;[344]
> tunica dalmatica de viridi samito;
> duo amicti;
> calix argenteus deauratus;
> giraudellus;
> quatuor custodes;
> corporalia cum custodita de carcubin;
> stola;
> manipulus de dispre;
> manipulus rubeus;
> albe due, una perata, alia non;
> tres mitre, una cum auro, due cum olfrizio;[345]
> stola et manipulus de carcubin;
> due zone, un alba et una rubea;[346]
> una mapa alba;
> pecten eburneus.
>
> Hec omnia, sicut continentur in hoc scripto, plenarie recepimus a fratre Garssione Asmaldi, thesaurario Hospitalis in Antiochia, et fratre Petro Galeis, et fratre Pascali, et fratre Thoma.

This document is attested by twelve witnesses and dated October 1209.

Clearly we find here the basic holdings of a major episcopal church treasury in terms of liturgical books, vessels, objects, and liturgical vestments. There are, however, some striking features about this inventory that merit comment. First, it is clear that this is an episcopal or pontifical treasury, so that many of the vestments are specifically and uniquely for the use of a bishop. Despite the fact that most of the objects listed consist of liturgical vestments, in this case for the patriarch, there are certain minor omissions. We do not find any liturgical stockings, "caligae," for example, despite the fact there are two pairs of sandals and an array of other remarkable pontifical vestments, to be used only by a bishop (e.g., a stole only for confirmation rituals). Second, there are a number of books, some listed as "texta" meaning gospelbooks in this context and some listed as specific service books, and a number of liturgical objects, such as chalices or golden crosses, but conspicuously lacking are relics of any sort. Whereas this inventory was the patriarch's, the complete inventory of the treasury of the Cathedral of St. Peter in Antioch, which we do not have, presumably would have listed the relics and other liturgical objects owned by the church. The few objects that are listed in the present inventory include two chalices, two pectorals, a vase, an "icona" of silver, and two croziers. Three of the manuscripts listed also have treasure bindings with silver or gold covers, the latter decorated with pearls and other precious stones.

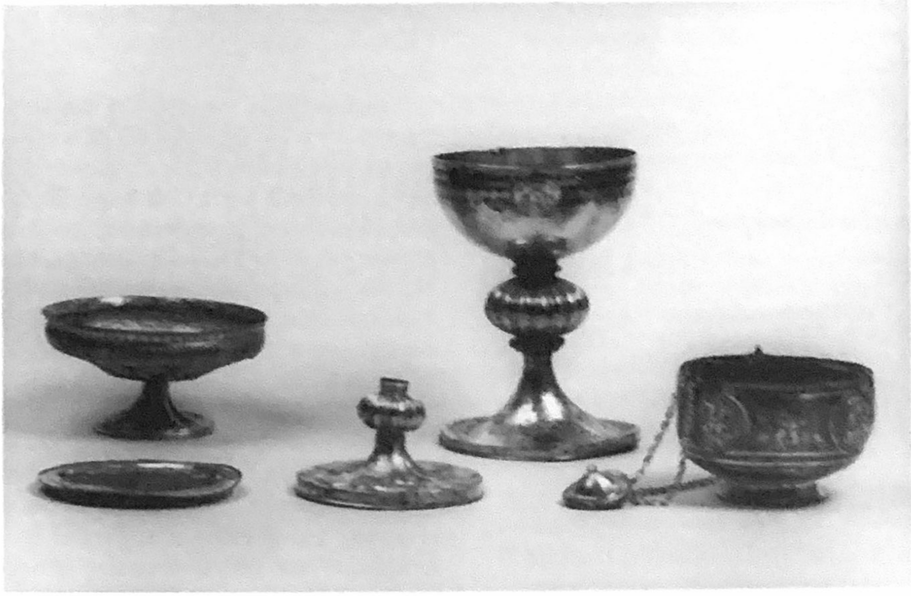
This inventory therefore gives us an invaluable list of the liturgical vestments available for the use of the patriarch of Antioch in 1209. The sad fact is that although we have the list, we do not have a single example of these vestments from the Crusader East at this time, from Antioch or from anywhere else, except for a miter commissioned and executed in the East attributed to Jacques de Vitry, discussed in Chapter 4. Despite the fact that Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli were production centers for textiles, nothing from this period appears to survive independently, or at least nothing survives that has as yet been recognized as such. In the West there are collections of liturgical vestments in various church treasuries at this time,[347] and sumptuous textiles attributed as "Sicilian" or "Byzantine" from these years are found in certain collections,[348] but so far I have found nothing identified as Crusader and attributed to the years 1192–1210.

It is difficult to evaluate the contents of this inventory on its own terms in the absence of a similar document for the patriarch of Jerusalem, or a comparable listing for some other bishop or church in the Holy Land. We do not know what Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem succeeded in collecting and transporting out of the Holy City at the time of Saladin's conquest. Nor do we know where exactly he went seeking safe refuge. Presumably he went to Tyre or Tripoli, and not Antioch.[349] In any case there is no indication that any of the items listed in the 1209 inventory of the treasury of the patriarch of Antioch contained any of the objects that were saved by Heraclius.

It is interesting to compare this list with a later inventory of the treasury of the Church of Notre Dame in Paris, dated 1343 and revised in 1416.[350] The categories from the 1416 inventory are as follows: 1. Joyaux, 2. Crosses, 3. Chalices, 4. Croziers and Bishop's Staffs, 5. Books, 6. Altar Cloths, 7. Liturgical Canopies, 8. Textiles, 9. Vestments. We note that the Antioch list corresponds closely to the later list in terms of what is contained in the treasury, with the exception of joyaux and canopies. It is evident that the reliquaries belonging to the church are not part of this treasury, just as must have been the case in Antioch.

Certain well-known treasuries did contain, indeed featured relics and reliquaries, and joyaux, such as the special French royal treasuries at St. Denis and in the Sainte Chapelle,[351] or the treasury of Christchurch, Canterbury.[352] It is the inventories of Christchurch that most clearly suggest the nature of the Antioch list; the Canterbury lists include a complete inventory, whereas the Antioch list is only a partial inventory. With specific reference to the Antioch list, for the 1294 and 1328 Canterbury inventories, it is noted that "it was customary from an early date for an archbishop or bishop to have for the performance of his duties as bishop a set of ornaments which he could take about with him. These ornaments were collectively known as his *capella* or 'chapel,' and included all the articles necessary for the pontifical offices, and sometimes the sompter horse or horses that bore them from place to place, and the chests in which they were carried."[353] The Antioch inventory is comparable, focused on liturgical objects and vestments, no doubt the ornaments of the *capella* of the patriarch of Antioch. We note that some books are contained in the Antioch, as later in the Paris and Christchurch Canterbury inventories. The sad fact is, however, that, as is the case with the textiles and other objects, few such books are extant from church treasuries in the Crusader East.

Metalwork: The issue of metalwork being brought from the West to the Crusader East is problematic, and specific examples are difficult to identify, despite the textual indications and practical considerations that make such activity likely. It is therefore remarkable that our prime examples in this period turn out to be a handsome group of pieces containing both aristocratic silver for secular use and liturgical silver for use at mass. Furthermore, they appear in a site that was not under Crusader control, but the objects in question seem clearly to have been in Crusader hands before they came to Resafa-Sergiopolis in Syria. This city was, of course, the revered site of the tomb



43. The Resafa Silver Treasure: View of the various pieces in the silver treasure. (photo: by courtesy of Tilo Ulbert, German Archaeological Institute, Resafa-Archiv)

of St. Sergios since the fourth century, which continued to be honored until the sack of the city in 1259.

In 1982 excavators working at Resafa-Sergiopolis for the German Archeological Institute in Damascus discovered a hoard of silver preserved in a large earthenware vase. The vase was found in the north court of the peristyle of the Basilica of the Holy Cross. The archeological stratigraphy and other evidence indicates that this layer of material belonged to the period 1243–59. The objects in this vase include a ciborium or lamp, a paten, a chalice, a chalice base, and a cup decorated with eleven heraldic escutcheons[354] (Fig. 43).

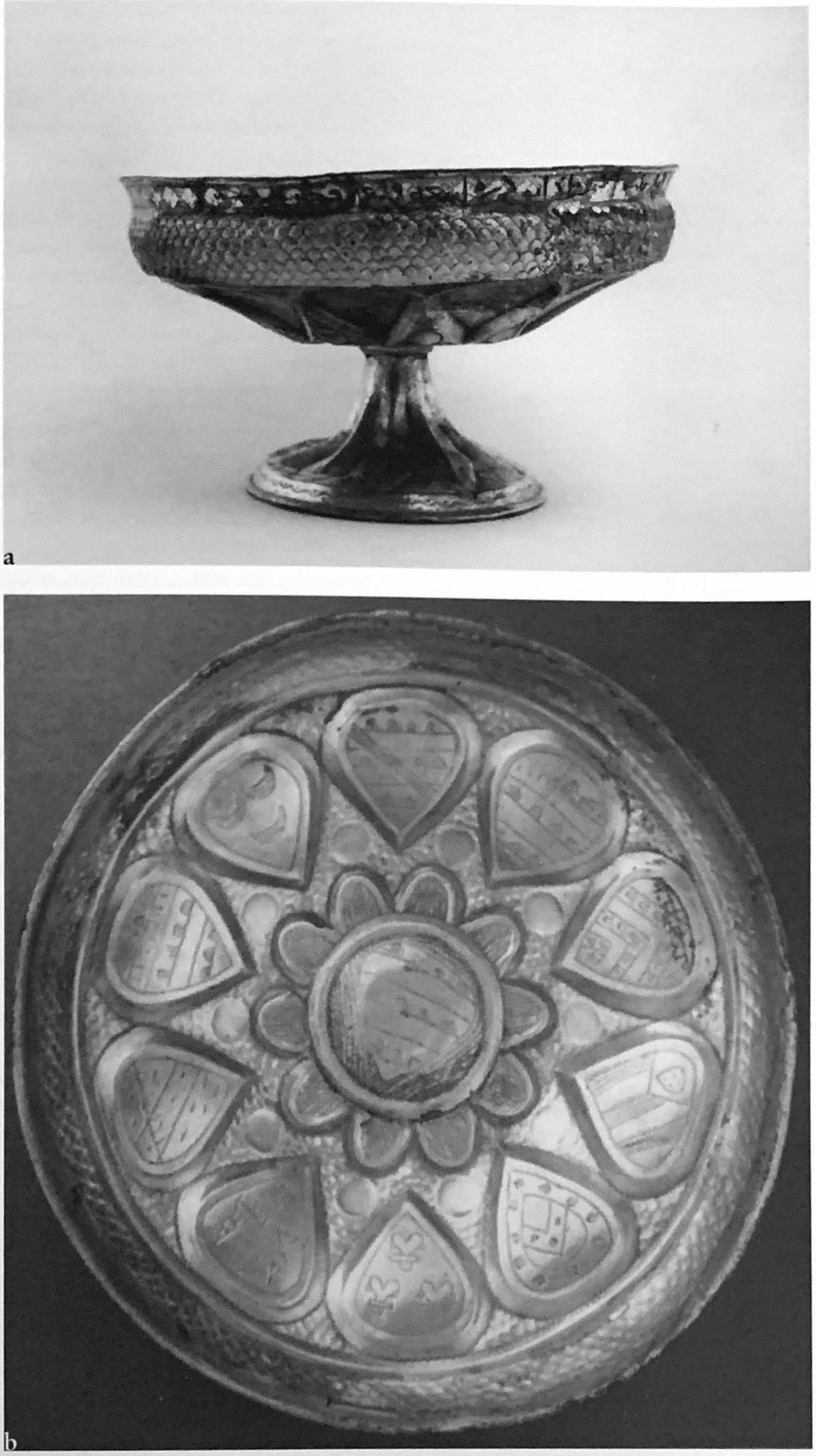
The "Wappenpokal": The cup, a "wappenpokal,"[355] is executed in gilded silver, and measures 4.3 cm high and 16.0 cm in diameter (Fig. 44). In the bowl of the cup are eleven shields with arms as yet not fully identified. The specific shape of the shields on which the arms appear can be linked with a number of examples dated in the period *c.*1200, belonging to the following nobles: Robert de Chartres (1193), Pierre de Gamaches (1195), Jean de Douai (*c.*1200), Guillaume de Barres (1200), Renaud de Dammartin (1204), Hughes de Lourci (1213), Hélie II de Wavrin (1214), Ansel de Boloville (1219), and Hughes de Candavène (1223). The central shield appears to bear the arms of the Coucy family, and the likely owner is Enguerrand III de Coucy, with relatives indicated by the arms of nos. 3, 5, and 6.

In sum, it appears that this cup was made in France in the late twelfth century, possibly carried to the Holy Land by a participant in the Third Crusade. In use in the Latin Kingdom, the last shields may have been engraved in the early thirteenth century. The cup then came into the hands of Zayn ad-Dar, daughter of Abu Durra, who had a commemorative Arabic inscription placed on it. She in turn may have given it to the church in Resafa-Sergiopolis.

The wappenpokal is the most important piece of secular silver we have from the Crusader Levant in the thirteenth century, and the only piece with such a rich collection of heraldic arms. There are four other items in this hoard of silver, all of which seem to be religious, indeed liturgical in nature. Some of these pieces, but not necessarily all, may also have been manufactured in the West then brought to the East and reworked with additions consisting of images or inscriptions. The four objects in question are an engraved chalice, a chalice foot, a paten, and what appears to be a lamp or even a censer.

The Chalice: The chalice[356] (Fig. 45) is a remarkable work because it combines three distinctive traditions: first, the shape is recognizably Western for the chalice, different from Byzantine-style liturgical vessels of this kind with its generous bowl, large node, and very large foot with a diameter bigger than that of the bowl. Second, there is engraved Byzantine decoration found on the exterior – medallions of Christ Pantokrator with Greek inscriptions – and interior – an image of the Virgin and Child enthroned between Sts. Michael and Gabriel, the latter identified by Greek inscriptions – of the bowl. Also on the foot of the chalice are four Byzantine-style crosses designed with round terminals and a flaring base, a type well-known from middle Byzantine art. Third, around the upper part of the bowl exterior, we find a handsome niello decorative motif with pendent palmettes, in which a golden Syriac inscription has been inserted. The Syriac inscription reads: "To the honor of the chalice, which to your disciple as a pledge has been given, Iwannis has donated this, that your blood is reserved, oh bringer of mercy. And see: he bears you as a bequest. Received and rewarded appropriate to your promise and the offering of the priest."[357] A comparable inscription in Syriac executed in niello is found on the foot of this chalice as well.

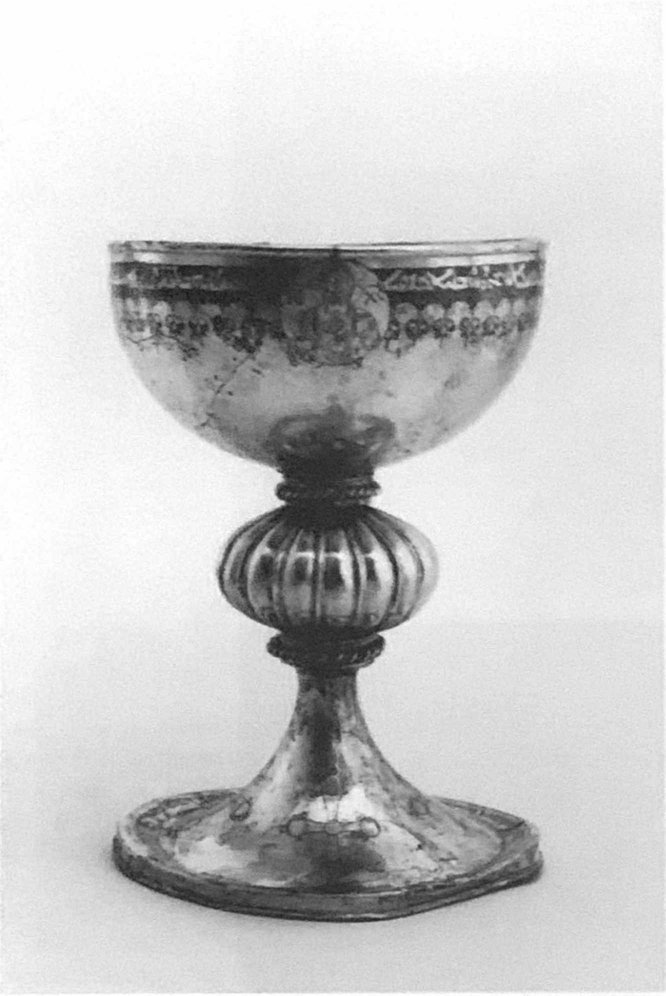
The Chalice Foot: The chalice foot[358] (Fig. 46) and its node are extant, but the bowl is lost. It has a similar overall Western shape to the previous chalice just described, but the details of the decoration of the foot and the node are different. The foot has a graceful two-tiered petal design, but no engraved



44. The Wappenpokal. A. exterior, B. Interior (photos: by courtesy of Tilo Ulbert, German Archaeological Institute, Resafa-Archiv)

decoration. The node is quite round in profile and is sculpted vertically with tripartite ribs, while the ball of the node and the neck above and below the node has decorative cross-hatching. This foot is slightly smaller than the complete chalice, and the decoration of the oval flaring node there with the twisted rope design on the stem of the chalice above and below the node is distinct from the chalice foot seen here. There are no inscriptions extant on this chalice foot.

The Paten: The paten[359] (Fig. 47) is a work meant to go with the chalice for which Western parallels are cited from Troyes and Assisi. It also has engraved decoration consisting of a medallion

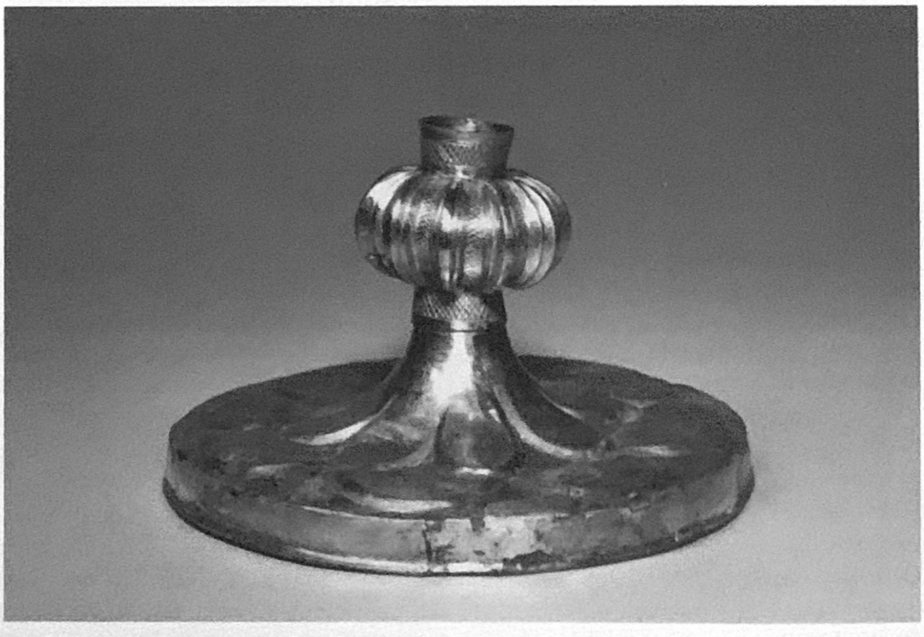


45. The Chalice. (photo: by courtesy of Tilo Ulbert, German Archaeological Institute, Resafa-Archiv)

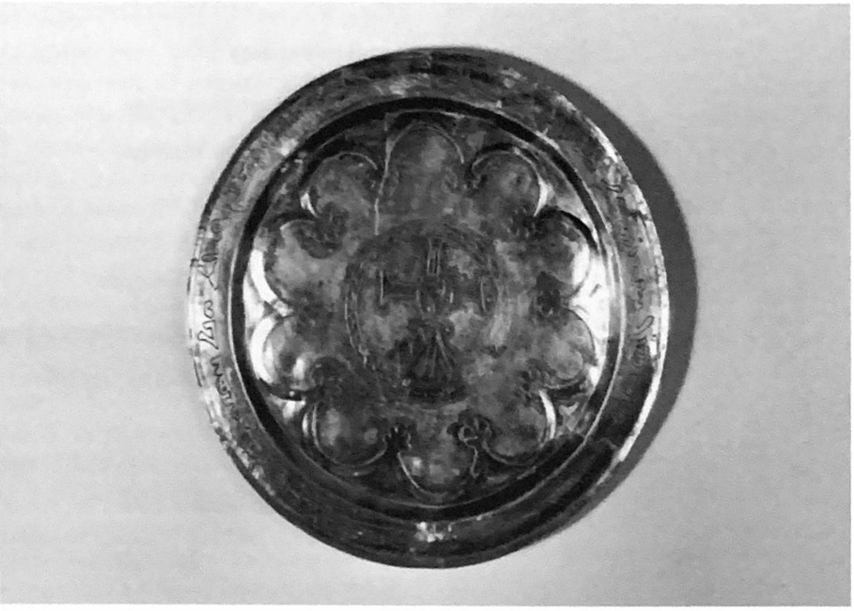
in the center with the hand of God blessing in the Latin mode set against a Latin cross, three parts of which are visible. The medallion has an undulating cloudy line articulating the interior of its circle. The hand is given a large cuff at the wrist, and a flaring sleeve with a strip of triangular decoration at the left side. Surrounding the medallion is a scalloped frame with round arches and five-part rounded finials. Around the outer edge of the paten is an engraved Syriac inscription: "Hasnon, son of the deceased Habel from Edessa, has bequeathed this paten to the church of Mar Sergios in Resafa. Everyone who reads this, may wish to pray for the donor."[360] This inscription is clearly engraved from a tracing and was added after the fact to this paten.

The Lamp: The lamp[361] (Fig. 48) is designed in the form of a bowl with vertical sides and three loops for a chain above, and a steep nearly vertical foot with a rounded lip at the bottom. It is decorated with four medallions featuring embossed animal motifs in low relief repoussé work: two with paired and seated quadrupeds, two with a large bird attacking a similar bird of nearly equal size from above, pecking at its head. The medallions are framed with twisted ropelike borders that join with the upper and lower borders of the side panel of the lamp bowl. In the interstices we find pairs of designs, two of vinescrolls, and two of human-headed hybrid animals set against a vine-scroll background. On the curve joining the vertical sides of the bowl and the foot of the vessel, is a frieze with a series of eight running quadrupeds, including dogs and rabbits with other animals, set against a vine-scroll motif. Both the interstices and the lower frieze are similar in technique, with the niello forming the background and the animal and floral designs in reserve silver, an elegant design.

The lamp has no inscription, and although it may have been used for religious purposes, in many ways this work is the most problematic of those found in this hoard. Not only is its function less specific, in that it could be used for both secular and religious occasions, but also its place of origin is less clear. In fact,



46. The Chalice Foot. (photo: by courtesy of Tilo Ulbert, German Archaeological Institute, Resafa-Archiv)

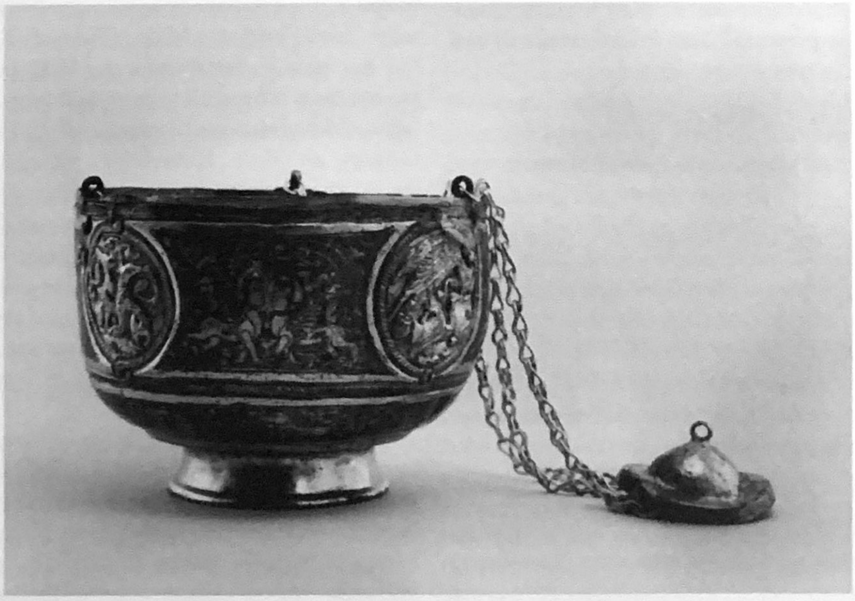


47. The Paten. (photo: by courtesy of Tilo Ulbert, German Archaeological Institute, Resafa-Archiv)

it was probably made in the Near East and is not from the West. Obviously nothing about the decoration is religious in nature, and there is no inscription to designate its use. The object could have been used as a hanging lamp in the Church of St. Sergios in Resafa, but the manufacture of this work appears to have been purely Islamic in nature, indeed a handsome example.

Taken together, this hoard of silver is a remarkable indication of the multicultural richness of the Crusader East, and the metalwork demonstrates high levels of quality on the part of western European, Syriac, Byzantine, and Muslim metalworkers. There is, of course, no way to know how these works came together, but we might envision a scenario something like the following. The Western pieces, that is, the two chalices, and the paten on the one hand and the wappenpokal on the other, came on the market in a Crusader city for some reason. Perhaps the owners died during the Third Crusade, or possibly the liturgical silver was part of the treasures sold after the fall of Jerusalem. In any case, one or more Orthodox Syrian found them available and had them personalized with new inscriptions in Syriac and in some cases given additional decoration. Eventually these works were given to the Church of St. Sergios in Resafa, along with the Muslim work acquired perhaps in Damascus, where it might have been produced in imitation of earlier Islamic Damascene work. The scenario for the secular bowl with heraldry might obviously be somewhat different, but again it becomes part of the church treasure as something special and valuable.

The existence of silver works that originate in the West and which have been "Easternized" in terms of inscriptions, and perhaps also with regard to certain engraved decoration, is



48. The Censer. (photo: by courtesy of Tilo Ulbert, German Archaeological Institute, Resafa-Archiv) worth noting for various reasons. They give testimony to the fact that religious observance and commerce crossed political and military lines in the Near East during the Crusader period, even here shortly after the reestablishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem following the Third Crusade. They demonstrate that Orthodox Christians were willing and able to use Latin Christian liturgical silver, in the same way that the Crusaders were interested in acquiring and utilizing Orthodox religious objects, ranging from icons to metalwork. They show that when even Western secular objects such as the wappenpokal came into Eastern hands, possibly as the result of a death or a capture or a ransom, such objects could be valued for their inherent worth and quality, even in a religious setting. Finally, it is intriguing to see that sacred and secular works from both Christian and Muslim origins could be combined in a context such as the one we find here at Resafa. We are stimulated to think about and ponder the variety of such treasuries that may have existed, the possible richness of their contents, the extent to which the multicultural ensemble of such a hoard could be representative of both a Crusader church or lord, an Eastern Christian church or lord, or even, conceiveably, a Muslim religious or secular treasure.

Manuscripts and Manuscript Painting

It is difficult to construct a picture of illuminated manuscript production in the Crusader States in the period 1192–1210. Because of the assumed shift of what has been identified as the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem to Acre after 1191, because of the continuous destruction suffered by the cities in the Latin Kingdom not to mention the war raging over the Antiochene succession in the north, and most especially because we have so few extant manuscripts as yet identified to consider, our knowledge of manuscript illustration in particular is limited and fragmentary. We have nonetheless one inventory of codices possibly held in a Crusader library, and one extant illustrated codex.

The inventory appears in a manuscript now in the Stadtbücherei in Erfurt, where it is marked MS Q 102.[362] This codex dates *c.*1200 and contains on fol. 162v a listing of authors and works that is presented here, edited, selected, and organized by topics:

> Hii sunt libri conventus Nazarene ecclesie.

There are a number of Gospel and New Testament texts listed:

> Textus iiii Evangeliorum,
> Textus Marci evangeliste, also Matheus, Iohannes, apocalypsis Iohannis,
> Epistole Pauli glosate.

There are a large number of treatises and commentaries by the Fathers:

> Ambrosius[363] super Lucam, Augustinus de Trinitate, super Iohannem et glosule super Iohannem,

and numerous other treatises; one of the works by St. Augustine is listed as having belonged to the Bishop of Sidon:

> Eps. Sidonensis Augustinum de retractacione, Augustinum encheridion habet.

> Gregorius super ii libros Ezechielis, super Moralia Iob,

and other works,

> Ieronimus super psalterium,

and numerous other treatises,

> Isidorus de summo bono,

and other works.

There are works by Boethius:

> iii(es) Boetii cum glosulis; commenta Boetii.

There are books of works by and about the popes:

> Gesta pontificum,
> Duo libri canonum,

There are also secular books on science, history, and literature by a large number of classical authors:

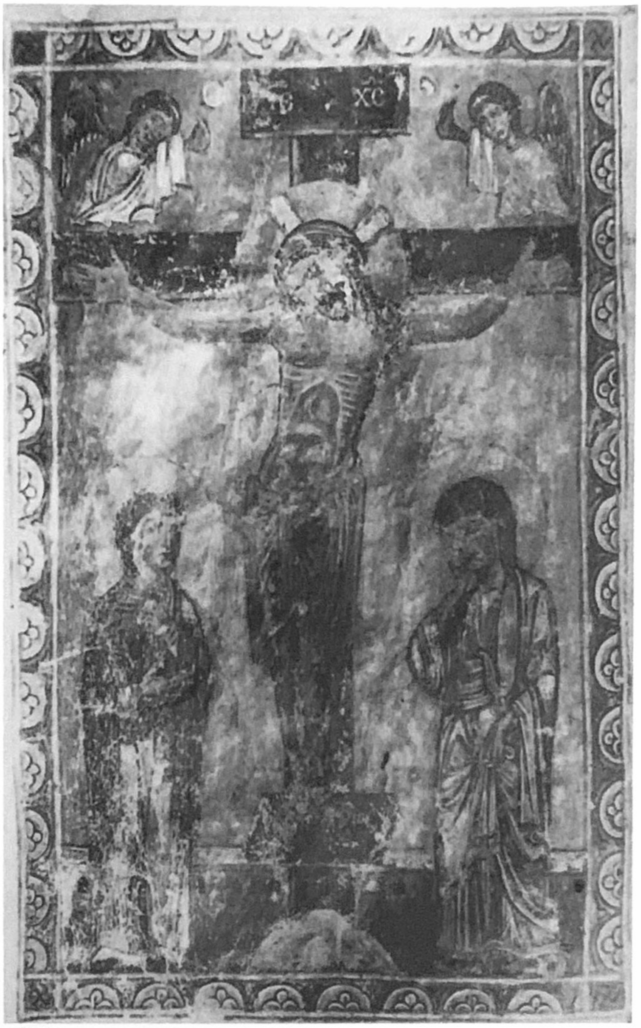
> X libri de phisica,
> Duo libri de luna,
> Arithmetica,
> De Construcione,
> Eneis Virgilii,
> Lucanus cum glosulis,
> Iuvenalis duplex,
> ii(o) Oracii cum glosulis,
> Tullis de amicicia,
> ii(o) Stacii cum glosulis; duo Stacii Achilleidos,
> iii(es) Prudencii,
> ii Sedullii,
> Ovidius de Ponto; duo Ovidii epistolarum; Ovidius de amatoria arte; ii Ovidii stristium; ii O. de remedio amoris.

The Erfurt manuscript with this inventory on its final leaf was attributed to France in the nineteenth century,[364] and Beddie says, "neither the reference to *Nazarene ecclesie* nor to the books in the possession of the bishop of Sidon justify connecting the list certainly with Syria, but inasmuch as we apparently have no lists of books from the crusading states, the possibility is interesting."[365] Since Beddie wrote his article, however, a number of illustrated manuscripts, including some of the types mentioned in this list, have been identified as produced in the Crusader States, lending additional plausibility to the notion that this list refers to Nazareth in the Holy Land. No explanation has yet been offered as to how and why this list appears in a book which contains a number of short treatises by Augustine, Gregory, and Bede. Nonetheless, we can provisionally accept the list on face value as referring to Nazareth in Galilee and regard it as an inventory of manuscripts in the library of the Crusader convent there at the end of the twelfth century, presumably the chapter library connected to the cathedral. This collection is notable as medium-sized and important, with strong holdings in patristics and classical authors comparable to good cathedral libraries one might find in France and Italy at this time.[366]

Is there any evidence that would correlate the existence of a library in Nazareth with scholarly activity there? In 1983 B. Z. Kedar published an important study on Gerard of Nazareth, a Carmelite hermit from Nazareth who appears to have also been the bishop of Laodicea (=Lattakia); *Geraldus laodicensis episcopus* is attested in the sources from 1140 to

1161.[367] Kedar lists five major works that Gerard of Nazareth authored while he was in the Holy Land and asks whether Gerard's familiarity with a number of patristic works means that he studied in Europe, like William of Tyre did. Kedar says, "not necessarily," because of the existence of the library at Nazareth. He continues, "it is reasonable to assume that the affluent shrine church of Nazareth, which owned land in Apulia... before 1158, had possessed already in Gerald's day many of the books listed in this catalogue, and that other well-endowed churches in the country had comparable libraries at their disposal.... Consequently, Gerard may well have found his sources in a library of the Latin East of the type documented by the Nazareth catalogue."[368]

Is it possible that any of the manuscripts in this inventory were painted or historiated? The list itself offers no indications that can help us answer that question. Nonetheless, among the books mentioned it is well known that many were often illuminated in the twelfth century, especially the Gospel books, the Apocalypse, and Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, among others. One would certainly expect that if this collection at Nazareth was comparable to chapter libraries at other cathedrals in the Crusader States, including the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch, major archbishoprics including Tyre, and the other major holy site at Bethlehem, there would have been some illuminated codices in each one, not to mention handsomely decorated service books for each cathedral church. We have at least the missals and sacramentaries from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as concrete evidence for the latter. For the existence of the library collections we should recall that William of Tyre exemplified a distinguished scholarly tradition during his years of work in Tyre and Jerusalem and further that a Christian scholarly tradition was established in the Holy Land long before the Crusaders arrived. It was, after all, in Bethlehem that Jerome had worked in the fourth century, establishing a scholarly tradition shared by other early Christian sites such as Caesarea as well.

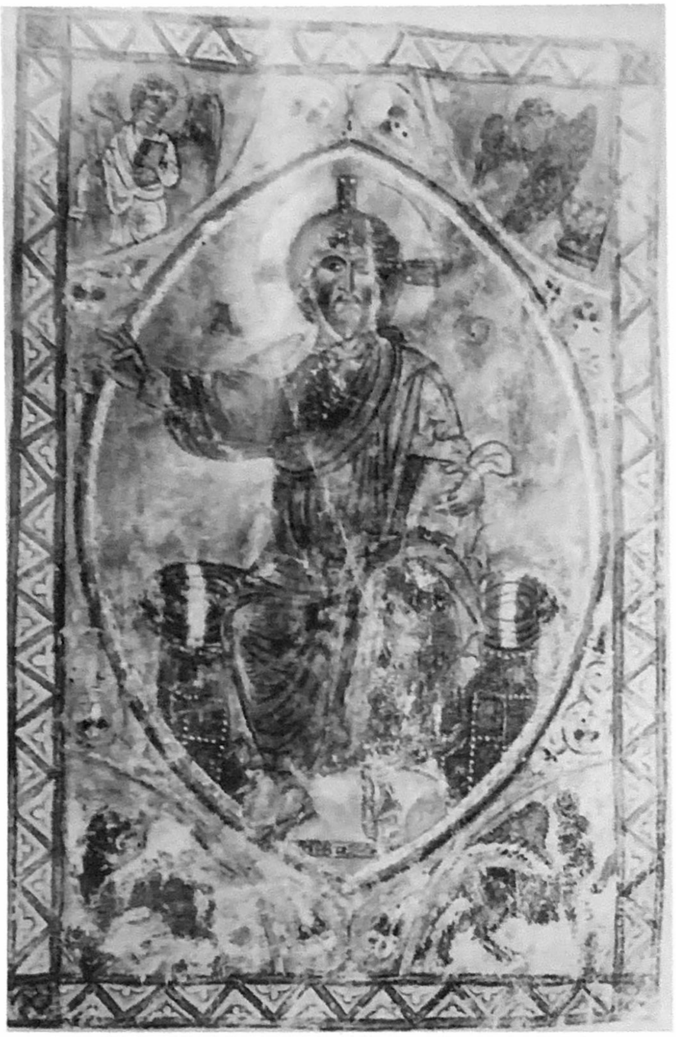


49. The Naples Missal, Bibl. Nazionale, MS VI G 11, fol. 96v, Crucifixion (full-page miniature). (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, and the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

Given the possibilities the Erfurt list allows us to glimpse, it is frustrating to realize that we have only one extant illustrated manuscript, apparently newly produced in the Latin Kingdom at this time. Hugo Buchthal attributed one important manuscript to this period, an illustrated missal now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, MS VI.G.11[369] (Figs. 49 and 50, CD nos. 1–8). Unfortunately this manuscript is incomplete; there is no calendar at the beginning, and the litany and the sanctoral emphasize French saints, so there is little in the text that indicates this codex was produced for use in the Crusader States. In fact, were it not for the codicological characteristics of the book, the illuminated and historiated initials, and the panel miniatures, we would not be able to link this manuscript with the Crusader Kingdom. These paintings, however, make it abundantly clear that the artist who worked in this codex was working in the Holy Land. The question is, where was he working?

Buchthal pointed out that "the illuminated initials on a gold ground, most of them inserted in the same places as those in the Paris Missal and the Sacramentary divided between Rome and Cambridge,[370] are simplified imitations of them; and the two full-page miniatures, a Crucifixion [Fig. 49] and a *Maiestas Domini* [Fig. 50], may be taken to be equally faithful copies of the corresponding illustrations once contained in those two manuscripts."[371] The sacramentary and the missal probably date *c.*1130 for the former and *c.*1135 for the latter, that is just before and after the production of the Psalter of Queen Melisende, dated *c.*1135.[372] As such these three manuscripts represent some of the most outstanding work of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in the early phase of its extant work during the twelfth century.

Detailed comparison of the illuminated initials in the Naples Missal with those in the Paris Missal reveals the Naples manuscript is less lavishly decorated than its predecessor and that, whereas in the Paris manuscript a large proportion of the initials are historiated, in the Naples manuscript most are decorative, without human figures. Furthermore, the medium- and smaller-sized Paris initials have a striking colorism that features strong medium and light blues, pinks, and bright medium greens. In the Naples manuscript the hues and intensity of the colorism is completely different: for the smaller initials, they are mostly set on gold grounds with red borders, and the main colors are less intense pink and blue, medium green, and red. The larger initials in the Naples Missal have more



50. The Naples Missal, fol. 97r, *Maiestas Domini* (full-page miniature). (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, and the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

comparable color schemes to those in the Paris Missal and the Rome Sacramentary: see, for example, on folios 97v[373] and 98r; one finds red, darker green, a dark medium blue and deep purple, all of which find certain parallels in the earlier manuscripts.

Basically the decorative repertoire of the initials in the Naples Missal is largely derivative from the earlier Jerusalem scriptorium manuscripts, as Buchthal pointed out.[374] We find innovation in only two instances: on folio 82v, the "E" for the start of the Easter *Exultet*, represents a disembodied hand with a green sleeve holding a round sacred vessel; on folio 98v, the "T" of the *Te igitur* for the canon of the Mass has the usual initial with flanking vine scrolls, but standing in front of the stem of the letter is a handsome tonsured bishop in a pink chasuble and a large golden pallium. Stylistically the Naples Missal painter is more closely related to the Italianate hand of the Rome/Cambridge Sacramentary than the Franco-Italian artist of the Paris Missal. The Naples Missal painter does not, however, share the same high level of refinement in design, the same characteristics of formal precision, or the excellence in overall quality of execution found in the two earlier manuscripts. He seems to be more provincial in background, probably Italian in origin, most likely from southern Italy, a Crusader painter working sixty-five or seventy years later, but still reflecting traditions of the Crusader scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher seen in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, and other manuscripts closely associated with it.[375]

The main contribution the Naples Missal provides to enhance our view of Crusader painting is found in the figural miniatures preserved in this codex. On folio 96v is a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion. Although simplified and more monumental than the comparable image in the Melisende Psalter, it also draws on it for the poses of Mary and St. John from the earlier image and the loincloth of Christ; given an unusual pink and light blue-green border and centerfold colorism, it is also related in design. Simplification is seen in almost every component, from the reduction in the number of persons, to the smaller versions of the mourning angels, to the loss of shading on the cross. What is new and different is the remarkable color scheme for the border, pink semicircles on a greenish ground with light blue borders and red square corners. The somewhat garish taste in color is echoed in the other full-page miniature of the *Maestas Domini* on folio 97r.

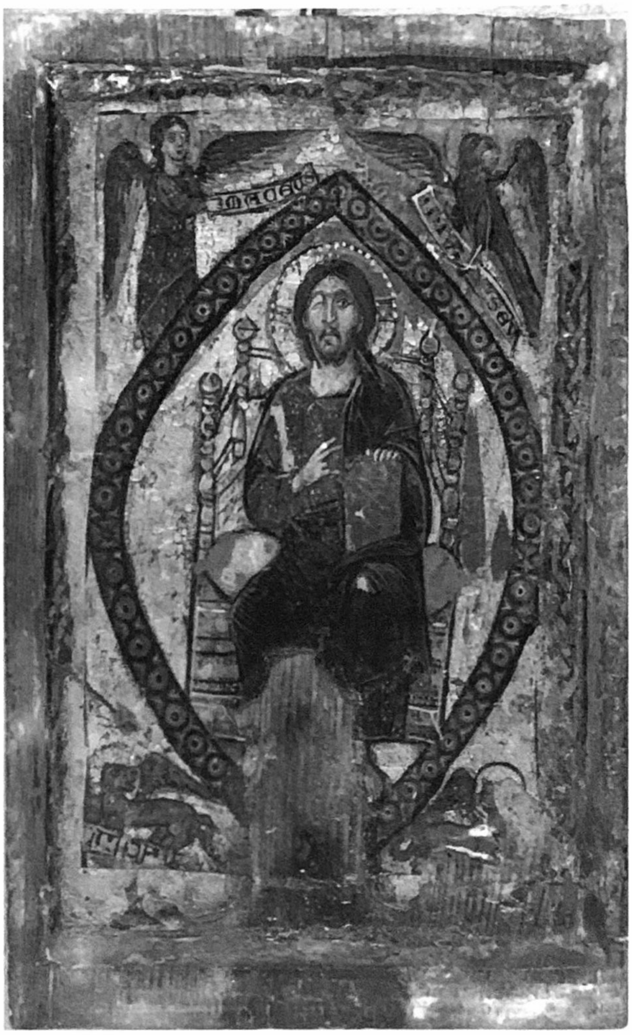
The *Maestas Domini* is framed with alternating gray-blue and pink triangles inside a gray-green rectangular border with red square corners.[376] Inside, on a gold ground, a handsome, swarthy Christ with glancing eyes is seated, dressed in brown with a dark blue cloak, on a jeweled throne with a red and white cushion. He is blessing in the Greek manner with his right arm outstretched, and holding with his left hand a book upright, behind which a tail of drapery appears. His mandorla cuts off the throne and his footstool, which his right foot nonetheless overlaps. His pink and gray-green mandorla and a set of quartercircular segments separate him from the four apocalyptic symbols in the corners: the winged man and the eagle above, the winged lion and the winged ox below, all holding closed books. The bodies of all of these figures face away from Christ, but they look back toward him. Despite the fact that the two early Jerusalem service books now in Paris and in Rome/Cambridge also apparently had images of the Crucifixion and the *Maestas Domini*, this miniature of the Christ in majesty is the earliest Crusader one to survive. It is an impressive work, the finest image in this codex, with a decorative repertoire that also relates it to the earlier Jerusalem manuscripts.

Were we limited to these *comparanda*, the Naples Missal would present no new problems, and we could accept Buchthal's attribution to Acre *c.*1200 without further comment. But in fact other related paintings raise some difficult questions. Besides the earlier Jerusalem manuscripts, the Naples Missal is also related to the Bible now in San Daniele del Friuli. Whereas the San Danieli Bible is an ambitious work of the highest quality, done with an extraordinary decorative flair, a refined Italo-Byzantine Crusader figure style, and an incredibly rich color scheme, it has not yet been firmly dated or located. Although I have argued recently that it may date in the 1180s and was most probably executed in Antioch, the questions of its date and place of origin remain unresolved.[377]

The Naples Missal relates to the San Danieli Bible in a number of ways. The rich color scheme in the Naples Missal is a reflection of similar interests found in the San Danieli Bible on a much higher, diverse, and more intensive level. The figure style in both manuscripts is a Crusader version of the Italo-Byzantine formal approach seen in Sicily, but again much more refined in the Bible than in the missal. The decorative repertoire and the handling of the large initials in the San Danieli Bible are also reflected in the missal. Comparing the design of the large "P"s in the Bible, on folios 35r, 236v, for example, with the "P" on folio 97v of the missal, one finds a variety of similarities: the segmented structure; the similar interlace at the top of the stem with animal heads biting the upper curving element of the letter; the paneled components of the stem and curving element; the imaginative transformation of the curve of the upper portion of the "P" into an anthropomorphic, animal, or foliate design; and the gold on which the initial "floats" inside its deep purple setting. One is also struck with the rustic character of the missal initial in contrast to the exquisite quality of the Bible initials, a contrast that is found throughout these two manuscripts point by point. What can this comparison tell us about Crusader painting at this time?

If we hypothesize that the function of this missal was to resupply an unknown church in Acre with a service book that was needed to replace the heavy losses following the fall, siege, and reconquest of Acre in 1189–91, the likelihood was that the manuscript was done in Acre where the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher had been transferred after the Third Crusade. Certainly the Naples Missal is more closely linked to earlier Jerusalem codices than to the San Danieli Bible, bearing out the Jerusalem scriptorium connection. But the San Danieli Bible seems to reflect on a higher level of quality the contemporary interest in a distinctive colorism, complex and monumental decorative forms, and the Italo-Byzantine Crusader figure style found also in the missal. Although it does not seem plausible that the artist of the missal would have necessarily worked in Antioch, or wherever the Bible was done, it is possible that the former knew the latter work or some other work very similar to it.

Proposing this artistic comparison may be no more significant than observing that in the political realm, the king of Jerusalem closely monitored affairs in the principality of Antioch and occasionally journeyed north to participate in events when necessary. If we can imagine that the San Danieli Bible existed in a church treasury in Antioch in the 1190s, however, it is noteworthy that such a high quality work of art was there, that artists might have had occasion to see it, perhaps in the cathedral or one of the other major churches in the city, and that there were artistic ideas exchanged between Antioch and Jerusalem in these otherwise often difficult times. We know of other works from Antioch, directly or indirectly, but, it must be said, surprisingly few given the importance of the city for the Crusaders. This would be one of the few cases we have, however, in which the artistic ideas embodied in a work from Antioch towered over a much more modest work from Acre or Jerusalem. In terms of this comparison, we can certainly say that, if the San Danieli Bible was done in Antioch as I am arguing, it demonstrates that Antioch could reach high levels of quality in production hitherto seen only in Jerusalem and not yet seen in Acre.



51. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 34/308, Maestas Domini. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai). See Color Plate 1.

Painting: Panel Painting

The San Danieli Bible is not the only work which can be compared to the Naples Missal. It is interesting that one of the small icons now preserved in the collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine's at Mount Sinai is devoted to an image of the *Maestas Domini* (Color Plate 1, Fig. 51, App. No. 34/308).[378] In fact, the sixth-century doors of the Church of St. Catherine in the monastery also carry a Limoges enamel plaque of the *Maestas Domini*, probably late twelfth-century and donated to the monastery by pilgrims from western Europe.[379] To what extent is the image of Christ in Majesty related to either of these works?

When Weitzmann first published the little *Maestas Domini* (Fig. 51, App. no. 34/308) from St. Catherine's, he noted the existence of the image in the missal but stated, "our icon is not based on this earlier miniature, which merely demonstrates that this typically Western subject was quite familiar in crusader art."[380]

He further characterized it as a work painted by a French artist from the second half of the thirteenth century.

Furthermore, its mediocre quality was to some extent directly related to its distance from any Byzantine models, as he saw it. Nonetheless, despite its relatively poor condition and its indifferent quality, it is a work of considerable interest for us here in relation to the Naples Missal.

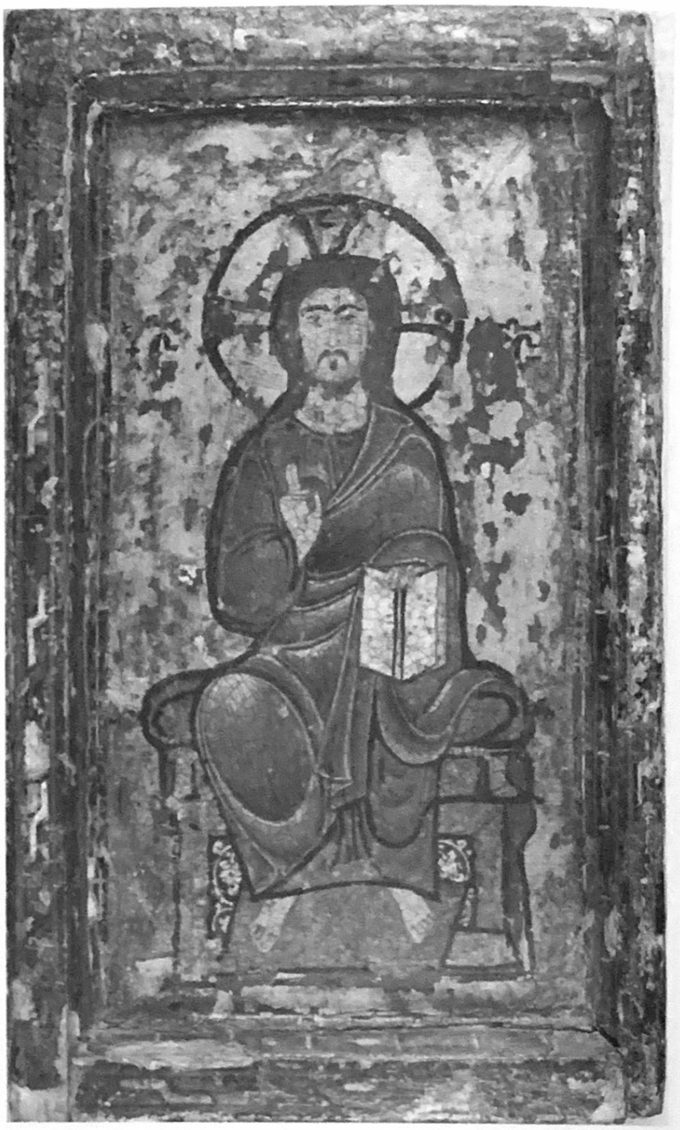
In the icon, the figure of the Lord wears a pinkish-purple tunic decorated with pearls and a blue robe highlighted with reddish chrysography and has a pearl studded halo. He sits enthroned holding a book and blessing in the Greek manner against a gold ground, inside an irregularly shaped pink and blue mandorla decorated with shaded circles separated by triangular shaped clusters of rays. The throne on which Christ sits is strikingly similar to a type found in the *Bible Moralisée* manuscripts done in Paris in the 1220s and 1230s. Outside the mandorla the four apocalyptic creatures appear. These include the winged man in the upper left, holding a scroll on which is written "MATEUS," and at the upper right the eagle with wings displayed holding a scroll with the letters "IOHANES EV." At the lower left is the winged lion, with a scroll carrying the letters, "MAR...," and at the lower right is the winged ox, which is heavily flaked away as is his scroll. Framing the image is a cable interlace design on the inner curved surface, which is fragmentary but visible along the upper left side, along the top (faintly), and especially along the middle part of the right side. The outer frame was apparently gilded, but it is so badly flaked that one cannot see what design, if any, it carried.

It is the interlace border of the icon especially that draws our attention to the panel in this time frame. In his publication of the icon, Weitzmann attributed the interlace border to "an older layer of paint which became visible only after the edges of the upper layer had begun to flake.... We cannot be sure, but it seems quite likely that the lower layer, probably from the twelfth century, also depicted a Christ enthroned, or perhaps a *Maestas Domini.*"[381] At the time of his publication, Weitzmann was thinking the interlace border dated the icon to the mid-twelfth century, based on a comparison between it and a similar border on the icon of the Enthroned Christ (Fig. 52, App. No. 76/1024). Nelson and Hunt, arguing independently and persuasively, have shown that the Enthroned Christ with its interlace border dates in fact to the first half of the thirteenth century and that the painter had a background in Coptic Christian painting.[382] It is quite possible, even likely, therefore, that the date of the lower layer of painting on the *Maestas Domini* icon should also be attributed to the years *c.*1200–25.

In his discussion of the Enthroned Christ icon, Nelson pointed out that the interlace design of the frame was quite popular and widespread, found on a number of Crusader, Syriac, and Coptic manuscript paintings.[383]

To this ensemble can be added now the arcades of standing saints in fresco paintings in the Qalamoun region of Syria, such as Qara, dating in the mid-thirteenth century, as well as the frescoes of the northwest room of the castle chapel at Marqab, dating *c.*1186–8.[384] Finally, to these examples should be added a variation on this type of border found in the Syriac Buchanan Bible done in northern Syria, near Edessa, in the early 1190s.[385]

It is notable that although the paint layer visible today for the main image on the Crusader icon is done in a French Gothic Crusader style and was therefore probably done somewhat later than our miniature, although just how much later is very much an issue to be resolved, the iconographic arrangement of the apocalyptic creatures in the icon corresponds to those in the manuscript image in terms of location around the figure of Christ. There are certain differences as well: the Naples Missal ensemble with the dominant Christ and the four creatures holding books in dramatic poses reflects the idea expressed in the Moissac tympanum in the early twelfth century. By contrast, the icon, despite the fact that the four creatures all hold scrolls, reflects the arrangement of the Chartres west tympanum in the mid-twelfth century with the upper two figures facing Christ, and the lower pair turning away with their heads looking back. But parallels to the appearance of the Alpha and the Omega as apocalyptic symbols in the miniature are found especially in Spain, in frescoes at Léon and Tahull in the twelfth century. These French and Spanish parallels are not cited to suggest there were any direct connections between Eastern painting and earlier Western sculpture or fresco painting, but only to indicate that some of the same variety in the diverse nuances found in the *Maestas Domini* iconography in the West can also be found

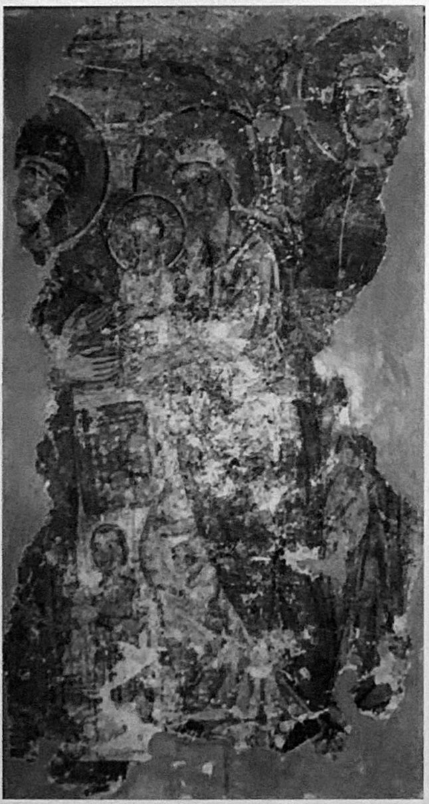


52. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 76/1024, Christ Enthroned. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

here in the Crusader East. These examples suggest a rich development in the Crusader East; furthermore, these two exemplars of the *Maestas Domini* iconography, the missal image done in Acre and to be dated *c.*1200, the icon done at Mount Sinai and to be dated to *c.*1220–30,[386] give important evidence that this Western iconography was current in the Holy Land in more than one version in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. We may also wonder whether images of the Lord in Majesty might not have been found in the apses of Crusader churches that received programs of fresco painting at this time.[387]

Painting: Frescoes, Panel Painting, and Model Books

Just as with manuscript illumination, there are few survivals of fresco and panel painting in this period, although there is some important evidence. We have already referred to the existence of a fresco from Crac des Chevaliers representing the Presentation of Christ in the Temple that was executed at this time (Fig. 53). Its original location in the castle and the circumstances of its rediscovery are worthy of note. In 1954–5 a new program of repairs was initiated at Crac under the administration of the Syrian Antiquities Service, after the French mission directed by Paul Deschamps had left. G. Kalamkarian surpervised the removal of remains of a fragmentary Arab wall abutting the chapel in the Room of 120 Meters, adjacent to the chapel on the north side. A significant fresco painting was revealed behind the Arab masonry approximately 1.05 meters above the level of the floor. The fragment was left on the wall until the damp conditions in the castle required that it be removed. In 1965 the fresco was first exhibited in the church museum (the former Cathedral of Notre Dame) in Tortosa, where it can be seen today. The fresco fragment is 1.65 meters high × .92 meters wide.[388]

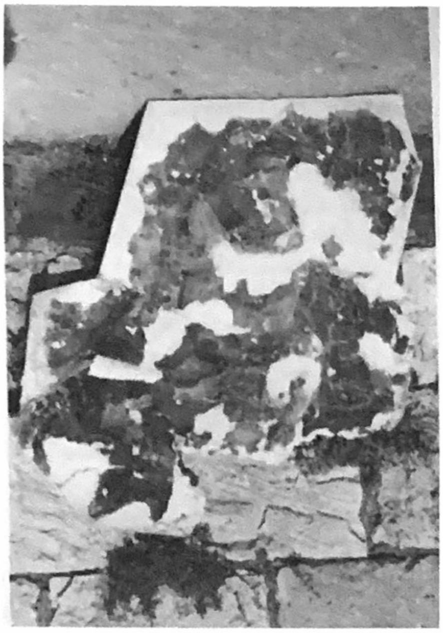


53. Crac des Chevaliers: Presentation of Christ in the Temple from the exterior north wall of the chapel, now in the Tartus Museum (= cathedral of Notre Dame, Tortosa).

The fresco is clearly a fragmentary scene of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple with five figures still visible. Four are identifiable: Mary, Simeon holding baby Jesus over an altar, and the prophetess Anna. Below the gesturing hands of the Virgin we also have a small beardless male figure in a tunic who is as yet unidentifiable; he is gesturing toward Mary. The figure of Joseph, now lost, would no doubt have originally appeared to the left of the very damaged and fragmentary figure of the Virgin Mary. Besides the altar, a simplified table covered with a white cloth on which appears what seems to be a jeweled book of holy scripture, one also finds the horizontal members of some sort of architectural structure above the heads of the main figures.

The unknown figure is distinct from the other four because he is smaller and stands in front of the platformlike ground on which they are located, and because there is an inscription above his head. The inscription in Latin letters appears to read "SisONIN," possibly meant to be a family name. The obvious idea that this might have been intended to be the name of a local saint, "Scs Onin," for example, is contravened by the fact that whereas the four holy figures above all have haloes, the standing male figure does not. In any case the letters of this inscription do not appear to have been painted by the same hand that painted the Greek inscription above, "IC" "XC," next to the halo of Jesus. It remains an open question whether this inscription was original at the time the figures were painted or if it may have been added later.[389]

The style of this work is clearly very simple and direct, even rustic, a charming interpretation of a stately Byzantine image from the *Dodekaorta*. Three possibilities may be entertained for the identification of the artist, who was clearly a talented local painter. Perhaps he may have been someone trained in painting from Acre, and even before that perhaps from Jerusalem before 1187. Possibly he was a monk, someone known to the Hospitallers from his work in Acre. In a less likely scenario, he may have been Syrian Orthodox from the immediate local region hired by the Hospitallers. Finally, he might have been a Hospitaller at Crac who was trained by Syrian Orthodox painters in this area.[390] Despite certain Western aspects in the work, most notably the generalized architectural setting, the youthful figure of Anna, and the direct eye contact between the main figures and the onlooker, there is no reason to believe the artist came from Europe. The strong impact of the Byzantine tradition is obviously important here, and a byzantinizing image of this scene must have served as a closely studied model for the painter. The source of the byzantinizing image may well have been one of the numerous Maronite or Orthodox monasteries or chapels in the region around Crac.[391] The fact that the artist has integrated certain western predilections of form and iconography so effectively along with the straightforward and calculated use of his byzantinizing source seems characteristic here at the start of the thirteenth century of a continuation of the Crusader approach found earlier in the twelfth century.[392] These features suggest that the painter could well have been a cleric, Hospitaller or otherwise, trained both in Acre and by the local Syrian Orthodox artists in the region.



54. Crac des Chevaliers: external chapel, Virgin *Hodegetria* with angel at the upper right, on an armature after removal from the chapel wall.

It seems unlikely, given the large size of this painting, that it was part of an ensemble with the Twelve Feast cycle as frequently found in Byzantine art. Rather it is more likely that, comparable to the selected scenes of the life of Christ found in the northwest room at Margat, the Presentation was chosen to be an individual image for a devotional chapel set up along the exterior wall of the castle chapel at Crac, inside the Room of 120 Meters. The exact nature and function of the chapel remains in doubt. It would be tempting to think that it might have been some kind of funerary chapel, in view of the sizeable burial site located just outside the west entrance to the chapel. The fact remains, however, that Deschamps did no excavation work in the Room of 120 Meters, and no burials are known to have been placed there or inside the chapel based on any other type of evidence. Furthermore, certainly the Presentation in the Temple is not a common choice of scene for burial chapels. Just why this image was appropriate here and whether the reference to the temple in Jerusalem was somehow relevant to the Hospitallers at Crac or to the (special?) donor at this moment remain open questions.

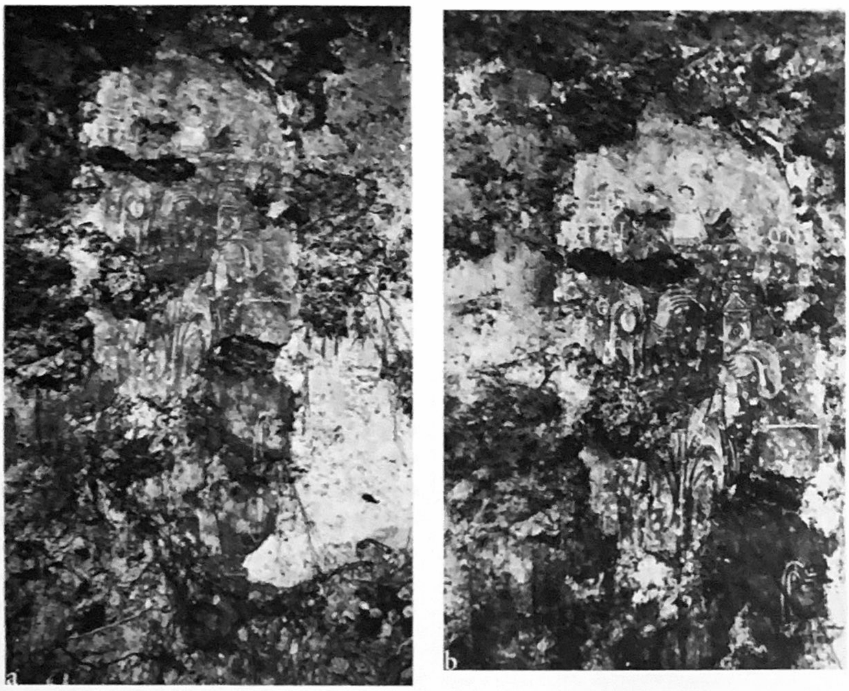
At this point we can propose three conclusions about the Presentation fresco at Crac des Chevaliers. First, it is the only surviving figural portion of a much larger ensemble of fresco painting for the chapel that apparently included the entire interior as well as the north wall exterior. Second, indications are that the program of fresco painting for the chapel here at Crac after 1202 was much more ambitious than the program started at Margat and left unfinished in the 1190s. Third, the presence of fresco painting executed during the years of tremendous architectural activity at both Crac and Margat clearly supports the observation made by Runciman that we quoted earlier, namely, that "if architecture flourished, it is likely that the other arts flourished also." What is truly significant here is that we see this dictum validated in terms of castle locations, not just urban centers, and it directs our attention to the increased importance of these castles for understanding Crusader art in the thirteenth century.

It is worth pointing out that there were other figural fresco paintings done at Crac, in a tiny chapel just outside the main entrance to the castle.[393] This chapel apparently existed for the local people associated with the fort who lived and worked in the land surrounding the castle. Some of these images, also very fragmentary, quite damaged, and recently restored, must have been done about the time of the first major earthquake at Crac, that is, *c.*1170, but some may have been done later, *c.*1202 and immediately following. A number of factors make evaluation of the stylistic variety of these paintings difficult: the poor condition of these paintings, the various layers of plaster on which they are found, and the fact that they have now all been removed from their original location and mounted on armatures. Furthermore, no archaeological information has been published on the little chapel. Nonetheless we can safely observe that none of the strongly Byzantine-inspired paintings in the chapel outside the castle, in particular, the images of the Virgin Hodegetria with angel to the right (Fig. 54) and the figure of St. Pantaleon (Fig. 55), appears to be by the hand of the artist working inside the castle on the Presentation scene (Fig. 53). Partly based on this comparison, I have suggested that these two images – the Virgin Hodegetria and St. Pantaleon – may have been the earliest of the group to be executed, possibly as early as the 1170s.

The dates of the other fresco fragments from the little chapel, all of which seem quite different in style, like the fragments of the scene with the horse of St. George (who is saving the youth of Mytilene), are more difficult to determine (Fig. 56). The St. George fragments, along with those of seated and standing figures, are quite boldly linear in design and appear to be simplified versions of twelfth-century work, but obviously these fragments have lost much of their original paint surface and have also been heavily restored. Nonetheless, the St. George's horse fragments at Crac compare favorably with the remains of those of St. Sergios and St. George at Mar Musa al-Habashi – not as the work of the same artist, but as examples of a similar local painting style from this region.[394] The fragment of the seated figure from the little chapel at Crac (Fig. 57) also shares similarities in the treatment of the drapery with seated figures in the Last Judgment at Mar Musa.[395] They and the other fragments of seated and standing figures could well have been done slightly later, shortly after 1202 when the work inside the castle chapel was completed.

The paintings in the external chapel at Crac along with the Presentation scene from inside the castle, and the two scenes in the northwest room at Margat, enable us to propose an additional important conclusion to our study. The primary evidence for painting in the region around Margat and Crac, apart from the castles, is the panel and fresco painting associated with Eastern Christian, that is, Maronite and Syrian Orthodox, monasteries, grottoes, and devotional chapels in Lebanon and Syria. The Eastern Christian artists working in the region seem to have provided the Hospitallers at Crac, and possibly also at Margat, with material to study, and also, quite likely, with training for the painters working on the castles.

Finally, it is clear that there was impressive fresco painting activity at Crac des Chevaliers on a variety of levels. If so many

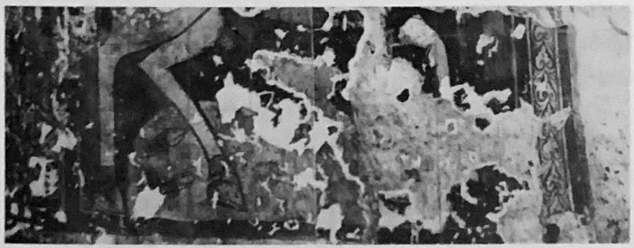


55. Crac des Chevaliers: external chapel, St. Pantaleon, a. in situ before removal from the chapel wall, b. on an armature after removal from the chapel wall.

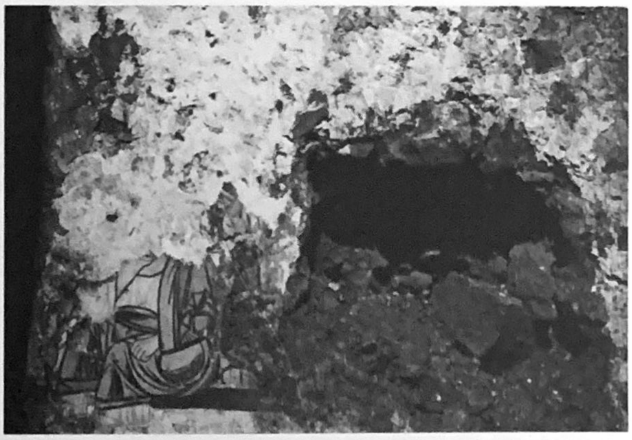
images could have been done in the little chapel for the workers outside the walls, we are certainly entitled to expect substantial work for the garrison inside the castle. Although no fragments have been found except in association with the castle chapel, it is not impossible that monumental painting may also have once decorated the great hall or the so-called logis du maitre.

The frescoes found at Margat and at Crac des Chevaliers are some of the most surprising evidence we have for Crusader artistic activity in these years. It is significant that these frescoes date primarily to the period after the Third Crusade, because extant monumental painting is not plentiful at any point except in Bethlehem in the 1160s. We shall have to await the appearance of further evidence to attempt more precise indications for dating and locations. Nonetheless, on the basis of these important finds at Crac and also the slightly earlier fragments at Margat, every castle in the region of the three Crusader States requires a careful review for any possible evidence of as yet unrecognized fragments of additional fresco painting from the Crusader period. Every Crusader structure, ecclesiastical and domestic, in the three Crusader States needs to be scrutinized again, including the well-known church at Tortosa and all the buildings identifiably Crusader in Acre.

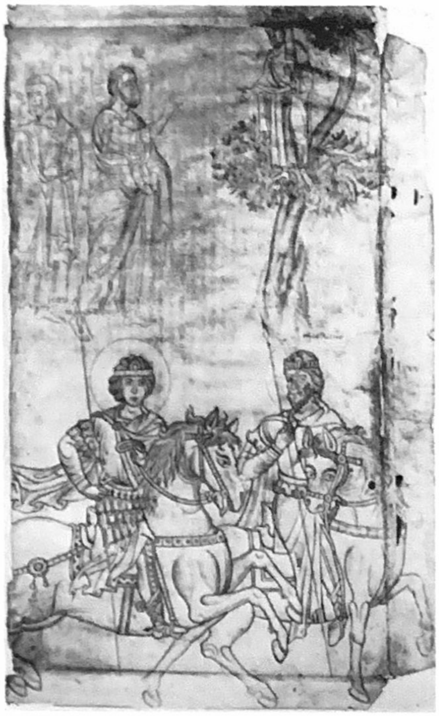
The Freiburg Leaf: The evidence in regard to panel paintings is more indirect, and there is possibly additional indirect evidence for monumental paintings as well. At the moment we have no complete panel paintings extant from and convincingly attributed to 1192–1210.[396] What we do have is the Freiburg Leaf, a manuscript fragment with one folio containing two drawings, both of which are important for our knowledge of the development of Crusader painting in this period[397] (Fig. 58, CD nos. 9–14). Kitzinger proposed that the Freiburg Leaf was an example of a motif book in which an artist collected sketches



56. Crac des Chevaliers: external chapel, St. George and the youth of Mitylene (fragment of the horse, in situ before removal from the chapel wall).



57. Crac des Chevaliers: external chapel, Seated Figure, in situ before removal from the chapel wall.



58. Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau Kulturamt: Augustinermuseum, inv. no. G. 23: "The Freiburg Leaf": Christ and Zacchaeus, Sts. George and Theodore, fol. 1c, r. (photo by courtesy of the Augustinermuseum, Freiburg im Breisgau)

of images he observed during his travels.[398] Everyone seems to agree that the artist in question is a German from the Upper Rhineland who was traveling *c.*1200 when he executed these drawings. Demus suggested he was an Augustinian monk.[399] Everyone also agrees that the same artist was responsible for both drawings, but the models he used were different media in different locations.[400]

The upper register drawing in silverpoint depicts Christ speaking to Zacchaeus in a sycamore tree, an incident drawn from the Gospel of Luke 10: 1–19 (Fig. 58). Christ gestures to Zacchaeus standing in the sycamore tree in front of him, with Peter behind Christ looking back, presumably to other apostles who are lost where the vellum has been cut off at the left. The upper scene appears to have been drawn first because the red lance held by St. George in the lower scene overlaps the foot of Christ in the upper scene, and the lance of St. Theodore and his halo in the lower scene, the trunk of the sycamore tree above. The hindquarters of St. George's horse and the end of his flowing cloak are cut off by the loss of vellum at the left. Demus noted the strong similarity with monumental painting between the Christ-with-Peter-standing-behind-him group in the leaf and the Monreale mosaics, even though this particular scene does not appear at Monreale.[401] Weitzmann noted that the Monreale scenes were based on Byzantine manuscript cycles and proposed that the upper scene came from a late Comnenian miniature in Constantinople.[402]

The lower scene appears to have been based on an icon painting. The question is, what kind of icon? The inscriptions penned onto the leaf by a later hand only identify the two riders as a companion saint with Theodore,[403] just as they are indicated in the catalogue of scenes on folio 1a (recto) (CD no. 9). The two figures are surely the youthful, beardless St. George at the left and the bearded St. Theodore at the right, a typical Byzantine pairing.[404] On the other hand, the idea of mounted soldier saints, although not unknown in Byzantium,[405] was of particular interest to Crusader artists in the thirteenth century.[406] Furthermore, although the figure of St. George is dressed in recognizeable Byzantine military costume, the figure of St. Theodore appears to be wearing Crusader dress with a long tunic reaching all the way down to his ankles. Both mounted soldiers also wear a diadem, a frequent feature in Crusader iconography of these mounted saints.

It is clear that the style of the two drawings is somewhat different, just as the techniques used are distinct. The upper silverpoint drawing is refined with sensitive attention to the soft draperies flowing over the figures, the naturalistic tree, and the gently shaded components. The lower sepia drawing is more decisive with bold linear definition, strongly stated patterns in the armor, horses' manes, the tack, and the draperies. Nonetheless, the artist's conventions are the same in both drawings, for example, in the rendering of the faces, demonstrating that this is the same person employing different models. What might those models have been, and where were they?

Because of the special features of the lower drawing, referencing characteristics of Crusader painting, Weitzmann proposed that the artist had "recourse to a Crusader icon as a model" and that he "travelled to the Holy Land, where, in the established Crusader ateliers, he must have been exposed to a great variety of copies from Byzantine models."[407]

In light of this hypothesis, the fact that we have almost no Crusader icons that have been securely dated to this period (1192–1210) suggests one of three possibilities: few were made; of the ones produced, few survived from this early time; or some of the icons currently dated 1250–91 should perhaps be dated earlier.[408] In any case, the lower drawing of the Freiburg Leaf clearly indicates, indirectly of course, that such icons did exist.

Where might the artist have traveled to see "established Crusader ateliers"? The most likely place is, of course, Acre, where we know that most major Crusader establishments from Jerusalem, including the patriarch of Jerusalem and his clergy, and no doubt his scriptorum from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, relocated after the port city was taken by the Third Crusade in 1191. The obvious and most likely reason for this artist to have been in the Holy Land is that he came with the German Crusaders in 1197–8, and he could perhaps have stayed in the Holy Land for a while after most of the Crusaders went home. His sojourn in Acre could well have been facilitated by the newly established house of the Teutonic Knights that appeared in Acre at the time of the Third Crusade and opened formally in 1198 at the end of the German Crusade. The order itself was confirmed by a papal bull on 19 February 1199.[409] What light might all of this shed on the drawings in the upper register?

The episode of Christ and Zacchaeus appears relatively rarely in Western medieval art. The Gospels of St. Augustine (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 286) has a tiny version on the lower right side of the throne of St. Luke, from the early medieval period, and there are one or two examples in twelfth- and thirteenth-century German manuscript illumination, but none of these compares closely to the example in the Freiburg Leaf.[410] There is also an image in the mosaics of San Marco in

Venice.[411] Demus thinks it may have been based on a Byzantine manuscript model, but again it does not compare closely to the Freiburg example where the costume of Zacchaeus and his full-length representation standing in a tuft of leaves on the tree is distinctive. Perhaps, in light of these facts and the clear indication that the artist was traveling in the Levant based on the evidence of the lower drawing, he saw an image of Christ and Zacchaeus in the Holy Land.

Could he have visited Jericho itself where the incident took place and the house of Zacchaeus was located? Even though Jericho was no longer in Crusader hands in 1197–8, determined pilgrims were still able to visit the holy places by making special arrangements during these years. Jericho is not far from Jerusalem and is obviously an important site to be visited when visiting the place where Jesus was baptized in the Jordan River. A number of contemporary pilgrims' accounts refer to Zacchaeus in relation to Jericho,[412] and Abbot Daniel at the start of the twelfth century comments, "Jericho was formerly a great and very strong city . . . now there is just a Saracen village here. And here is the house of Zacchaeus and to this day there stands the stump of that tree on which he climbed to see Jesus."[413] The sycamore tree represented here is quite naturalistic and impressive, not the bush-tree seen in the San Marco mosaic or the abstract decorative version seen in German manuscripts. I propose the idea that the artist of the Freiburg Leaf not only saw a tree like this associated with the House of Zacchaeus, but also may have seen some kind of fresco in the House of Zacchaeus commemorating the meeting with Jesus. Certainly we know of other such fresco paintings not far away (e.g., in Bethphage)[414] along the route from Jerusalem to Jericho.[415] In sum, it appears that the Freiburg Leaf reflects a monumental painting, that the painting may well have existed in the Holy Land in Jericho, and, if so, it may therefore be the sole evidence we have for the existence of such an image in the House of Zacchaeus in the last years of the 1190s following the German Crusade. If indeed pilgrim access was facilitated to the holy places in Muslim control by the treaty of 1198, the artist of the Freiburg Leaf might well have visited Jericho at that time before returning home.

As I noted earlier, the image of the two soldier saints in the lower register overlaps the scene of Christ and Zacchaeus in the upper register. This suggests that the Christ and Zacchaeus image was drawn first, followed by the two mounted saints. Following my argument, this would suggest that the artist visited Jericho and drew the Christ and Zacchaeus scene, then encountered the icon he used as his model for the two soldier saints, later, presumably in Acre, after he returned to the coast. How does this pair of scenes fit into the sequence of images recorded in the contents for this Musterbuch, on what is now folio 1a (recto)?

The images or scenes listed on folio 1a (recto) above and below the two for which the surviving drawings provide the illustrations, are as follows:

68 Maiestas, deorsum benedicens.
69 Ubi ligatis manibus dominus ad passionem ducitur.
70 Ubi dominus inter duos latrones crucifixus.
71 Ubi apostolis dominus pedes abluit.
72 Suscitacio uidue.
73 Ubi maria domino in conuiuio pedes rigat.
74 Ubi Zacheus in arbore.
75 Theodorus equitans cum alio.
76 Dominus conculcat leonem, et draconem.[416]

This excerpt from the list is intriguing because it gives us an indication of a whole series of scenes, mostly having to do with Christ and the New Testament, that lead up to the images in the two drawings.

Starting with the *Maiestas*, such as we have been discussing in the Naples Missal and on the related Sinai icon (Fig. 51, App. no. 34/308), there is not any particular location we could necessarily place the artist when working on this image. Consider the following scenes, however: where Christ has his hands tied to be led to his Passion (in Gethsemane in Jerusalem, John 18: 12), where Jesus is crucified between two thieves (on Golgotha in Jerusalem, Matthew/Mark/Luke), where Christ washes the feet of his apostles (in the upper room on Mount Sion in Jerusalem, John 13: 1–20), where Peter revives Tabitha (in her home in Jaffa, Acts 9: 36–42), and where Mary anointed the feet of Christ at dinner (in the house of Simon in Bethany, John 12: 2–11). These are all events of the life of Christ that the artist could presumably have visited in Jerusalem and nearby the Holy City.

If on the basis of this series of scenes we attempt to construct an itinerary for our artist, the sequence would be as follows: Jerusalem (scenes 69–71), Jaffa (scene 72), Bethany (scene 73), Jericho (scene 74), and Acre (scene 75). It is admittedly a bit odd that the artist might have gone from Jerusalem to Jaffa before going to Bethany and to Jericho; however, he may not have drawn the scenes in the exact order he visited them, but rather grouped them together and drawn them where there was a workable space on his parchments. Certainly it is feasible and reasonable to understand the sequence of sites visited in Jerusalem (scenes 69–71) as the result of a pilgrim's route through the city, from Gethsemane in the Valley of Jehosaphat, up into the city to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and then south across the city out through the Sion Gate to the Church of St. Mary Mount Sion where the coenaculum could be visited.

There is one additional consideration that would make it quite expectable that the artist would be visiting these sites. If indeed he is an Augustinian monk as Demus suggested, we should recall that Augustinians were in charge of most of the holy sites in Jerusalem during the twelfth century. Even if they had been forced to leave Jerusalem at the time of Saladin's conquest in 1187 and move to Acre in 1191, the Augustinian presence would have remained strong in the Latin Kingdom. Albert of Vercelli, the new patriarch of Jerusalem a few years after our artist was in Acre, in 1206, had been trained as an Austin canon, for example. Augustinian interest in the holy places that they had been forced to abandon would have remained high. If this artist was visiting these holy places and sketching interesting works of art he saw in some of them, he would also be reporting to his colleagues what he saw during his travels to Jerusalem and the environs.

We may reasonably assume as others have done that each of the titles in the list referred to a scene which the artist drew in his model book, based on the correspondence between the listings for scenes 74 and 75 on folio 1a (recto) and the extant drawings on folio 1c (recto). We may also propose, based on our earlier discussion, that each of these drawings was in some way inspired by the site where the event was said to have taken place. We do not know whether there was a fresco painting of each scene at each site, but given the Crusader tradition of depicting the events of the holy sites in some medium, either in wall painting, in panel painting, or even in sculpture, it seems likely that there was some kind of image to be found in each place. Therefore, the artist may well have made at least seven sketches based on sites he visited in the Holy Land for his model book, of which only two drawings remain.[417]

Finally I might observe that whereas we imagine that the fresco in Jericho from which the sketch in the Freiburg Leaf was done probably was to be dated in the twelfth century, before 1187, as suggested earlier, and whereas we know that many congregations moved to Acre following Saladin's conquest, it nonetheless still seems likely that the German pilgrim who did the sketches on the Freiburg Leaf traveled to the places where the sites were located. First, we know that Christian pilgrims visited holy sites in Muslim held areas after 1187 (see the discussion of the pilgrims Thietmar and Wilbrand in Chapter 4). Second, the sequence of scenes listed on the Freiburg Leaf makes the most sense when derived from some kind of pilgrimage itinerary. Third, the fact that the artist uses two techniques for his drawings suggests he was working in different places when he did his preliminary sketches. Although I think it is possible he may have done the finished versions, as a silver point drawing and a pen drawing accented with touches of red, in Acre, the fact that these images are copying works done in different styles strongly suggests that he was standing in front of originals in separate places to start with.[418]

The Freiburg Leaf therefore turns out to be an unusually important work, providing indirect evidence not only for Crusader icon painting at this time, but also very likely for Crusader monumental painting as well. The Freiburg Leaf has additional significance in being a rare exemplar of an artist's sketch sheet, showing how an artist of considerable accomplishment used loose pieces of parchment to make visual notes on what he saw. The quality of the drawings is extraordinarily high, and it is our great good fortune that this work has survived, even in fragmentary condition, to help us understand more about the way knowledge of Crusader art was transmitted back to western Europe. It also suggests that pilgrim artists could have been active in this manner at other times during the Crusader period, of course. But it is interesting that at this time, *c.*1197–8, we have not previously thought of much Crusader art being done or even visible to the visiting pilgrim, and here is the Freiburg Leaf as a witness to important artistic work in the Crusader Kingdom that he was apparently able to see, but which is now mostly destroyed. Finally, the Freiburg Leaf is also important because it is one piece of evidence for a German presence in the Holy Land, a presence that is large and important in the military manpower of the Crusades from the time of Frederick I, especially between 1191 and 1244 and in terms of the Teutonic Knights, but is little identified as yet in the art.

Patronage

We have encountered evidence for a variety of patrons in our attempts to identify Crusader art in Syria-Palestine in 1192–1210. The patronage of kings and lords combined with that of major ecclesiastical figures certainly continues in terms of architecture and coinage, and no doubt manuscripts, although we have little to show for it. We also find a continuing and important presence of the Hospitallers as patrons especially at Crac des Chevaliers. We can only wonder what interesting work they were sponsoring at the Hospital in Acre, now that they had installed their headquarters there after the city was retaken by the Third Crusade. It appears that the patronage by pilgrims was reduced. Yet we can certainly identify Abbot Martin of Pairis as a pilgrim, and we can surely consider the artist of the Freiburg Leaf as probably a pilgrim who made interesting sketches along the way during his visit to the Holy Land. A potentially important new category of patron, however, emerges in the form of the confraternity. Just as we know confraternities later in Italy sponsored devotional imagery for their chapels in certain churches, we can surely expect that the confraternities that existed in Acre may have done the same for their membership.[419] Although we have as yet little in the way of extant material to associate with artistic patronage by Crusader confraternities, we shall look at all possibilities with great interest all through the years of the thirteenth century. It is evident that one possible source of sponsorship for the panel paintings we find identified as Crusader icons is found in these confraternities.

Conclusions

The picture of Crusader art and architecture that emerges in the years following the Third Crusade is fragmentary at best. What we can identify in architecture and in coinage is substantial and has not changed significantly in the last twenty-five years, although there have been important new studies on both, recently published or in progress. The situation in painting differs somewhat from the picture that we discussed earlier, in 1979.[420] There are a few more examples to consider, mainly by indirect evidence as we have seen. The Freiburg Leaf has emerged as a major new consideration here. The question of sculpture is still quite unresolved. No surely dated figural sculpture from the period 1192–1210 has yet been published, but it is not impossible that work from this period can eventually be identified from among the fragmentary survivals.[421] The issue of pottery and glass in these years is still not clear. Although there is relevant work attributed to the period of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, there is comparatively little material that can be dated firmly in these years.[422] I attempt to address and discuss the issue of the Crusader pottery manufacture and commerce when we study the important site of Chastel Pelerin ('Atlit) in Chapter 4.

The turmoil in the Holy Land caused by the conquests of Saladin, the loss of the major holy sites to Muslim control, and the various Crusade expeditions between 1189 and 1210 apparently reduced the flow of pilgrims to the holy places substantially. The number of relics brought back or sent back to Europe by pilgrims is significantly reduced to the extent we can measure the flow.[423] There is no major pilgrimage account from these years with one special exception. The popular text on the "Estat de la Cité de Jerusalem" was produced sometime after 1187 and appears to have been continuously revised with some additions in later continuations of the Eracles in 1229, 1231, and later.[424] Nonetheless it fundamentally reflects the situation in the Holy City just before Saladin's conquest, with only glimpses after 1187. No other text appears to record the visit of an important traveler to the Holy Land in any detail until the account of Wilbrand of Oldenburg in 1212. This lack of pilgrimage accounts limits our access to what happened at the holy places in regard to artistic activity.

This does not mean that pilgrimage ceases, only that it is reduced and to some extent redirected. Pilgrimage tended to be conducted to sites that were held by the Crusaders or that were accessible to pilgrims under Crusader protection along with special arrangements including payments to the Muslims necessary to get to one of the major dominical sites. One of the sites that gains new prominence in the face of the difficulties facing the pilgrim in going to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth was Tortosa, and the shrine chapel of Notre Dame. Another site of growing importance was St. Catherine's at Mount Sinai. We have already found evidence of pilgrims visiting the shrine of the Virgin in Tortosa. We shall look carefully for specific pilgrimage links between the Crusader Kingdom and St. Catherine's in the years after 1210.

One of the phenomena about which we know the least was the relocation of organizations and institutions in the "new" Latin Kingdom reestablished with Acre as its capital after 1191. We know there were numerous clergy, regular canons, monks and nuns, not to mention members of the military orders, who were forced to leave Jerusalem and other inland sites during the dark days of 1187–8. But we know nothing about the main congregations responsible for the holy sites that were for the most part transferred to Acre after Jerusalem fell in 1187. How did they compensate for their "loss" of venue by decorating the church or monastery in their new location? What new work did they commission in Acre? What contact were they able to maintain with their original sites inland? Unfortunately we have little in the sources to enlighten us. Here again is another category of possible artistic work from which almost nothing survives.

Despite so little that we can identify as Crusader art in these years, the balance sheet here is nonetheless interesting. If we consider the admittedly sparse evidence that survives in terms of actual works of art, the surprising fact is that we have extant material indicated in all three Crusader States, that is, the Latin Kingdom, the County of Tripoli, and the Principality of Antioch. We also have a diversity of media that survives, ranging from coinage and metalwork, to manuscript illumination, panel and fresco painting, and military and ecclesiastical architecture. Although, with the possible exception of some of the sparse decorative sculpture at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Tortosa, ecclesiastical architectural sculpture, as well as figural sculpture of any sort, conspicuously does not seem to survive; we would clearly know something about this, if the Church of the Holy Cross in Acre, in addition to other churches there or in Tyre, were extant.

Looking then at the overall picture we have, the fact of important artistic examples in so many major media, from such a wide range of locations, sponsored primarily by ecclesiastical patrons or members of the two major military orders, clearly indicates that important art and architecture were being commissioned. The importance of the military architecture and the coinage is perhaps primary in terms of the amount extant, the significance of what survives, and the fact that the architecture at least can be "seen" to be a major preoccupation in the written sources along with what has been identified in situ. In the examples found or for which there is evidence in each of the other media, however, a case can be made that this work was one of many and should not be seen as a single or even unique exemplar. We can only hope that as research continues, more works can and will be identified in this period that will help substantiate the picture that appears to be indicated. This may not change our evaluation that identifies military architecture and coinage to be the most widespread and important works of artistic activity at this time, but additional works that may come to light can help us balance a picture that now is sparse and dimly seen. What we clearly understand is that much art was lost or destroyed during these years, and we will find that the later destruction from 1219, 1244, 1265, 1268, 1289, and 1291 also took a terrible toll.

A number of questions remain. We have direct evidence for some artistic media, but obviously it is terribly fragmentary. We have indirect evidence as well, but there are great gaps. How important was the production of reliquaries and the shipment of relics to western Europe after the retaking of Acre by the Third Crusade? What Western works of art were shipped to the Crusader States to help replace those important liturgical objects destroyed or lost during the turmoil caused by destruction, successive Crusades, and the earthquake of 1202? What kind of luxury textile industry was there in the Crusader States in this period, and were liturgical vestments made in the Holy Land or were they shipped in from the West? What kind of diplomatic gifts were exchanged at the times of the Treaty of Jaffa in 1192 or the Treaties concluded between Aimery and the Sultan al-Adil in 1198 or 1204?[425] What impact did the apparent reduction of the numbers of pilgrims have on artistic production in the Crusader Kingdom and how would this affect artistic activity in the future? How did the experience of the resident Crusaders in the Holy Land, with their growing knowledge of Eastern Christian and even Muslim works of art, affect their artistic tastes and their commissions of new works? These remain open questions, the answers to which will greatly increase our understanding of artistic activity by the Crusaders between 1192 and 1210.

In sum, despite the lack of works of art that survive, despite the continuous destruction caused by successive military campaigns and Crusade expeditions, and despite the preoccupation of the written narrative sources with the political and military turmoil in this period in the Crusader States or the Fourth Crusade elsewhere, there was important artistic activity in the Latin Kingdom, the County of Tripoli, and the Principality in this period.

Because this work was so closely related to the military needs of the Crusaders during the years in question, there may have been a higher than usual rate of loss later on, but art and architecture continued between 1192 and 1210. It is not insignificant that the Crusader coinage indirectly expresses in its rather conservative imagery two themes of great importance for the Crusader States in these years. One theme is continuity, expressed in the coinage by the use of immobilized types which reflects the Crusader efforts to reestablish the Latin Kingdom after the Third Crusade on a firm footing by evoking coinage types of the Latin Kingdom before 1187. The other theme is architecture and especially fortification. The special Crusader interest in architectural imagery on their coins can clearly be seen in the Latin Kingdom well before 1187 in the deniers of Baldwin and Amalric. The expansion of the number of coins with architectural imagery after 1192 is notable and must reflect to some extent the preoccupation the Crusaders had for major architectural work at this time – on city walls, gates, and towers, on castles, on fortifications in general – in addition to other works, especially churches.

4

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: 1210–1225
THE CRUSADER STATES IN THE TIME OF KING JOHN OF BRIENNE AND THE FIFTH CRUSADE

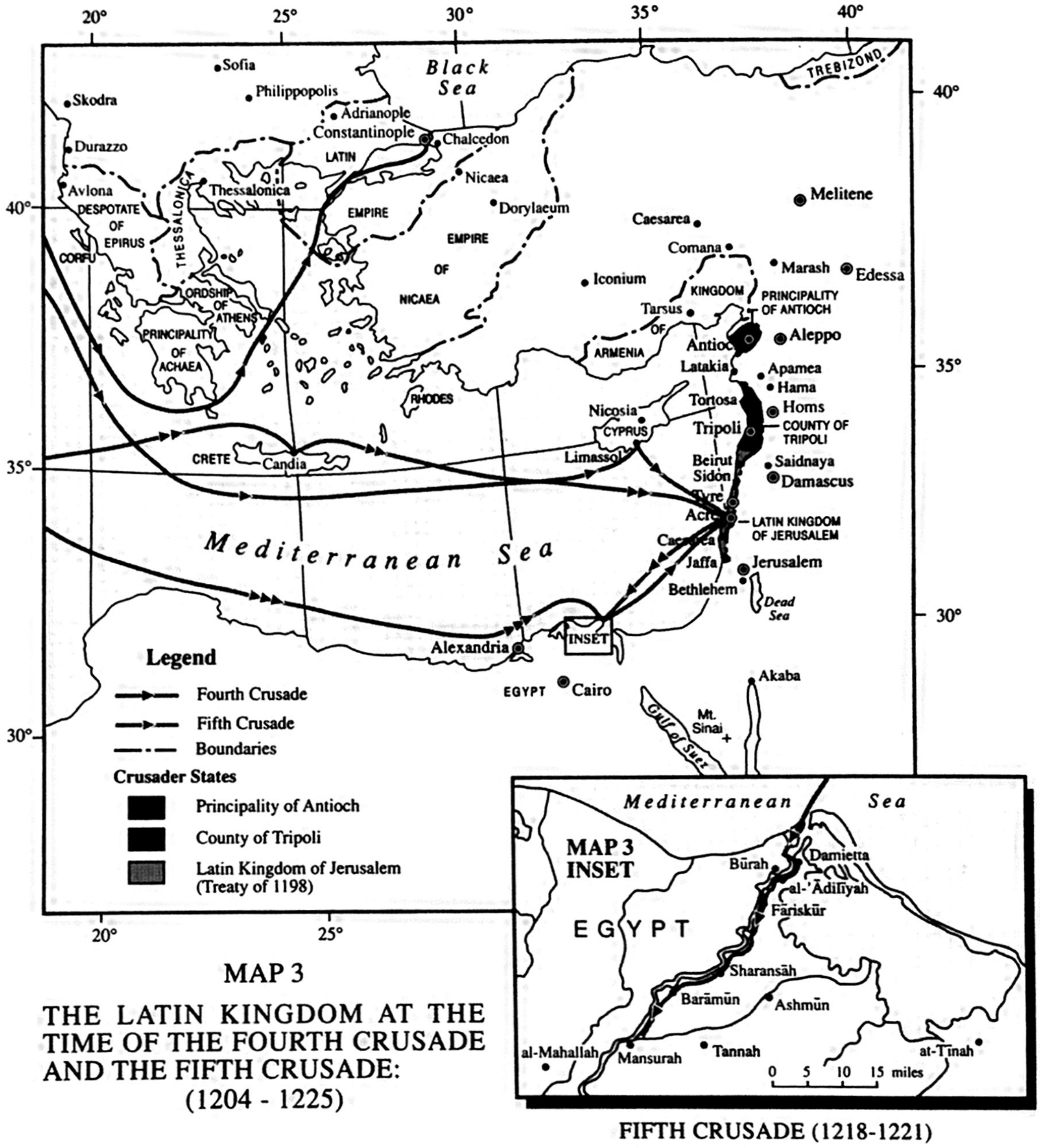
THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM FROM 1210–1225: THE ADVENT OF KING JOHN OF BRIENNE, 1210–1225

John of Ibelin had ruled as regent for Queen Maria for five years in the Latin Kingdom when John of Brienne was finally chosen by King Philippe Auguste to be the next king of Jerusalem. Turning once again to Champagne for a Crusader leader, Philippe's choice seemed "disappointing."[1] John of Brienne, probably a young man of about thirty-five, and not approximately sixty as he has usually been regarded,[2] had served as a knight in the army of the French king without particular distinction, and he was not rich. Nonetheless, he proved to be intelligent; his first cousin was Walter of Montbéliard, who was regent for King Hugh I on Cyprus; and John came to this position with the financial and political support of both King Philippe and the pope. If, as the Eracles reports, he went east with three hundred knights, it must have been made possible by this support.[3] John of Brienne arrived in Acre and married Maria in the presence of Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, in the Church of the Holy Cross, on 14 September, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. They journeyed then to Tyre where their coronation took place on 2 October 1210.[4]

John of Brienne was joined in the Latin Kingdom almost immediately by Walter of Montbéliard, who had recently left Cyprus now that Hugh I had come of age.[5] Walter was made constable of the Latin Kingdom. Two problems faced them immediately: first, the renewal of the last truce, which had expired, and second, the presence of Muslim forces in Galilee. Emir al-Mu'azzam, the son of al-Adil and a figure John of Brienne would have to reckon with continuously, had in fact raided the coastal plain around Acre during the coronation of the king in Tyre, and then retired inland. Later the Muslims erected a fort on Mount Tabor.[6] This was the first of several castles to be built in the hills east of Acre in the first half of the thirteenth century; most would be Crusader, but this one was not! At the same time as the castle at Mount Tabor was established, al-Mu'azzam was also refortifying the walls of Jerusalem.[7] Clearly the work on Jerusalem did not so much concern the Crusaders as a direct threat, but to offset the Muslim presence at Mount Tabor, only seven leagues (= approx. 28 km) from Acre, John sent an expedition under Walter of Montbéliard to the Nile Delta at Damietta. This was the third such Crusader raiding party to visit the Delta since 1204, and it indicates an increasing focus of Crusader interest in attacking Egypt. This raid reminded the Muslims of their vulnerability to such incursions, and it gave the Crusaders the opportunity to collect more information about the situation in the Delta. The Crusaders returned immediately to Acre. A larger Crusader force was about to be organized for a more serious expedition to the Nile Delta.

These skirmishes led to the opening of new negotiations for a truce. Although talks had been held in 1210 before John of Brienne came east, the Crusaders had not ratified the renewal, choosing to wait for their newly elected king to take charge. Now John of Brienne and al-Adil agreed on a new multiyear accord, which apparently began in 1211.[8] The Paris Eracles says that it was arranged as had been done previously, and was set at six years in duration.[9] At the same time that King John of Brienne was negotiating this truce in the Holy Land, he wrote to Pope Innocent III and asked for aid in the form of a new Crusade.[10]

From the time he became pope in 1198, Innocent III was known to be passionately dedicated to having a Crusade which would successfully regain Jerusalem and the holy sites.[11] Now, especially after the Fourth Crusade had come to such a destructive, unexpected, and untimely end, Innocent sought to organize a new expedition to the East. However, the year 1212 was a particularly difficult time. Spontaneous Crusade activity was intense and threatened to get somewhat out of control. Innocent himself had inaugurated official "Crusades" in the West: in the year 1208 he had called the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathars in Languedoc, a war which continued in the Toulousain region during 1211–13, but also the pope had called for a Crusade against the Muslims in Spain in 1212, leading to the great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa on 16 July 1212.[12]


20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
Black Sea
TREBIZOND
Sofia
Philippopolis
Skodra
Adrianople
Constantinople
Chalcedon
LATIN
Durazzo
Nicaea
Avlona
DESPOTATE OF EPIRUS
THESSALONICA
Thessalonica
EMPIRE
Dorylaeum
Melitene
CORFU
EMPIRE OF NICAEA
Caesarea
Comana
LORDSHIP OF ATHENS
PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAEA
Iconium
KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
Marash
Edessa
Tarsus
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
Aleppo
Antioch
Latakia
Apamea
Hama
RHODES
Tortosa
Homs
Nicosia
CYPRUS
Tripoli
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
Limassol
Beirut
Sidon
Saidnaya
Damascus
CRETE
Candia
Tyre
Acre
LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
Caesarea
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Dead Sea
Mediterranean Sea
INSET
Alexandria
EGYPT
Cairo
Akaba
Mt. Sinai
Gulf of Suez
Legend
Fourth Crusade
Fifth Crusade
Boundaries
Crusader States
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Treaty of 1198)
MAP 3
THE LATIN KINGDOM AT THE TIME OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE AND THE FIFTH CRUSADE: (1204 - 1225)
Mediterranean Sea
MAP 3 INSET
EGYPT
Būrah
Damietta
al-'Ādilīyah
Fāriskūr
Sharansāh
Barāmūn
Ashmūn
al-Mahallah
Mansurah
Tannah
at-Tīnah
0 5 10 15 miles
FIFTH CRUSADE (1218-1221)

Map 3

There were also military operations sponsored by the papacy ongoing in the Baltic region carried out in the context of aiding the northern European missions to Livonia and Estonia.[13] In the midst of these developments there were also popular spontaneous Crusades, namely the so-called Children's Crusades in France and Germany in 1212, which although said to be aimed at the Holy Land, never left European ports.[14]

Just as the Fourth Crusade had become disorganized and fragmented between 1201 and 1204, Innocent was faced in 1212 with the problem of leadership and control. He needed to prioritize goals and consolidate legitimate Crusade movements simultaneously underway; to discourage popular, spontaneous Crusades; and to reconsider his policy for a Crusade to the East, in response to King John of Brienne's plea. The question was "how could the pope refocus the attention of Europe on a great Crusade to the Holy Land and rekindle the fervor that had surrounded the preaching of the First Crusade and, more recently, the Third and Fourth Crusades?"

Clearly Innocent III planned carefully for the Fifth Crusade, what would later also sometimes be called the Pelagian Crusade. Having decided on a new Crusade to the East, he sought to assemble a major council of the Church, what would become the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. In the papal bull issued in April 1213 announcing the council, *Vineam domini*, he highlighted the two huge and ambitious goals of the council: first, the organization of a Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, and second, the reform of the universal Church.[15]

The encyclical, *Quia maior*, which accompanied the papal bull that announced the council in April 1213, emphasized the Crusade as a means of salvation for its participants. Innocent intended to inspire European Christians to take the Cross. However, he also was a pragmatist and having learned hard lessons from the Fourth Crusade and even from recent events in the Latin Kingdom and in Mediterranean shipping, he proclaims guidelines in detail and installs mandatory liturgical observances to focus attention on the spiritual importance of the cause:

> Because at this time there is a more compelling urgency than there has ever been before to help the Holy Land in her great need and because we hope that the aid sent to her will be greater than that which has ever reached her before, listen when, again taking up the old cry, we cry to you.[16]

Innocent goes on to describe and analyze in remarkable detail the specifics of the situation, providing impressive evidence for his up-to-date knowledge of conditions in the Holy Land. For example, he discusses the problem of Christians enslaved and imprisoned by the Muslims. He refers to the Muslim fort on Mount Tabor and the threat it poses to Acre. He is acutely aware of the problems that the Fourth Crusade encountered and he includes provisions to assure they are not repeated. He knows that his military projects in the West for the Albigensian Crusade and the Crusade in Spain could draw resources away from the new Crusade Near East, so he prioritizes the new venture and begins to scale down the privileges granted for the previously called campaigns, saying that their times of crisis had passed. He recognizes the damage pirates and their illegal profiteering in the resale of stolen goods in Mediterranean shipping did to the Crusade effort, and he declares that offenders would be excommunicated.

Finally he takes the unprecedented step of invoking specific liturgical observances to focus attention on the forthcoming Crusade.

> ... We decree and command that once a month there must be a general procession of men separately and, where it can be done, of women separately, praying with minds and bodies humbly disposed and with devout and fervent prayer, that merciful God will relieve us of this shameful disgrace by liberating from the hands of the pagans that land in which he accomplished the universal sacrament of our redemption...; with this wise proviso that during that procession the preaching of the cross which brings salvation should always be offered to the people in a way that is assiduous and encouraging.[17] Fasting and almsgiving should be joined to prayer,... And every day during the celebration of mass, when the moment has come after the Kiss of Peace when the saving sacrifice is to be offered for the sins of the world or is about to be consumed, everyone, men and women alike, must humbly prostrate themselves on the ground and the psalm [78] *Oh God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance* should be sung loudly by the clergy. When this has been ended reverently with this verse [Ps. 67], *Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered: and let them that hate him flee from before his face*, the priest who is celebrating must chant this prayer over the altar: God, who disposes with his own blood and to restore it to Christian worship by mercifully directing in the way of eternal salvation the vows of the faithful here present all things with marvellous providence, we humbly beseech thee to snatch from the hands of the enemies of the cross the land which thine only-begotten son consecrated, made for its liberation, through the same Christ Our Lord... Amen."[18]

One might argue that the rhetorical force of the message might be vitiated by the details of legalistic analysis and proscriptions, but there is no doubt that Innocent has studied the situation quite carefully. In this document he is making every effort to start the Crusade off on the right foot, to set meaningful guidelines that will prevent the problems and diversions of the Fourth Crusade from recurring. He intends by enunciating high-minded ideals, by attention to all essential practical details, and by the power of intensive prayer, to give this new Crusade every chance of success.

While the recently signed truce was in effect, and the pope was thereby responding to the entreaty for assistance to the Holy Land, King John of Brienne was forced to deal with his own difficulties. In 1212 his new bride of only two years, Maria, died after giving birth to their daughter, yet another royal princess named Isabel.[19] The death of Maria made the infant Isabel II queen and immediately removed John of Brienne's right to rule as king.[20] The *Livre au Roi* stipulates that the royal blood passed through the female line.[21] In the eyes of her subjects John could only rule as regent for the baby princess.[22] Fortunately for John, as Isabel's father he was readily recognized as the logical and legal regent during her minority. However, later, when Isabel II married Emperor Frederick II in 1225, she truly would change the course of the history of the Kingdom.[23]

During this difficult time, John of Brienne lost the services of three of his most senior nobles, John of Ibelin,[24] his brother, Philip of Ibelin, and Balian of Sidon. John and Philip of Ibelin went to Cyprus to live and later appeared in the Fifth Crusade under the command of King Hugh. Balian of Sidon disappears from the sources until 1218. It appears these knights went into some kind of exile following an unexplained altercation with John of Brienne. However, they retained their fiefs so John was unable to build his power in the kingdom by appointing new vassals. It is unclear what the problem was that caused this disaffection, but Peter Edbury has proposed the plausible idea that the problem might have been an Ibelin-led challenge to John of Brienne's authority in 1213.[25] Whatever the reason, John of Brienne could ill afford to lose the services of three such major barons, all the more so if the Ibelin family harbored opposition to him in common with King Hugh I of Cyprus.

In an effort to strengthen his position, therefore, John of Brienne attempted to arrange an interesting diplomatic marriage for himself. He sought the hand of Princess Stephanie, daughter of King Levon II of Cilicia by his first wife. The marriage of John of Brienne and Stephanie took place in 1214 when John was in his early forties.[26] John of Brienne clearly hoped to inherit Cilicia eventually as a result. The *Chronique d'Ernoul* reports that King Levon II visited Acre after the wedding.[27] Certainly while King Levon II was alive, Frankish influence at the Armenian court was strong.[28] Furthermore Levon's links to the Hospitallers and even the Teutonic Knights were also important and he gave them certain castles, but he continued to contest the strategic castle of Baghras (Gaston) with the Templars. Nonetheless, when Levon II died in 1219, the Armenian barons rejected John of Brienne's claim, and Stephanie's death soon after, followed by that of their son, eliminated the possibility of him having any serious chance of pressing his interests.[29]

Fortunately for John of Brienne, the Latin Kingdom was basically at peace between 1212 and 1217, while he waited for the new Crusade to appear. The situation was not so peaceful in either Cyprus or Antioch, however. The pope was concerned that as preparations went forward for the new Crusade, all Christians in the Levant should end their differences. In 1213, he wrote to King Hugh, admonishing him about helping rebels against the authority of John of Brienne. Later, sometime in

1215 or 1216 he wrote both Hugh and Levon II, urging them to make peace with John of Brienne and to be ready to support the coming Crusade with needed ships.[30]

The situation in Antioch was much more volatile and problematic. As the conflict over the succession raged on, a schism developed in the Church, and King John eventually became much more directly involved through his marriage to Stephanie of Armenia.[31] After 1201, we have seen that Bohemond IV, count of Tripoli, had maintained his son's claim to Antioch in the face of Armenian interests, but the alliances constructed to hold on to power sometimes seem grotesque in their pairings, for example, Crusaders and Muslims as allies, and worse, they often divided the Crusaders against themselves. Bohemond was allied with the Templars, whose castle of Baghras Levon II, who was allied with the Hospitallers, refused to relinquish. Levon was more or less continually at war with the Seljuk Turks in these years, so Bohemond could dependably rely on az-Zahir, the prince of Aleppo, for support against the Armenian king. The pope himself even wrote to az-Zahir asking for his protection for the Latin patriarch of Antioch![32] Meanwhile al-Adil, sultan of Egypt, was expectably hostile to Bohemond.

In Antioch itself, there was a large and important Greek population that was no doubt intermarried to some extent with the resident Franks and who both – Greeks and Franks – supported Bohemond against the Armenians. At certain points Bohemond sought the support of the Greek majority in Antioch in various ways. He invited the Greeks to elect a new Orthodox patriarch, Symeon, when the papal legate suspended the Latin patriarch, Peter of Angoulême, from his duties. Even after a new Latin patriarch, Peter of Ivrea, received the pallium and arrived in Antioch in 1209, Symeon remained (1206–*c.*1212) until he was forced to seek refuge with Levon II sometime before 1213.[33] Later Bohemond even entered an alliance with Theodore Lascaris, emperor of Nicaea. Clearly Byzantium in its new fragmentary configuration after 1204 was seen as no threat to revive their old claims to Antioch, mainly because of the new Latin Empire in Constantinople.[34]

Repeated attempts by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert, to help solve the Antiochene succession and bring peace to the church in Antioch met with failure after 1208. In regard to the dispute over the succession, Albert was too closely identified with the Templars to have any credibility with the Armenians. In regard to the position of the new Latin patriarch of Antioch, Peter II of Ivrea, Albert's actions produced a schism between the Latin and the Orthodox churches by 1213.[35] Levon II meanwhile was skillfully playing off his overtures to Innocent III for Armenian church unification with Rome to maintain nominal papal support while he sought to advance Raymond-Roupen's cause. After two deaths at the hands of the Assassins, the first that of Raymond of Tripoli, Bohemond's IV's son, in 1213 – quite possibly with the collusion of the Hospitallers[36] – and the second that of the patriarch Albert, in 1214, the situation was in considerable turmoil. However, now the door was open for Levon to act when the opportunity presented itself. John of Brienne's marriage, of course, linked him directly with Levon II, who in February 1216 finally managed to occupy Antioch while Bohemond IV was away in Tripoli. Quickly, the rights of Raymond-Roupen, son of Raymond of Tripoli[37] and Alice of Armenia, and Levon II's great nephew and designated heir, as ruler of Antioch were pushed forward. Levon quickly seized the city of Antioch and had Raymond-Roupen consecrated as prince. The Antiochenes, exhausted by the seemingly interminable power struggle, supported their new leader. Bohemond IV, disenfranchised by the death of his son Raymond in 1213, had now been outflanked by Levon's persistence and skillful maneuvering.

Thus the succession was finally "solved," for the moment, at least until Levon's death in 1219. Peace was therefore more or less achieved in Antioch between 1216 and 1219, just as the new Crusade was actively being preached and organized in the West. However, dark clouds had appeared on the horizon for anyone who could see them. On the symbolic date of 15 July 1215, having just received the German crown in Aachen, Frederick II amazed everyone by taking the Cross. Who could have foreseen what an unique impact this strangest of all Crusaders would have on the Crusading cause, or the damage he would eventually do to the Latin Kingdom? A year later, on 16 July 1216, Innocent III died in Perugia. Thus, even while one of the Fifth Crusade's greatest preachers, Jacques de Vitry, was at work, the foremost champion of the Crusade movement since Urban II, Pope Innocent III, was taken from the stage. Meanwhile, locally in the Latin Kingdom Stephanie of Armenia had proven to be unpopular in Acre, and when she died in 1219, John of Brienne's claim to the throne of Armenia was eliminated. Thus for the second time in only seven years, John of Brienne had lost a wife and a royal claim in the Levant. But in the meantime duty called. He needed to be ready to receive the Crusaders arriving in Acre, to be available as a military leader to help shape the objectives of the new Crusade, members of which had been organizing for their departure since the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215.[38]

JACQUES DE VITRY

Essential groundwork for this Crusade had been laid by the tireless and inspirational preaching of Jacques de Vitry, who became one of the truly major new ecclesiastical figures in the Crusader States, arriving in November 1216.[39] Jacques de Vitry had studied and taught at the University of Paris where he had known Fulk of Neuilly, the famous preacher of the Fourth Crusade. Jacques had started his crusading activities for Innocent III in 1211 when he preached against the Albigensians, after which he carried on with the preparations for the Fifth Crusade. Elected to the episcopal see of Acre, he was apparently present at the Fourth Lateran Council,[40] but was only consecrated bishop of Acre by Pope Honorius III in Rome on 31 July 1216, after the death of Innocent III. Following his consecration he traveled to Acre where he arrived on 4 November 1216.[41] In Acre he proved to be one of the most important clerical voices in the Latin Kingdom between 1216 and 1226, before he returned to the West. Not only did he join the Fifth Crusade between June 1218 and September 1221 and accompany the expedition to Egypt, but also he used his position in Acre to raise the profile of the Crusader cause in both the East and West.[42]

Jacques de Vitry is mentioned first as bishop of Acre, but foremost as a preacher, in the Paris Eracles and the Chronique d'Ernoul.[43]

Following his installation in Acre he set off on a trip up the coast to see the various Crusader cities and certain castles – Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, Tortosa, as well as Crac des Chevaliers, Chastel Blanc, and Margat – and to preach the Cross. He also visited one or two holy places; in particular, he mentions that he stopped at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Tortosa, where he saw a special chapel in what was said to have been the first church built in honor of the Virgin Mary.[44] In this chapel, visited by Christian and Muslim pilgrims alike, he says he even baptized two Muslims. It was when he was in this region, visiting Tortosa and Margat, that word came from the patriarch of Jerusalem of the impending arrival of the first Crusader contingents, so he turned back south in order to be in Acre when they came.

The idea of preaching the Cross in the Crusader States was a new idea for this Crusade, one which had two benefits. It helped to prepare the resident Franks and other local Christians for the coming expedition. Many residents who had come from the West and settled here may have heard such preaching many long years earlier, but some born in the Latin East may not have ever heard it before. It also gave Jacques de Vitry the chance to see his new territory and for the residents to see and hear him and his message. Some of his sermons were written specifically to be delivered to Crusaders and to potential Crusaders, sermons which he gave in the West, on shipboard while en route to the East, and in the Levant. The message contained in these sermons was carefully constructed to articulate the call within the guidelines cited by the pope in *Quia maior*, making certain specific arguments to engage the will of the *crucesignati*-to-be, and citing appropriate biblical passages, especially from the Book of Revelations as well as the Old Testament.[45]

Jacques de Vitry's model sermons focus on Jerusalem and the Cross. In the first sermon, he wanted to inspire his listeners by stimulating outrage over the state of Jerusalem in Muslim hands in terms of the degradation this has caused to Christians there and to the holy places. By emphasizing Jerusalem's unique sacred role as the birthplace of the old and new faith, and as the center of the real and the ideal Christian world, he wanted to make a powerful claim that Christians had a moral obligation to take the Cross, an argument backed up by Old Testament prototypes from Eli to Samson and the Maccabees.[46] In the second sermon he focuses enthusiastically on the Cross: the Cross as symbolic, as protective, as redemptive. By his Crucifixion, Christ expressed his supreme love for sinful man. When we take the Cross, he argues, we respond to the Crucifixion by showing our love for Christ and for his mercy. In emphasizing the spiritual nature of the experience, Jacques furthermore specifies the indulgence:

> ...crusaders who enlist in the service of God and who are truly contrite and confessed, provided they die in Christ's service, are deemed to be true martyrs; they have been freed from venial and mortal sins and from every penance enjoined upon them; they have been absolved from the penalty due to sins in this world and from the penalty of purgatory in the next; they are secure from the torments of hell and are crowned with glory and honor in a state of eternal blessedness.[47]

Part of his message was also contained in the *exempla* he used in his sermons for a more mixed public to make points about moral conduct to his listeners.[48] Although we do not know exactly which stories he may have used in which locations during his preaching of the Cross in France or in the Holy Land in 1216, a few of the stories deal with Crusaders to the East,[49] and even with the Templars,[50] who are seen in an especially favorable light. Three mention specific sites in the Holy Land, namely, Acre, Tyre, and Ascalon.[51] One story even extols the virtue of Saladin.[52] The stories mostly show the Crusaders in a positive light, some even describing miracles surrounding the taking of the Cross or the heroism of a Crusader,[53] and were obviously appropriate for preaching the Cross with anecdotal material. Such stories outnumber those that might discourage people from taking the Cross, such as those telling of dishonest sailors, smiths, or innkeepers who preyed on pilgrims.[54] For Jacques at least, the religious idealism of the Crusade was still very strong. It is true that he acknowledged in a few stories the reality that there were those unscrupulous people who would abuse or even kill pilgrims for their own reasons of greed and plunder. However, clearly he focused mostly on the religious fervor and righteous cause of the Crusade ideal in down-to-earth examples that would encourage people when thinking of taking the Cross.

Jacques de Vitry was an important ecclesiastical figure in the Latin Kingdom from the moment of his arrival in Acre in early November 1216. He is notable as a spokesman for the new Crusade, as we have indicated, as both preacher and writer. In this he operates as an important participant in the Fourth Lateran Council who came East with knowledge of the significant canons of the Council that would bear on the Latin church in the Crusader States. Indeed some of those canons were directed at the Latin East in particular, for example, the imposition of a tithe on all Eastern-rite Christians. The fact was, however, that the Latin bishops in the East were far too sensible to attempt to impose the tithe, or certain other Latin prescriptions, including formal obediance from the members of the Orthodox church resident in Latin dioceses, as well as their formal recognition of papal primacy.[55]

There were, however, canons of the Fourth Lateran Council that Jacques de Vitry would have been duty-bound to enforce among his own clergy, and some of them must have had a direct impact on artistic activity in the Latin East. Julian Gardner has recently drawn attention to the importance of the canons of this Council with regard to the liturgy. As he points out,

> altarpieces are not obligatory for the celebration of mass, but in the thirteenth century, . . . , altars, the mass, and its celebration procedures were all regulated by canon law, in the first instance, and local custom or convention secondarily.[56]

We shall want to examine any shred of evidence we can find to help determine what local custom in the Crusader East may have added to the altar with its prescribed two candles and a crucifix for the celebration of the Latin liturgy.[57]

Finally, Jacques de Vitry is also a stellar example of the kind of able and educated bishop Innocent III had wanted to send out from the West for all major sees in the Latin East. However, Jacques de Vitry came east with a strongly developed Western point of view. He is highly critical of other, non-Latin Christians, not to mention non-Christians, and has what J. Prawer called "a permanent holier-than-thou attitude."[58] He seems to embody the mentality of the new colonial Latin clergyman in the thirteenth-century Crusader Kingdom. Hamilton points out that, "a high proportion of the Latin bishops of Syria in the 13th century had been trained in western Europe, and reflected in their thinking the greater desire for strict theological conformity with Roman standards of orthodoxy which inspired the papacy in its dealings with eastern-rite Christians from the pontificate of Innocent III."[59] With Jacques de Vitry these Roman standards of conformity also extended no doubt to liturgical practices. For the most part this position when adopted resulted in the growth of hostility between the Latins and the Orthodox, whether Greek or Syrian, or other Eastern Christian sects for that matter. The question remains, however, as to what extent other bishops took this high-profile, strongly Roman point of view, in regard to faith, liturgical and devotional practices, and administration. In this regard Jacques de Vitry and some of his colleagues from the West are curiously different from Pope Honorius III – the pope who consecrated Jacques bishop of Acre – who could on occasion be quite irenical with regard to the Greek Orthodox. In particular we recall that through this period, what Hamilton calls "cordial links" were maintained between the papacy and the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.[60] These fraternal Christian relations worked well with Sinai where other resident Franks were not an issue. However, they usually did not fare so well in situations where the parity of Latin and Orthodox Christians became an issue, as in most Latin dioceses in the Crusader States. It was especially true in Antioch and other places where the Greek Orthodox population was a really major important factor in contrast to the other Eastern Christians. Certainly while the Fifth Crusade was active in the Latin East, such fraternal Christian relations with Eastern Christians were not much in evidence.

THE FIFTH CRUSADE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE CRUSADER STATES IN SYRIA-PALESTINE, 1217–1221[61]

June 1217 had been announced as the date for the departure of the Crusade, and the ports of Brindisi and Messina had been designated points of departure where the pope had hoped to bless the Crusader fleet, before his untimely death. As the time to depart neared, it became evident that the expected large contingent of German and Austrian Crusaders would still be outnumbered by the French. More surprising was the lack of Hungarians involved at this point in the Crusade.[62] In Germany, Frederick II continued to negotiate the time of his departure, among other things, and nothing had been resolved. The result was that few Crusaders actually boarded their ships in Brindisi and Messina until a year later. However, there was considerable enthusiasm on the part of the Austrians and the Hungarians who assembled at Spalato (Split). Duke Leopold VI of Austria sailed in August 1217, followed by King Andrew of Hungary shortly thereafter. The first Crusader contingents started arriving in Acre in September 1217 with others straggling in during the spring of 1218.[63]

A fleet of Rhenish and Frisian Crusaders had actually sailed early from the Netherlands, in May of 1217. The Rhenish soldiers stopped in Lisbon and decided to aid the bishop of Lisbon fight the Arabs at al-Qasr, which was successfully taken on 21 October 1217. At that point some members of the army decided that they could not continue to the East; the others wintered in Lisbon and then set out again in the early spring. It looked suspiciously like a partial replay of the experiences that befell the Fourth Crusade in 1202. Meanwhile the Frisian fleet had sailed on, entering the Mediterranean and wintering at Civitavecchia. It was mostly the remnants of the Rhenish and the Frisian fleets with various Italian contingents that arrived belatedly at Acre in April and May, 1218.

Duke Leopold and his army arrived in Acre after a smooth and rapid voyage of only sixteen days. King Andrew was not so fortunate. When he arrived in Spalato with a large army, there were not enough ships to transport him. As J. Riley-Smith points out, it was just the opposite problem to what had faced the Fourth Crusaders who arrived in Venice in 1202. At Spalato in August 1217, there were too many soldiers and the king had to wait several weeks, and even then some knights had to make plans to sail after the winter. In any case when Leopold arrived in Acre, he was met by King John of Brienne, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the bishop of Acre, and other high clergy, the masters of the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights, and many nobles of the kingdom. Then other major rulers joined the assembly including Count Bohemond IV from Tripoli and King Hughes from Cyprus; eventually King Andrew also arrived in late September. As soon as everyone had gathered, in October a council of war was held in the great tent of the king of Hungary, where it was decided to attack the Muslims now that the truce with al-Adil had expired.[64]

From the point of view of King John of Brienne, an immediate campaign against the Muslims was an excellent idea to unify the army and to feed the men, in the face of poor harvests that summer. Oliver of Paderborn reports that the army set out just after All Saints Day, and that the patriarch of Jerusalem carried a relic of the True Cross.[65] It is the first time that such a relic is mentioned by a chronicler as belonging to the Crusaders, that is, not the Syrian relic, and which is employed by a Crusader army since the terrible battle of Hattin.[66] The Crusaders marched southeast past Nazareth and La Fève across the plain of Esdraelon and down to Bethsan (Bessan) where they found the town largely deserted, but with valuable grain supplies and many animals.[67] From Bethsan, the army marched up the Jordan Valley, foraging in this rich agricultural region; they crossed the Pont de Judaire, marched around the Sea of Galilee, and came back across the Jordan at Jacob's Ford, before returning south past Tiberias and then west to Acre. The Paris Eracles reports that al-Adil and his son, al-Mu'azzam, watched this large army from a mountain vantage point at al-Fulah on the south side of the Plain of Esdraelon, with his forces in Nablus, but he had no intention of engaging the Crusaders.[68] When the Frankish army came to Bethsan, he sent al-Mu'azzam to occupy and protect Jerusalem, and he maintained a defensive position in the Jordan Valley region.

Oliver of Paderborn describes the Crusader activities from November 1217 to February 1218 very clearly in terms of three brief campaigns, which need not be discussed in any detail.[69] After the first campaign, that is, the march to Bethsan and the Jordan Valley, the army was provisioned and had reconnoitered the territory around Mount Tabor. The second campaign was an unsuccessful attack on Mount Tabor, which was a bellwether for the Crusade because it was one of the objectives that Innocent III had mentioned in his encyclical in 1213.[70] The fact that it could not be taken was a harbinger of the difficulties that the Crusaders would face all through this operation; seen in hindsight, the symbolism of this failure was ominous.

The third phase of these early activities by the Crusade was undertaken by only a small part of the army, a small contingent of Hungarians, shortly thereafter, in early January of 1218. They attempted to march past the Castle of Beaufort and enter the Bekaa Valley to the north, but were driven back and forced to return to Acre. At this point King Hugh of Cyprus died suddenly on 10 January and King Andrew, who had declined to participate in either of the latter two expeditions,[71] decided somewhat abruptly to return home.

Despite the promise that King Andrew had brought to this Crusade by his taking the Cross and leading an army, in the end he contributed little and seemed to have viewed the expedition partly as a chance to collect precious relics. During the November campaign he is reported as having found one of the water jars used by Christ in the miracle at the wedding feast of Cana.[72] By the time he had decided to leave the Holy Land and return home, he had made further acquisitions including the head of St. Stephen, the head of St. Margaret, the right hand of St. Thomas, the right hand of St. Bartholomew, and part of Aaron's rod.[73] We have little evidence of other Crusaders collecting relics on this expedition, so these acquisitions by Andrew are of considerable interest. We may imagine that although the water jar obviously could have come from somewhere in Galilee, most if not all of these relics probably came from Acre where the king had spent most of his time between the end of September and early January.[74] This suggests that relics were available and that the metalworkers must have been able to supply suitable containers. Thus, even though we hear little else about it, the traffic in relics apparently continued to exist in 1217–18 just as it had existed during the visits of Martin of Pairis to Acre before and after the Fourth Crusade. The problem is that like so many other aspects of activity linked in some way to artistic production, we only can find an occasional glimpse of what was happening in these years.

The patriarch of Jerusalem pleaded with King Andrew not to desert the Crusade when it was just getting started, but Andrew felt that he had completed his vow. Nothing could change his mind, not even the threat of excommunication by the patriarch.[75] Andrew and his men marched north through Tripoli, Antioch, and Cilician Armenia. He crossed Asia Minor with a guarantee of safe-conduct from the Seljuk sultan and eventually reached the Latin Empire en route home. Thus Andrew was on his way to the West, as the German and Frisian fleets were preparing to continue sailing to the Holy Land. This example demonstrates the frequent problem in Crusader armies of establishing suitable military objectives with a clear chain of command.

Despite the loss of King Andrew and his men, other Crusaders were known to be coming East, not only the fleets mentioned previously, but also French crusaders who were leaving from southern Italy. While waiting for these reinforcements, King John and Duke Leopold of Austria conferred with the Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights over work that could be done to aid the Holy Land until these other contingents arrived. The Paris Eracles reports succinctly that they decided to build fortifications at Caesarea and Chastel Pelerin.[76] Caesarea was refortified by one contingent of Crusaders in an intensive campaign of construction lasting several weeks. On the Feast of the Purification, 2 February 1218, the patriarch of Jerusalem assisted by no fewer than six bishops celebrated mass in the Church of St. Peter, to thank God for the rebuilt city walls. Meanwhile, the Templars assisted by the Teutonic Knights and other soldiers, along with the Flemish lord Walter of Avesnes, who donated money to pay for the work – the Paris Eracles says he put 1,000 saracen bezants on the first stone[77] – built a large and powerful new castle at what is now called 'Atlit.

'Atlit is a promontory on the coast between Caesarea and where Mount Carmel comes down to the sea. The Third Crusade had camped at this spot with Richard I in 1191 when it was little more than a fortified tower, known as "Destroit," which protected this vulnerable part of the coastal road. Now a major castle was constructed by digging a formidable ditch across the promontory where it joined the mainland and erecting two massive walls with square towers behind it, making it virtually unassailable from the landward side.[78] Oliver of Paderborn gives a detailed description of its construction, and he reports that God was with these intrepid builders, who found a large hoard of coins to help pay for the work.[79] By providing these presumably ancient coins,[80] God assisted this project, along with providing springs of fresh water and ample supplies of stone and cement, according to Oliver. The castle was fortified on its three other sides with smaller walls of various fortified structures, but the main defense was the sea and the sharp dropoff of the beach into deep water around this promontory.

Johns says that Walter of Avesnes named this castle "Pilgrim's Castle," that is, "Chastel Pelerin," because it was built by members of the Crusade, even though it was subsequently garrisoned by the Templars.[81] The work was done with all deliberate speed without Muslim intervention, and most of the soldiers were back in Acre before the next expected Crusaders arrived on 26 April 1218. Both Caesarea and Chastel Pelerin were important to the Crusaders and the Latin Kingdom because they protected the coastal road south of Mount Carmel, they both had small harbors, and they both provided staging areas for Crusader armies marching south. It was just after the time that Chastel Pelerin was completed that al-Adil ordered the castle on Mount Tabor dismantled and evacuated.

As soon as the spring *passagium* began to bring new Crusaders to join the expedition in late April, King John of Brienne called a conference to start planning for the next phase of this expedition. The fundamental goal of attacking Egypt – a strategy that Richard I "The Lionheart" had advised in 1192 – was never in doubt. This decision had already been spelled out at the Fourth Lateran Council.

The sources do not enlighten us about the Crusaders' reasons for choosing Damietta over Alexandria, but three points are evident nonetheless. There had been several Crusader incursions into the Nile Delta since 1192, when Richard I had first voiced the advisability of an attack on Egypt.[82] The Crusaders had knowledge about the Delta region, the fortifications of the two main cities, and the strategic value of Damietta compared to Alexandria. Second, even though Damietta in 1218 was a major fortified city, it was apparently said by some to be "the key to Egypt" and the most direct route for the Crusaders to take toward Cairo. It was certainly not the small, insignificant town, Damyat, that it is today, but it was smaller than Alexandria and closer to Cairo.[83] And third, European – mostly Italian, and especially Venetian with some Genoese and Pisan – merchants were active in both Damietta and Alexandria. If, as was the case later, in 1249, when Louis IX also decided to attack Damietta, there were more Venetians in Alexandria and more Genoese and Pisans in Damietta, another reason to attack Damietta would be evident. The Venetians had certain commercial arrangements in force with al-Kamil since 1208 and 1217 that they did not want to disturb,[84] and they were known to be unenthusiastic about the idea of a Crusader attack on Egypt from the time of the Fourth Crusade.[85] Thus there was the possibility of both "positive" and "negative" reasons for choosing an assault on Damietta.

The Crusaders sailed from Acre on 24 May 1218 with the first contingents arriving on the coast of Egypt on 27 May. Besides King John of Brienne, there were also the patriarch of Jerusalem and the bishops of Acre, Bethlehem, and Nicosia as well as Duke Leopold.[86] They camped on the left (west) bank of the river to the north of and across from Damietta, and they began to organize their assault on the city in early June. They elected King John of Brienne as their commander.[87] Sultan al-Kamil arrived with his army on 6 June and camped south of the city at al-Adiliyah to direct defensive operations. The city itself was located about three miles from the mouth of the main eastern branch of the Nile on the right (east) bank. Oliver of Paderborn describes it as being fortified with three circuits of strong walls, that there was a moat between the outer and second wall, and that the second wall had twenty-eight towers.[88] To protect the port, there was a chain stretched from the right bank just below the city to a strong tower on a small island near the left bank. Behind the chain, a bridge of boats was positioned to block any attempt to enter the port by water.

The first Crusader attack on the tower failed despite an eclipse of the moon and the presence of the patriarch with a relic of the True Cross.[89] In July the Crusaders invented a new assault engine, suggested by Oliver of Paderborn himself, to use for their attack. It consisted of a small castle built on top of four masts from two ships tied together, a kind of siege tower that could float on water. On August 17, the Crusaders prepared to attack with prayers led by the patriarch carrying the True Cross relic, with other clergy. The next day the battle began and by August 25 the Crusaders prevailed, occupied the Muslim tower, and then cut the chain sealing off the port. However, they did not press their advantage by trying to attack Damietta itself. The annual flooding of the Nile had begun on 18 August, and soon many of the German and Frisian soldiers would be leaving to return home, having completed the obligations to their vow. The leaders of the Crusade wanted to see what reinforcements would come on the fall *passagium* before committing themselves to a full-scale attack on the city.[90]

Fortune favored the Crusaders in Egypt because on 31 August the venerable Muslim leader, al-Adil, died in Damascus, where his brother Saladin had died years earlier. Al-Adil's death forced a transfer of power to the more aggressive al-Mu'azzam in Syria and to al-Kamil, currently in command of Muslim forces at Damietta. This situation meant that there were no attacks by al-Kamil on the Crusader camp across from the city for many weeks, until early October.

However, the restless al-Mu'azzam was already on the march in late August and had attacked, captured, and destroyed the recently rebuilt walls of Caesarea just before his uncle died.[91] This was the second time that the walls of Caesarea had been dismantled since 1191. Al-Mu'azzam also reportedly reconnoitered the new castle held by the Templars at 'Atlit, but not surprisingly found it too formidable for an attack at that time. Elsewhere the main Crusader cities of Acre and Tyre were strongly garrisoned, however, and were not in danger of a similar attack.

Meanwhile the fleet that the pope had organized for the soldiers waiting in Brindisi arrived in late September, with his legate Cardinal Pelagius in charge. Pelagius was accompanied by Robert de Courçon, his aide, who was sent as spiritual advisor to the French Crusaders. A separate fleet brought a large contingent of Englishmen, and later, toward the end of October, a large French army arrived from Genoa. Being aware of the arrivals and departures of Crusaders, al-Kamil decided to attempt a direct attack on the Crusader camp to test their strength. On 9 October 1218, al-Kamil led a sizeable force across the river undetected from his camp at al-Adiliyah south of the city. Landing at Burah, al-Kamil attacked the camp of the newly arrived Italian Crusaders and was driven off by a strong counterattack led by King John of Brienne. Another Muslim attack on 26 October against the Templar camp also failed.

Having taken the fortified tower protecting the harbor northwest of Damietta, the Crusaders wanted to find a way to cross the river south of the city in order to surround it. For this purpose they dredged out an old canal to the sea on the left bank during the month of November. A storm on the night of 29 November, which continued for three days, flooded the whole area, killing many horses and inundating the Crusader camp. However, it also filled the canal and now Crusader ships could reach the river south of the city. Following the flood the Crusaders were also forced to face a very severe winter. Then a serious epidemic struck, possibly scurvy,[92] killing many, including Cardinal Robert de Courçon. Various chroniclers give differing estimates; Powell thinks that overall the army lost about 20 to 25 percent of its manpower.[93] Because of these difficulties, morale was low.

According to a number of modern historians, it is at this point that Cardinal Pelagius begins to play a more prominent role in the affairs of the Crusade.[94] Among the contemporary chronicles, it is striking that some writers, such as Oliver of Paderborn and John of Tulbia, describe the activities of the legate, but Pelagius does not appear prominently in the Paris Eracles or the *Chronique d'Ernoul* until later, when Damietta is finally taken and he quarrels with King John. Although King John of Brienne had proved to be an able military leader, and although Pelagius was a papal legate, therefore not a military combatant, the pope had "expressed the hope that all would obey him to the end that the Cardinal might establish order and concord among them."[95] Pelagius was able to begin winning the confidence of the Crusaders as he gradually took a more active role, for example, when he was asked for spiritual guidance during and after the storm. One incident recounted by John of Tulbia describes how, when the storm was continuing, Pelagius led the Crusaders out to their newly built rampart and prayed. He cited the Gospel of Matthew 8: 23–27, where Jesus calmed the storm, and soon the storm abated and the sun came out.[96]

The bad winter continued – unusually cold with rain and hail – but Pelagius believed that activity would improve the morale of the soldiers. He advocated an attack on al-Kamil's position on the right bank just south of the city. Pelagius preached to the troops urging them to attack on Saturday, 2 February 1219, the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. The attack failed in a blinding rainstorm, but word reached the Crusaders the next week that al-Kamil and his troops were withdrawing from their camp at al-Adiliyah. The Crusaders crossed the river uncontested to find the camp deserted but full of supplies. The *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate* reports that St. George armed and dressed in white, accompanied by innumerable soldiers, appeared to the Muslims in their camp, and they were so frightened that they fled leaving everything behind.[97] The Crusaders occupied the camp and now basically had the city of Damietta surrounded.[98]

Al-Kamil had actually left his position quite suddenly because of a plot against him in Cairo, which he successfully quashed with the aid of his brother, al-Mu'azzam, who had marched quickly from Syria. Once the threat of the conspiracy was over, al-Kamil returned to Damietta to attempt to recapture his camp, but even with the help of al-Mu'azzam, he could not. The Crusaders fought them off, and al-Kamil was forced to set up a new camp at Fariskur, farther south of al-Adiliyah. Pitched battles continued through the spring. Al-Kamil launched major attacks at the beginning and end of March, but neither side was able to win an advantage. As yet the Crusaders could not mount an assault on the wall of the city of Damietta itself.

In describing the Crusaders camped around Damietta in the spring of 1219, the Paris Eracles emphasizes the multiplicity of the various contingents. It lists King John with the French[99] and the Pisans camped with them, the Templars with the count of Nevers in another "canton," with the Hospitallers in yet another, together with the Spanish and the Provençals. In another "canton" Pelagius was found with the Romans, the Frisians, the Genoese, and the rest of the Italians. Finally the Teutonic Knights were in yet another part of the Crusader camp. The variety of the Frankish troops and the multiplicity of their languages point to a very real problem with this Crusader army – a problem typical of almost all Crusader armies – the need for a strong personality to lead the men, someone who could rise above the mélange of languages and cultures and exercise command. Curiously, this text does not mention Duke Leopold of Austria, who was one of the strong leaders, along with King John and with Cardinal Pelagius; nor does it mention his followers, but we know that in early May, Leopold and many other Crusaders decided to return home. Despite the arrival of some new Crusaders on the spring *passagium*, morale was down in the army after a long difficult winter, as Jacques de Vitry points out.[100] Nor did it help matters that Frederick II had postponed his departure again, as negotiations over his coronation as emperor dragged on.[101]

Meanwhile, al-Kamil and his brother al-Mu'azzam were clearly worried about their inability to retake their old position at al-Adiliyah from the Franks, and the possibility that Damietta might be taken. Considering the consequences that might follow if the Crusaders successfully continued their campaign, al-Mu'azzam returned to Syria-Palestine, and in the middle of March 1219, he took the remarkable step of dismantling the fortification walls of Jerusalem.[102] It was a notable and important action not only because of how graphically it reflected the seriousness of the situation from the Muslim point of view, but also because al-Mu'azzam had sponsored substantial construction in Jerusalem during the immediately preceding years, as three surviving inscriptions indicate.[103] In any case, Abu Shama describes the scene in the Holy City after the order had been given to tear down the walls:

> Demolition work got underway on the 1st of Muharram [i.e., 19 March]. There was in the city a terror like that of Judgement Day; women and girls, old men and women, young men and children, all sought refuge in the Sakhra [Dome of the Rock] and al-Aqsa mosque; they cut their hair and tore their clothes. The prayer-niche of the mosque was full of hair. Convinced that the Franks were coming, these unfortunates fled, abandoning their goods and effects; they blocked the streets, some of them heading for Egypt, others to Kerak or Damascus. Some of the young women tore strips off their garments to cover their feet, blistered by the march. A great number of fugitives died from hunger and thirst. Never had such a catastrophe struck Islam.[104]

What irony that at a time when the Crusader army was struggling with low morale, the sultans of Egypt and Syria were preparing for the awful eventuality that they might have to turn Jerusalem back to the Crusaders. Before that happened they wanted the walls of Jerusalem to be taken down so it could not become again a fortress used against them.[105] In fact, al-Mu'azzam was not content only to dismantle the walls of Jerusalem; he also took down the walls of several other fortified positions: at Baniyas, Safed, and Toron.[106] Now that he had had to dismantle the castle on the top of Mount Tabor, he did not want the Crusaders challenging him from other sites in the Galilee region.

The Crusaders seemed to know nothing of how precarious the Muslim situation was. Facing a stalemate, the army struggled to hold their position in the blistering heat. Pelagius urged an assault on the city walls after a particularly strong attack by al-Kamil had been driven off on 20 July. Again the Crusaders suffered heavy losses, this time from the Greek fire used by the defenders. Al-Kamil attacked their camp again, and again the army held on. On 6 August they again attempted an assault on the city, but they were driven off. Pelagius and King John disagreed on strategy, no doubt with good reason because even though the legate was a powerful preacher and motivator, he obviously had little military experience. The soldiers were confused and discouraged. A badly organized Crusader attack on 29 August almost resulted in disaster, but King John was able to save the day after some heavy fighting.[107]

At this point, a remarkable new visitor had arrived in camp, Francis of Assisi.[108] Francis had preached to the Crusaders before the battle on 29 August and predicted it would fail. Furthermore, when al-Kamil saw the Crusader army retreat back to its camp, and fearing for the worsening conditions of the Muslim garrison inside Damietta, he sent a Crusader prisoner with an offer proposing a truce. Francis seized this opportunity and requested permission to speak to the sultan himself. Pelagius feared that Francis would be killed and at first he would not permit it, but Francis persisted and eventually prevailed in the sense that Pelagius would not forbid him to go.

It is difficult to imagine what al-Kamil thought when Francis was brought to him, but somehow the sultan recognized in him the sincerity of his religious commitment. Francis wished to convert the sultan by demonstrating in argument and through an ordeal by fire that Christianity was the true faith. Al-Kamil listened to Francis's appeal and treated him respectfully, even gently, and with hospitality befitting a man of God. After conferring with his advisors, he declined to engage Francis in debate or allow an ordeal, but he placed Francis under his protection. The sultan offered him gifts, which Francis politely refused, and had him escorted safely back to the Crusader camp.[109]

Despite this unique episode with Francis, the sultan's offer of a truce was still open.[110] The sultan proposed the following remarkable terms: Jerusalem would be returned to the Crusaders and al-Kamil would pay to have the walls of the city rebuilt! The castles of Belvoir, Safed, and Toron would be given back to the Crusaders and could be refortified. Twenty Muslim hostages would even be handed over to the Crusaders to hold until the reconstruction work was finished. The relic of the True Cross lost at Hattin would be returned to the Crusaders, and any Christian prisoners from Hattin still alive and held in Syria or Egypt would also be returned. The Crusaders for their part would evacuate Egypt completely. Finally, the truce proposed would last for the unprecedented period of thirty years.[111]

Unbelieveably Pelagius and the clergy opposed this offer from the outset, along with the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Italian Crusaders. By contrast, King John of Brienne, the northern European Crusaders, and the Teutonic Knights favored accepting it. Here the serious split between Pelagius and King John that had begun forming over military strategy during the winter was now out in the open. While the debate raged in the Crusader camp, they accepted a temporary truce, and both armies took advantage of the respite to reorganize their soldiers and to rebuild their defensive positions.[112] To some this offer may have seemed too good to be true, while others may have doubted that al-Kamil actually had the True Cross relic from Hattin. For the Hospitallers and the Templars, a major stumbling block in al-Kamil's offer appears to have been the fact that the sultan would not return the two Transjordan castles of Kerak and Krac de Montréal, or Shaubak. They felt strongly that these fortifications were essential for the defense of Jerusalem. The Muslims knew from past experience, however, that these two fortresses were critical to protect the main routes between Damascus and Cairo for communications and military purposes, not to mention reasons of commerce and pilgrimage to Mecca. Al-Kamil offered to pay tribute for these castles, a total of 15,000 bezants, but still the Crusaders refused.

In the face of what seemed like such a golden opportunity, there were certain bases for Crusader opposition to this offer. Clearly some of the Crusaders believed that with reinforcements said to be coming from Europe, the army could take Damietta and defeat al-Kamil.[113] In any event the Crusaders had been in position around Damietta for many months, and even if they had not been able to mount a decisive attack as yet, the siege had sealed off the city. Many in the army must have believed Damietta could not hold out much longer. Many of the Italians in the army must have been opposed to the idea of giving up Damietta, given the commercial interests of the main maritime cities there. It is also possible that Pelagius thought, as many recently arrived Europeans did, that it was wrong to negotiate on equal terms with the Muslims. Some held this view despite the fact that Richard I had done it and the Latin king of Jerusalem had been treating with the Muslims for years. Nonetheless, the argument that Kerak and Montréal were essential to the defense of Jerusalem was somewhat suspect since they were both in Crusader hands when Jerusalem fell in 1187; they did not fall to Saladin until 1188.

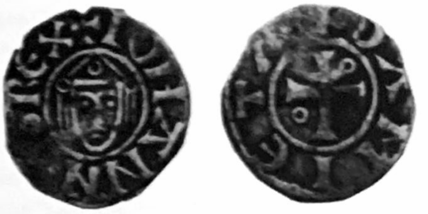
Negotiations continued into late September. Meanwhile a number of Crusaders had decided to return home in mid-September, including the leaders of the Roman contingent, a Hungarian archbishop, and several counts. The *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate* estimates that a good twenty-thousand soldiers departed on the fall *passagium*.[114] Only the arrival of Savaric de Mauleon with a sizeable force two weeks later restored the morale of the troops left behind.[115] Al-Kamil, however, seeing the changeover and hearing no definitive reply to his offer, resumed the attack, partly to try to relieve the garrison inside Damietta, partly to maintain pressure on the Crusader camp.

As November began, al-Kamil attempted to relieve the city with a daring raid through Crusader lines held by the count of Nevers.[116] After the attack was beaten off, the Crusaders prepared for a major assault on Damietta. On the night of 4 November, Italian sentries observed a tower in the walls of the city to be unguarded. The Crusaders quickly exploited this discovery, and, as Oliver of Paderborn reports, "on the night of the 5th of November Damietta was captured without treachery, without resistance, without violent pillage and tumult."[117] Oliver, down-to-earth and apparently experienced about soldiering as he was, saw the victory as essentially orderly with a minimum of looting. Jacques de Vitry, the excitable and outspoken bishop of Acre, however, decries what he saw as lamentable theft and rape in the wake of the Crusader victory.[118] The population of the city and its defenders had, in any case, been decimated by disease apparently caused by the siege and the severe conditions. Oliver reports that out of a population of 80,000, only three thousand were alive.[119] The city was wealthy and had substantial food supplies, which the Crusaders seized immediately.[120] The *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate* reports that they also found gold, silver, precious stones and rich textiles, and gold and silver vessels.[121]

The loss of Damietta resounded throughout the Muslim world. Ibn al-Athir reports darkly what the situation looked like from the Muslim point of view:

> The entire Muslim world, men and territories, seemed likely at this moment to be lost to the East on the one hand and the West on the other: from the East came the Tartars, ... while from the West came the Franks, who took a city like Damietta in Egypt because of its lack of fortifications to protect it from an enemy. All the rest of Egypt and Syria was on the point of collapse and everyone was terrified of the invaders and went in anticipation of disaster night and day. The population of Egypt was even ready to evacuate the country for fear of the enemy, but "it was no time to escape," [Qur'an, sura XXXVIII,2] surrounded as they were on all sides by the enemy.[122]

Al-Kamil considered an immediate attack on the city with the hope of reconquering Damietta before the Crusaders organized their defenses, but he found no opportunity. So his strategy turned to the defense of Cairo, and he retreated from his camp at Fariskur farther into the Delta, at Talkha and al-Mansourah. At that point, where a tributary of the Nile branched off from the eastern fork of the river, al-Kamil reestablished his camp. Meanwhile, the Crusaders spent a tumultuous November quarreling over the spoils of victory.[123] King John claimed



59. Damietta, billon denier, *Damieta*, coined by John of Brienne. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

the city as commander of the army for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, but Pelagius claimed the city in the name of all Latin Christians of the West, that is, the Church. With this disagreement, the leadership of the Crusade was once more in serious doubt. Eventually Pelagius was forced to compromise and recognize King John as ruler until Frederick II could arrive to take command.[124]

King John proclaimed his status by issuing a new denier carrying the legends, "+DAMIATA" on the obverse around a crowned bust of the king, and on the reverse, "+ IOHES: REX:" around an equal-armed cross.[125] It is interesting that John abandons the architectural motif of his and other royal coins from the Latin Kingdom, and adopts the bust-length crowned king type that Guy de Lusignan and Levon II had used and that was common in England at this time. This "+DAMIATA" coin was apparently issued in substantial quantities and has been found in large numbers in hoards from the Crusader States in the years after *c.*1220, indicating that it was widely circulated (Fig. 60). It apparently was King John's standard new coin after the Holy Sepulcher drachma that he issued between 1212 and 1217.[126] Questions remain, however, about the meaning and function of a comparatively much more rare denier that carries the "+DAMIETA" legend on the reverse and an image of the king on the obverse with puzzling iconography (Fig. 59).[127]

It is worth noting that at this point there was uncertainty about the goals of this expedition beyond Damietta among some of the Crusaders. Jacques de Vitry had written succinctly the following about their objectives in 1218:

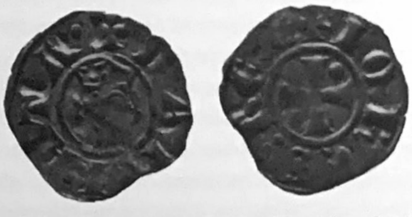
> We planned to proceed to Egypt, which is a fertile land and the richest in the East, from which the Saracens draw the power and wealth that enable them to hold our land, and, after we have captured that land, we can easily recover the whole kingdom of Jerusalem.[128]

Jacques de Vitry further describes Egypt as having three major cities, Damietta, Alexandria, and Cairo, and as being a privileged land for Christians because Jesus had come here with the Holy Family. Like the *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate*, Egypt is viewed as a land to be subjugated and controlled by the Crusaders. Ernoul saw the objective here very differently. As he reported to the Crusader council in Acre in 1218, the king had proposed to the Crusaders that if they went to Egypt and took Alexandria or Damietta, then this would enable them to have back the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[129] He clearly means by treaty or exchange.

Just as the Crusaders were quarreling over the distribution of the spoils of victory, the future of the expedition was also unresolved. An immediate march on Cairo might have succeeded with al-Kamil's army in retreat, with the shortage of food because of poor harvests and because al-Mu'azzam was returning to Syria with his army, but the Crusaders did nothing.[130] A raid at the end of November on Tanis, east of Damietta, yielded more supplies and spoils that only led to more dissension.[131] It would take three months for the Crusaders to settle the allocations. On the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin, 2 February 1220, John of Tulbia reports that Pelagius and all the clergy finally celebrated the Crusader victory. They formed a procession with the relic of the True Cross and consecrated the central mosque of the city as the Cathedral of the Holy Virgin, with altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to St. Peter, to the Holy Cross, and to St. Bartholomew.[132]

Because the Crusaders did not seize the opportunity to move ahead, developments forced them, especially King John of Brienne, to react to several different new situations. After the conquest of the city of Damietta was duly celebrated, King John sought permission to leave the Crusade. He asked the pope to return urgently to Acre to defend his kingdom, which had come under attack by al-Mu'azzam.[133] Al-Mu'azzam had assaulted Caesarea after returning to Syria following the fall of Damietta, and captured it late in 1219.[134] He was now threatening the Latin Kingdom farther north, from 'Atlit to Tyre. Safed was dismantled by al-Ashraf, the son of al-Adil. There were other reasons why John of Brienne needed to return to Acre. His wife, Stephanie of Armenia, had recently died, as had their infant son, and he wished to put forward his claim to be heir to the Cilician throne.[135] Finally, there were two other pressing reasons for John's departure. First was the fact that he was out of money; in the four months after the conquest of Damietta he had spent the last of his resources on the army.[136] Second, there was the obvious reality that he and Pelagius did not see eye-to-eye on command and control, strategy, or management and administration, and therefore he could not expect any help from the legate for his financial situation or support for his leadership.

In late February 1220, a letter arrived from the pope supporting Pelagius as the leader of the Crusade in both spiritual matters and in temporal affairs, the latter referring to his authority in the division of newly conquered lands.[137] In this state of affairs, but with the pope's permission, King John sailed for Acre on 29 March 1220.[138] Different writers expressed various opinions as to why King John of Brienne left the Crusade at this point. Jacques de Vitry stated, surprisingly, that John "deserted the army."[139] Oliver of Paderborn said the king claimed numerous reasons, without naming these reasons or explaining them.[140] The clergy of the Latin Kingdom, however, writing to



60. Damietta, billon denier, *Damiata*, coined by John of Brienne. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

King Philippe Augustus for aid to the Holy Land in October 1220, identified the reason as poverty.

> This poverty, moreover, was the chief reason why the king, compelled by necessity, had to leave the army and withdraw to Acre.[141]

The Crusader army languished in Damietta while King John was back in Acre. Oliver reports that the people in the army indulged in fornication, among other things, and lost their spirit.[142] More Crusaders left to return home: Ranulf, earl of Chester, and a contingent from Lucca sailed home in the summer and fall respectively.[143] As the months wore on, it became clear that Frederick of Hohenstaufen was apparently not coming, but he started to send soldiers to Damietta; Count Mathew of Apulia arrived in the fall.[144] With or without the long hoped-for imperial army, Pelagius was nonetheless determined to march on Cairo. In his view the Crusade could conquer all of Egypt just as it had captured Damietta. Even without Frederick, Pelagius wanted to set the operation in motion, but the soldiers would not agree while John of Brienne was absent.[145] Meanwhile King John had his own problems to deal with, including attacks on Acre and especially a major siege of Château Pèlerin by al-Mu'azzam.[146] The Templars poured hundreds of men into the castle to bring the garrison up to some four thousand soldiers. After besieging 'Atlit for a month, al-Mu'azzam withdrew at the end of November 1220, realizing that with a full complement of defenders and supplied from the sea, he could not take the castle by means of a frontal assault.

It was at this point, on 22 November 1220 in Rome, that Pope Honorius III finally crowned Frederick II Holy Roman Emperor. Once again Frederick had renewed his Crusader vow, pledging to set out in the spring. Honorius had written to King John earlier, in August 1220, urging him to rejoin the Crusade in Damietta. He also wrote to Pelagius in early January 1221. Powell describes the letter as including the following:

> urging "him to continue to move with caution. He alluded to the preparations underway for strengthening the army and the commitments made by Frederick at his coronation, but he expressed the view that there was still uncertainty about the fulfillment of their plans. In light of this, he suggested that Pelagius should explore the prospects for a temporary agreement with the Moslems, telling him to report back on this quickly if anything developed."[147]

It is evident that, just as with Pope Innocent III and the Fourth Crusade, the pope was heavily involved in trying to manage this Crusade from Rome without a full grasp of what the situation was, either in Damietta or in Acre. Furthermore Frederick II now began to play a more direct role in the Crusade, but based on his past record of plans and promises, Honorius III could not but be cautious about what to expect. Nonetheless, Frederick actively supported recruitment for the Crusade and in the spring, Louis, duke of Bavaria, his highest-ranking imperial representative to date, sailed for Damietta, arriving in May 1221. At this point Pelagius was determined to act, and Louis came ready to fight. Planning began for the next phase of the campaign. The legate wrote to King John of Brienne ordering him to return to the army with his troops. Louis drew up a plan, not to mount an all-out assault on Cairo, but to attack the camp of al-Kamil at Talkha, before the Nile began to rise in August. Meanwhile al-Kamil had written to his brothers, al-Ashraf and al-Mu'azzam, in Syria asking them urgently for reinforcements.[148]

In early July 1221, Pelagius ordered a three-day fast to prepare the army for the coming battle. The clergy with all the bishops carried the relic of the True Cross in procession out to the old camp at al-Adiliyah.[149] Two days later King John of Brienne arrived to find that mobilization was already underway. At this point, Ernoul reports that al-Kamil sent another thirty-year truce proposal to the Crusaders comparable to his earlier one.[150] Many Crusaders supported this proposal, including King John, and this time also the Hospitallers and the Templars, but Pelagius and Louis of Bavaria were still adamantly opposed. In doing this, Pelagius conveniently forgot about papal instructions in the January letter to report any possible truce opportunities; time was apparently too short.[151] Duke Louis was in a more difficult situation, because Frederick II had ordered him not to accept a peace proposal on the one hand, but also not to launch any major offensive action until he, Frederick, could get there.[152] Both of these directives were based on the assumption that he, Frederick, would very soon be joining the Crusade, but that had not happened, and Louis was forced to make a decision. The situation could not wait; Pelagius and Duke Louis ordered the operation to begin.[153] (Map 3)

On 17 July 1221 a large part of the army marched south along the right bank of the river. However, an even larger number of soldiers remained in Damietta to garrison the city.[154] The army passed the old Muslim camp at Fariskur and reached Sharamsah the next day, about halfway to Talkha and Mansourah. At that point they came under Muslim attack, which slowed their advance, but they pressed on. By late July the army reached the narrow triangle of land on the left bank of the river between the river itself and its tributary (al Bahr as-Saghir), across the tributary from Mansourah to the south and across the Nile from Talkha to the west. Behind them, at Baramun a small stream that went off to the west on the left bank of the river was filling rapidly with the rising water, enough to float large boats. Ahead, al-Kamil's army had been reinforced by troops newly arrived from Syria. The battle lines were drawn.

The horsemen and infantry of the army were supported by ships accompanying them along the river. Once the Crusaders had reached their position across from Mansourah, the Muslims, however, sent their own boats in behind those of the army and sank several Crusader vessels to block navigation downstream. At the same time, the Muslims crossed al Bahr as-Saghir near Lake Manzalah and sent horsemen into position between Damietta and the Crusaders. As the water rose during early August, the Crusaders were in increasing danger. Seeing that they could not cross the river or its tributary because of the rising water, the Crusaders had to decide whether to camp and wait for reinforcements from Damietta, or to retreat. Apparently they waited a short time only to see the situation worsen. Surprisingly, when Oliver of Paderborn reported that the decision to retreat was taken, it was the bishop of Passau and the Bavarians who prevailed.[155] Granted that the bishop of Passau may well have been part of the contingent of Louis of Bavaria, it nonetheless seems odd that at this moment of crisis, neither Pelagius nor Duke Louis nor King John, the main protagonists heretofore, are mentioned.

The retreat began on 26 August, a month after the army had arrived on the riverbanks across from Talkha and Mansourah. As the march northward began, al-Kamil opened sluices flooding the fields. Surrounded by the enemy, the army was now trapped by the water.[156] Once the hopelessness of their situation was realized, Pelagius ordered King John to sue for peace. John sent William of Gibelet to negotiate the settlement. Al-Kamil, consistent with his policy of forcing the withdrawal of the Crusader army from Egypt, offered terms. The Paris Eracles, Ernoul, and Oliver of Paderborn report the details: Damietta would be handed over to the sultan, all Muslim prisoners would be exchanged for all Christian prisoners, there would be a truce for eight years, and the sultan would return the True Cross.[157] Ernoul comments pointedly, however, that it was not the relic of the True Cross lost at the battle of Hattin.[158] Hostages were exchanged to ensure the terms would be kept; the leaders of the Crusade remained in the hands of al-Kamil, while the fifteen-year-old son of the sultan, one of his brothers, and several young emirs were given over to the Christians. The surrender took place at Baramun on 29 August 1221.

When the masters of the Templars and the Teutonic Knights were sent to Damietta with news of the surrender, the garrison at first refused to lay down their arms. A new contingent of Crusaders sent by Frederick II had just arrived, led by Henry, count of Malta. However, once the garrison understood the situation with the hostages and the surrounded army at Baramun, they had no choice but to accept the surrender terms. The arrangements were carried out with great propriety by al-Kamil. The hostages were treated with hospitality appropriate to their position and returned at the proper time. The trapped army was able to return to Damietta and given food. The Crusaders were allowed to take the personal property that they could carry home with them. On 8 September 1221, the Crusaders boarded their ships and sailed off to Acre. Al-Kamil installed a new governor in Damietta and he went back to Cairo. The Paris Eracles soberly concludes its account of this Crusade by blaming the sins, the folly, the pride, and the malice of the clergy for the loss of Damietta, which had been taken at such a cost.[159]

The Fifth Crusade came very close to accomplishing its goal, depending on what goal was identified. If the goal was to capture a major city in Egypt and bargain for the return of the Latin Kingdom to pre-1186 boundaries, the former the expedition accomplished and the latter it almost had in its grasp. If the goal was to conquer Egypt and destroy Muslim power in Cairo, the Crusade fell woefully short. In either case the Fifth Crusade was a failure. Needless to say much responsibility for its lack of success could be placed at the feet of the participants and their shortcomings. It is interesting that the Paris Eracles lays blame especially on the clergy, meaning apparently Pelagius and the bishops, but a certain amount of responsibility must also be placed on the chief nonparticipant, Frederick II. The possibility of his coming combined with the ultimate reality of his complete absence was a constant problem that the pope and the leaders of the Crusade struggled to deal with as the Crusade moved along.[160] It would take nearly seven more years before Frederick II would finally fulfill his Crusade vow and sail to the Holy Land, in 1228.

THE FINAL YEARS OF THE REIGN OF JOHN OF BRIENNE AS KING OF JERUSALEM

John of Brienne and the other Crusaders had found out indirectly by their experience on the Fifth Crusade that Frederick II had his own personal and political agenda, and could not necessarily be trusted to honor external promises and responsibilities until it suited his own plans. King John would find this out more directly between 1221 and 1225 to the detriment of the Latin Kingdom. In the meantime he returned to Acre to find that Cilician Armenia had undergone a change of ruler since his visit in 1220, and Bohemond of Tripoli was in control in Antioch.

These changes were quite consequential because it meant further developments in the relations among Cilician Armenia, Antioch, and Tripoli, states that John of Brienne had attempted to mediate for and with prior to the Fifth Crusade. Raymond-Roupen, whom Levon II had installed as prince of Antioch, was gone. Despite Raymond-Roupen's consultation with Pelagius in Damietta in the summer of 1220 and the support given to him by the pope, the Hethoumian leader, Constantine, captured him in Tarsus and put him in prison where he died, in 1221. Constantine Lampron, besides being the representative of one of Armenia's foremost aristocratic families, the Hetoumids, upheld Armenian values in the face of the latinizing tendencies of the Roupenids, visible in the persons of Raymond-Roupen and his father. With Constantine's support as regent, Levon's younger daughter, Isabella, was secure on her throne. However, in the face of Seljuk and Ayyubid neighbors it was important for Cilician Armenia to foster strong ties to Antioch. A marriage potentially politically advantageous for both sides was arranged by Constantine between Philippe of Tripoli, fourth son of Bohemond, and Queen Isabella. The result from the Armenian point of view was disappointing. Philippe had no interest in the Armenian religion and its ritual, which he had nominally joined. He clearly favored the Latin barons much to the chagrin of the Armenian nobility, and he was an absentee lord, spending as much time in Antioch and as little time in Sis as possible. In 1224, when they could countenance his indifference no longer, the Hetoumids had Philippe arrested en route to Antioch and imprisoned in Sis. When he was poisoned in prison a few months later, Queen Isabella was subsequently forced to marry Hethoum, Constantine Lampron's son, in 1226. Surprisingly, at this juncture Constantine also found it opportune to resume cordial relations with the papacy. He had messages of loyalty sent to both the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor in the name of the young couple.[161]

One surprising aspect of these complicated developments is the fact that the Hospitallers and the Templars were allied with different parties in the struggle, and indeed the two orders had almost reached a point of open warfare. Whereas the Templars had been warned by the pope not to have anything to do with Bohemond, who had been excommunicated by Pelagius, they stayed in communication with him, and they continued to be at odds with the Armenians. Baghras continued to be a contentious issue.[162] The Hospitallers meanwhile, having been expelled from Antioch by Bohemond and having had their property there annexed by him, openly supported the Armenians. Thus even though the Armenians were still involved in relations with the pope in Rome, their direct contact with factions among the Latin Crusaders was ongoing and Crusader influence at their court is visible through positive and negative political and military activity. Moreover, as Wilbrand of Oldenburg notes in the account of his visit to Cilician Armenia in 1211–12, there were Franks living there as part of the general population.[163]

Meanwhile for all the difficulties he had faced in the north, Bohemond IV had been reinstated as prince of Antioch in 1219, and he remained lord of the Principality until he died in 1233. Furthermore Bohemond saw it in his best interest to be on good terms with John of Brienne and the Latin Kingdom, partly to protect himself from the Armenians to his north. Even greater potential threats, of course, were the Seljuks and the Ayyubids, to the northwest and northeast, respectively, but fortunately for the Crusaders and the Armenians alike, these Muslims remained in constant conflict between each other in the 1220s. To the south, in the Latin Kingdom, King John of Brienne was the beneficiary of the eight-year truce with al-Kamil, a truce that did not extend to the northern Crusader States. He welcomed this respite from the required military operations of the past several years.[164]

At this point, following the story of the Fifth Crusade, the Paris Eracles again returns to the narrative of the developments related to King John. He set off in the fall of 1222 on a fateful voyage to the West. The Paris Eracles notes that John took with him his constable and the master of the Hospitaller Order, but the master of the Templar Order stayed behind.[165]

King John went west to seek aid for the Holy Land – financial aid and military aid in the form of manpower, as well as a husband for his young daughter. He was accompanied not only by Pelagius, who was on his way back to Rome, but also by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Ralph de Merencourt, and representatives of the Hospitallers and Templars. They arrived at Brindisi in October and went directly to Rome to see the pope. In the matter of a husband for Queen Isabel, neither the Paris Eracles nor Ernoul identifies who originated the idea, but in the wake of the death of Empress Constance, Frederick's first wife, in the summer of 1222, John and Honorius discussed the possibility of Isabel marrying Emperor Frederick II. Honorius liked the idea for various reasons, and he was willing to grant the necessary dispensation for the marriage, since the prospective bride and groom-to-be were third cousins. When the idea was proposed to Frederick, he agreed. We can only wonder what King John thought, given the implications of such a union for his position as the Latin king of Jerusalem. The notion that John had been assured that he would retain the regency for life seems naïve and unrealistic.[166]

Whatever the case may be, it was a fateful arrangement. Normally it had been the prerogative of the king of France to find a spouse for the queens of the Crusader Kingdom. John of Brienne himself had been chosen by King Philippe II Augustus. When King John traveled on to Paris to visit King Philippe, the French king was not pleased to hear the news about Frederick; perhaps he could somehow foresee the difficulties this would create for the Latin Kingdom. Nonetheless, when he died a year later, 23 July 1223, he maintained his generosity toward John of Brienne, granting him a princely sum to aid the Holy Land.[167]

The marriage of Queen Isabel to the Emperor Frederick II took place in two parts. First, Isabel, aged fourteen, was married by proxy in Acre in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, with Bishop James of Capua standing in for Emperor Frederick. Then Isabel was taken to Tyre and, regarded to be of age, she was formally crowned queen as Isabel II. From there she sailed to Brindisi where the second ceremony took place on 9 November 1225. The marriage was celebrated with proper imperial pomp and circumstance with King John in attendance. However, after the ceremony, when Isabel and Frederick were man and wife, John of Brienne was no longer king of Jerusalem. Isabel was queen of Jerusalem and Frederick II was the king consort.[168]

THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS, 1210–1225

PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY LAND, 1210–1225

One of the new developments, which assists us in evaluating and attempting to understand the artistic activity of the Crusaders in this period and their cultural circumstances, is the return of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land, in particular pilgrims who write detailed accounts of their visits.[169] There were no such pilgrims known by name between 1187 and 1210. We have only the chronicles of the Third Crusade, which briefly describe the pilgrimage made by soldiers at the end of the Crusade in 1192, an anonymous text – the "Estat de la cité de Jerusalem" – the author/artist of the Freiburg Leaf, and later chronicles like that of Gunther of Pairis describing the activities of Abbot Martin of Pairis on the Fourth Crusade. As we have seen, Martin visited sites like Acre and Tortosa, but does not describe his travels in any detail. By contrast there are two pilgrims of note between 1210 and 1225, namely, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who traveled in the Holy Land in 1211–12 as a member of the imperial German delegation to Cyprus and Armenia, and Thietmar, a Crusader, whose visit to the Near East occurred in 1217, when the Fifth Crusade was getting underway.

Compared to pilgrims in the twelfth century, the thirteenth-century pilgrims have been little studied. There are several reasons for this. Partly it is because of the fact that there were fewer of them.[170] Partly it is because the old printed Latin editions of their work have until recently been more difficult to find and there are no modern critical editions. Partly it is because, again until recently, there have been no complete translations in Western languages, and no English translations in such collections as the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, to help make their accounts more widely known.

In general we know that medieval pilgrims to the Holy Land during the time of the Crusades, 1098–1291, mostly came for devotional and penitential purposes, to visit and worship at the shrines and holy sites connected with the life of Christ and the saints, as well as certain important Old Testament sites. Only gradually and selectively did these pilgrims become interested in the *realia* of these sites in particular, and in life in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem more generally during the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century, the spiritual orientation of these pilgrims remained basically similar to that of their predecessors of the previous century. The fact is, however, that in the thirteenth century the attitudes of pilgrims toward the practical realities of the situation in the Holy Land began to change. Two reasons to help explain this are mentioned. The first has to do with circumstances in the Crusader States following the Third Crusade. Essentially, Crusader holdings were limited to the seacoast, and nearly all of the major holy sites were under Muslim control inland. The result was that visitors spent long waits in Acre, or in some other Crusader city along the coast, while arrangements were made for what usually turned out to be a very brief visit to the holy places. Because they were forced to experience this situation, they began to comment on the details of what they observed about it. The irony was that even though they began to be more interested in the practical realities of their visit, they had very brief exposure to the main holy sites in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, and therefore they had relatively little to say about what they saw in those places. The second, more general reason has to do with an essential change in the "Weltanschauung," which produced a greater interest in sensory experience, in the concrete visible world, and in the larger world stretching to the Mongol East among Europeans during the thirteenth century. This change is partly the result of the Crusades themselves, and of the very phenomenon of pilgrimage, which stimulated travel and the knowledge of and interaction with new and different lands, peoples, and cultures.[171]

Wilbrand of Oldenburg and Master Thietmar appear at the beginning of the thirteenth-century developments. They are both from Germany, but they follow very different itineraries in the Holy Land. However, they reveal conditions and describe experiences that greatly assist us in understanding what life was like in the Crusader East at this time. Wilbrand was born of the noble Wettekindus family in Oldenburg, west of Bremen in northern Germany.[172] He was a well-educated clergyman who, at the time of his pilgrimage, was a canon of Hildesheim.[173] Later, when he returned to Germany, he transferred to Paderborn, and eventually he became bishop of Utrecht, in 1227. About Thietmar we know nothing except what can be learned from the content of his pilgrimage account written on the basis of his travels in the Near East in 1217.[174] Since, however, most pilgrims decided not to make the journey in person to the Near East for reasons of the high cost of the journey, it seems evident that most likely both Wilbrand and Thietmar were men of means.[175]

Just as Wilbrand and Thietmar are quite different as far as what we know about them is concerned, so also their reports are quite different, starting with the itineraries they follow. After Wilbrand arrives in the Holy Land at Acre on 25 August 1211, he notes first of all the strong fortifications with double walls and high towers on the landward sides, and the multicultural population of "Francos et Latinos, Grecos et Surianos, Iudeos et Iacobinos."[176] However, he points out that the Franks and the Latins, by which he means what we would call the French and the Italians, control the others. His normal account here and for all major cities provides a bit of history, something about the nature of the town and its population, special religious sites or objects of interest if any, its ecclesiastical official, and the location of the city relative to his last stop.

Leaving Acre Wilbrand sails north with several officials on business, going first to Tyre, also impressively fortified, then past Sarepta, and on to Sidon, where he notes there were few people living and the walls were destroyed. Finally he comes to Beirut where he has a long passage that includes detailed comments on the fortifications of the city and a description of the palace of the Ibelins.[177] It is this latter passage, referring to the coloristic decoration, the mosaic floors, the fountain playing in the courtyard, that evokes the Near Eastern character of aristocratic Frankish lifestyle in the Latin Kingdom that recent arrivals from the West found so remarkable. Wilbrand also says he saw in Beirut a miraculous image of Christ crucified that exuded blood and water.[178]

After resting in Beirut for two days, Wilbrand continues on past Gibelet, Batrun, Nefin, arriving in Tripoli after a terrible storm that leaves them almost shipwrecked. Tripoli is characterized as a rich city with many inhabitants, including Christians, Jews, and Saracens. From Tripoli, Wilbrand journeys past Crac des Chevaliers in the distance and Chastel Blanc, en route to Tortosa. Tortosa is a small city, Wilbrand says, where there is a small church, but a very important one. This church, which was then a cathedral, was the first church built and dedicated to the honor of the Virgin Mary.[179]

Leaving there, Wilbrand arrives at Margat on the coast just north of Tortosa. Here he gives an extended description of the castle, which belongs to the Hospitallers. It is not only the largest in the region with excellent defenses, but it also has a large garrison, which must have been as large as that at Crac – where Wilbrand says there were two thousand soldiers[180] – and it is the seat of the bishop of Valenia, the little town now destroyed and abandoned, on the bay just north of Margat.

From Margat Wilbrand mentions passing Saone, now a castle in the hands of the Muslims, and the city of Latakia, en route to Antioch. As with a number of other places along the way, he mentions them because they were important, but he did not visit them. Arriving at Antioch just as an eclipse of the moon was occurring, he praises the city as "good and firm," second only to Rome in holiness. He describes the walls and towers of this vast city, and notices that even though the exterior of the houses and palaces are rather dull and mud-colored, inside they are decorated with gold with pleasant living spaces. He notes that the population includes Franks and Syrians, Greeks and Jews, Armenians and Saracens.

Antioch had a special importance for Wilbrand personally, because of his German countrymen – even a relative – who were buried here. He says he saw the tomb of Frederick I in the Cathedral of St. Peter, which was the church of the patriarch of Antioch. He also visits an important monastery – formerly Orthodox, now Latin – dedicated to St. Paul, where he finds the tombs of the following persons: Burchardus, margrave of

Magdeburg; Ogerus, count of Woldemborg; and Wilbrandus, count of Halremunt, who was Wilbrand's uncle.[181] Wilbrand says that Frederick's tomb was a marble sarcophagus, obviously quite magnificent, but for the others there must have been tomb slabs with inscriptions, set in the ground, since this is what we commonly find for Crusader burials and he does not describe them otherwise. All of these tombs may have been done by Crusader sculptors and masons.

Wilbrand also mentions a number of churches in Antioch that he apparently saw or heard about. At the cathedral he mentions that the *cathedra* of St. Peter and his prison are on view. Nearby the cathedral was a completely round church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which was very richly decorated, and which contained an image of the Virgin Mary revered by the Greeks. He says that when this icon was carried in procession, the Virgin would bring rain.[182] Up on Mount Silpius or at the foot of the mountain, Wilbrand also mentions the Church of St. Luke, built on the site of his house, a church dedicated to St. Barbara, a place where Mary Magdalene did penitence, a chapel where St. Margaret prayed before she was martyred, and a church built on the site of the house of St. John Chrysostomos.[183]

Wilbrand says that he stayed in Antioch for several days before moving on to Cilician Armenia. For this journey, he is apparently traveling by land, on horseback. He passes the castle of Baghras before entering Armenian territory, noting that the Armenians control it at this point, but the Templars are keen to get it back. He also notes the presence of the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia.[184] His general remarks on Armenia are interesting because he comments that the population in this country included "Francis, Grecis, Surianis, Turcis, Hormeniis et reliquis," and that the Armenians governed.[185] This means that in his view, he finds a similar multicultural mix of peoples in Armenia as he found in the main Crusader cities. The main differences were that the proportions of the different groups varied, and here of course, the Armenians are in control.

Wilbrand's mission to Cilician Armenia takes him to numerous places on his way to Sis, but his exact route is unclear.[186] Clearly he is well informed about the many cities and towns he passes by or passes through en route. He notes interesting details about the various places, such as sites where shrines to important saints are located or notable works of art can be seen. The tomb of St. Pantaleon is found at Mamistra (Misis). In Tarsis (Tarsus) there is a church in honor of St. Theodore, who was martyred there. In Tarsis there is also the principal church dedicated to St. Peter and the Holy Wisdom, in which there is a much venerated statue, "cui imago domine nostre angelicis manibus est depicta."[187]

Wilbrand and his party arrive in Sis for the feast of Epiphany, 1212. There they participate in the liturgy of the day at the invitation of Raymond-Roupen. After conducting their business there, Wilbrand travels from Sis to Silifke on the Mediterranean coast, where he takes a ship for the trip to Cyprus. As he tells us, the Latins control Cyprus, but they only have an archbishop and three suffragan bishops, whereas the Greek Orthodox have thirteen bishops and one archbishop. After arriving in Kyrenia, he travels to Nicosia. Again his trip is marked by visits around the country, but as in Cilician Armenia, his account records information about places that are not obviously in a logical sequence relative to where they are located, in this case, on the island. He mentions Limassol, Paphos, and Famagusta in that order, before returning to Acre.

On his return to the Latin Kingdom, Wilbrand makes his way to Jerusalem by way of Haifa and Mount Carmel, down the coast past Caesarea and Arsuf to Jaffa. From Jaffa he went to Ramla, the place from where St. George originated, with the result that the Franks call him "St. George of Ramla."[188] Moving farther inland he passes Beit Nuba until he perceives his first glimpse of the Holy City. In his otherwise quite matter-of-fact narration, here he allows himself an expression of emotional fulfillment, a vision of Jerusalem that inspires in him joy and admiration.[189]

As Wilbrand arrives at the walls of the city, he notes that Christian pilgrims such as himself are compelled to enter through a stable, near where the martyr Stephen was killed. This description corresponds exactly with the text of "L'Estat de la Cité de Jérusalem,"[190] which locates the gate of St. Stephen on the north side of the city. Next to that was the Asnerie of the Hospitallers, the Hospital for the lepers, and the postern gate of St. Lazarus.[191] Because the Muslims would not let the pilgrims lodge inside the city, they used the Asnerie for sleeping accommodations. In addition to the restrictions that the "Cité de Jérusalem" mentions, Wilbrand notes that the city looked desolate, and before they were allowed to enter, they had to pay "octo drachmas et dimidiam."[192] Wilbrand mentions this payment, but the "Cité de Jérusalem" does not.[193] He also says that he entered inside the walls, not at the postern gate, but at the David portal near the Tower of David on the west side of the city.

Wilbrand goes into the city of Jerusalem and first enters the Church of the Holy Sepulcher "cum timore et gaudio," to visit the aedicule of Christ, the "Monumentum Dominicum."[194] Examining the aedicule, he points out that it is here that the holy fire descends on Easter night. He describes the hill of Calvary as very near and identifies the site of the Crucifixion, where the blood of Jesus fell on the rock, and where the Virgin and the other women stood by the cross. Close by also is part of the column of the Flagellation.

At this point, Wilbrand mentions that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is in the hands of four Syrian clergy who are not permitted to leave. He says that the Muslims have left these holy places intact, in his opinion more by divine will than their benevolence! He goes on to exclaim over the rich decoration of this church covered with marble and with many golden images.[195] Finally, he notes that the tombs ("marmoreis sarcophagis") of the Latin kings of Jerusalem are seen near the entry to the choir, that the center of the world is located in the center of the choir marked by a circle, and that he saw the Chapel of St. Helena. Having completed this visit, he is permitted to leave the city by the David portal, apparently without being allowed to see any other holy sites inside the walls of Jerusalem.[196]

Wilbrand completes his visit here by walking around the north side of the city, past the gate of St. Stephen, to the Valley of Jehosaphat and the Mount of Olives east of the city walls. There he sees the place where Jesus was betrayed in the garden, and visits the little church, known popularly as "Sanctum Pater Noster." This appears to be the Church of the Savior in Gethsemane.[197] Wilbrand also visits the Tomb of the Virgin nearby. He remarks on the tomb of "uirgineo marmore," and notes that here also, there are Syrian clergy, who, although subject to the Muslims, preserve the sacredness of this place.

Although Wilbrand comments at this point on how close Bethlehem is to Jerusalem, he is not able to visit the Church of the Nativity. First he turns east and goes up the Mount of Olives to Bethphage, where he sees two destroyed monasteries.[198] He also notes the wonderful view of the city from the Mount of Olives, where he can see what he could not visit in Jerusalem, namely, the *Templum Domini* and the *Templum Salomonis* inside the Haram al Sharif. Then he crosses the Valley of Jehosaphat and goes up on Mount Sion at the southwest corner of the city, where he visits the Coenaculum. Again here he finds Syrian clergy in charge of the holy site. This is the site of the Church of St. Mary Mount Sion; Wilbrand calls it a "largum et pulchrum aspectu cenobium."[199] He notes the important events that took place here: the Last Supper and the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, and it was at this site that the "felix et immaculatum" body of the Virgin Mary reposed before her assumption into heaven from her tomb in the Valley of Jehosaphat.

Leaving Mount Sion, Wilbrand goes to Bethany where he says two churches were preserved by the Muslims: one on the site of the house of Simon the leper, and the other in the garden of Mary and Martha in which the tomb of Lazarus is found.[200] From Bethany Wilbrand takes the Jericho road, which he describes as truly difficult and dangerous – especially without the Hospitallers or the Templars to patrol it – with many thieves along the way. He comments that Jericho is a small town, where nearby Zacchaeus climbed a sycamore tree in order to see Jesus. He does not actually mention seeing the house of Zacchaeus.[201]

Wilbrand's final visit is to the site where Jesus was baptized in the Jordan by John. He describes the river as deep with fast-moving water, certainly a far cry from what we see today. The church at this site was largely destroyed. From here he goes to the shores of the Dead Sea, which he describes as "stagnum fetidissimum infernalis nigredinis, tetrum habens odorem." From there he returns to Jericho, and presumably to Acre, but his account ends at this point.[202]

Wilbrand is a pilgrim of some importance whose experience reflects the reality of what it was possible – and not possible – to see and do in these years for Christians trying to come to the holy places in the early thirteenth century. Obviously his visit focused on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but he was very limited in what he was able to see outside of this, he had very limited time to make his visit, and he had to pay to enter Jerusalem. Essentially he was apparently guided to those sites served by Syrian Orthodox clergy who were allowed to function for the benefit of Christian pilgrims. The main sites were, besides the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Church of St. Mary Mount Sion and the Tomb of the Virgin. He seems well informed about the places he is allowed to visit, but he is not very expansive about the holy sites compared to the much longer accounts written by pilgrims to Crusader Jerusalem before 1187, including earlier German pilgrims like John of Würzburg and Theodorich. This result is apparently caused by the shortness of his visit to the Holy City and the rapidity with which he had to move from place to place when he got there.

Our second pilgrim is also German, known as Magister Thietmar. He comes to the Holy Land five years after Wilbrand, in 1217.[203] Based on what he says, Thietmar is traveling as a Crusader, ". . . cruce Dominus signatus"; he is not on official business, unlike Wilbrand. Not only his station in life is therefore quite different, but also the itinerary that he follows differs significantly from that of Wilbrand. His route through the Holy Land does not follow the routes taken by Wilbrand, and apparently being quite adventuresome, he visits a number of remarkable places to which Wilbrand did not go. In particular, he visits Damascus, where he also sees the miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary at Saidnaya nearby, and the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, among other interesting places. He on the other hand does not visit Cilician Armenia or Cyprus as Wilbrand did.

Thietmar begins his account by telling us what we know about him: "Ego,[204] Thietmarus, in remissionem peccatorum meorum cruce Domini signatus et munitus cum preregrinis meis."[205] On the basis of this we can see that he is a Crusader and well educated. Based on later parts of his introduction, we can imagine that he is undertaking this expedition with a group of other men, probably also Crusaders. His name and certain evidence of his knowledge of Germany evident in his account indicates that he is German.[206]

He arrives in Acre apparently in the early summer of 1217, presumably with one of the first contingents of the Fifth Crusade. He says he has to wait a month in Acre because negotiations are underway between the Crusaders and the Muslims over the current truce.[207] This suggests that Thietmar arrived on the spring *passagium* and that he proceeded on his travels before the first actions of the Fifth Crusade got underway in the fall of 1217. He starts his visit to the Holy Land leaving Acre with some Syrians and some Muslims ["Surianis et Sarracenis"] who go into Galilee. There he visits Sephoris, the birthplace of St. Ann; Nazareth, where the Annunciation took place; Cana, where Christ changed the water into wine at a marriage feast; and Mount Tabor, where Jesus was transfigured. He mentions a church at Cana and one on Tabor – but not the churches at Sephoris or Nazareth (!?) – and says that the Muslims had occupied Mount Tabor and built strong fortifications there.

After visiting the towns around the Sea of Galilee, he unceremoniously travels on to Damascus where St. Paul was converted.[208] Apparently easy passage into Muslim territory by Christian pilgrims was fairly standard, so that here and elsewhere later on, when he crosses into Muslim-held territory, there is no mention of any special arrangements that have to be made for safe passage. Although it is clear that Christian and Muslim merchants and tradesmen must have been making trips between Damascus and Acre on a continual basis in the name of commerce, it is not clear what pilgrims needed to do to make such travel possible, and what kind of escort they would need both to establish their identity and purpose and to ensure their personal safety. Thietmar only refers to a "ductori" from time to time, that is, a guide, presumably a local person in Damascus and on Mount Sinai. He must have been a kind of dragoman, who functioned as both an interpreter and guide.

Damascus is obviously very interesting to Thietmar and he goes there with no mention of special arrangements. He says, however, that it is the custom to pay a tithe in order to enter the city. Thietmar expresses open and frequent admiration for what a rich and beautiful city it is, with very little fortification – so very different from the heavily defended Crusader cities that he has seen and will see. He speaks of the lovely flowers and birds in the city, the customs of the people, and the Muslim religion. He says there exists a large and beautiful church built by the Greeks and dedicated to St. Paul, which the Muslims converted into their mosque, presumably the great mosque. He also remarks on the palace of the sultan, which is large and well built. In the course of his stay, Thietmar, showing remarkable awareness and curiosity, wants to see the Christian prisoners held by the sultan, but his guide says they cannot be visited. Nonetheless he recognizes a number of prisoners during his exploration of the city, including two Germans, one from Wernigerode and one from Quedlinburg.[209] Finally he remarks with some wonder that people in and around Damascus were able to follow their own religion freely, and that there were many Christian churches in the city. All this is observable because he is able to stay in Damascus for a week.[210]

While he is in Damascus, Thietmar apparently visits the nearby monastery of Saidnaya where the miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary is found.[211] Although this portion of Thietmar's account is not contained in certain manuscripts, the Laurent edition includes his discussion about Saidnaya, which runs to something over four printed pages, the longest description of an individual item in the entire text after his visit to St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.[212] He describes the advent of the miracle-working icon in detail and discusses its special properties. In particular he describes the phenomenon of the emission of holy oil ("liquor") from the breasts of the Holy Virgin, a miraculous fluid that could heal the sick.[213]

After his visit to Damascus and the environs, Thietmar reports that he travels much farther to the east. Surprisingly, not only does he not return immediately to Acre and to Crusader-held territory, but also he travels far across the Syrian desert to the seat of the caliphate in Baghdad! Baghdad is described as large and heavily fortified, and the caliph is compared to the pope. However, relative to Damascus, he has very little to say about Baghdad, and he returns directly to Acre thereafter. Strangely, he has nothing to say about the great expanse of desert he must have covered or the great rivers of the Middle East, the Euphrates and the Tigris, which he presumably would have seen and crossed. Even though Christian pilgrimage into Muslim-held territory was a standard practice, the fact that he has the freedom to travel so widely in Muslim territory suggests that he left Acre with certain credentials that he does not tell us about. Also, as noted earlier, he must have had some kind of qualified Arabic-speaking guide or escort who could arrange the practicalities for his passage to these major Muslim cities without difficulty.

Back in Acre he prepares to make his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but also says how much he wishes to see the tomb of St. Catherine, which also exudes holy oil. He travels rapidly down the coast, mentioning many sites along the way,[214] turns inland at Ramla and Lydda, and arrives at the St. Stephen gate of the Holy City. In contrast to Wilbrand, his first comment about Jerusalem is on how heavily it is fortified.[215] Interestingly, he begins his account of Jerusalem with the "*Templum Domini*, quod dicitur Salomonis, mirifice adornatum."[216] Even though no Christians were allowed to visit the Dome of the Rock at that time, then as today it is the most striking visual monument in the Holy City. Then he mentions the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the other places of the Passion. He points out that they are all without lamps, are without honor or respect, and are closed except when they are opened for the offerings of pilgrims.

Elsewhere around Jerusalem, Thietmar reports only about places outside the walls of the city, on Mount Sion – sites in the Church of St. Mary Mount Sion, but nothing about the church itself – and in Gethsemane on the slope of the Mount of Olives. Oddly enough, Thietmar gives very little information on any of these places, suggesting that those he may have seen he had to visit very quickly.[217]

After spending two days, one night, in Jerusalem, Thietmar goes to Bethlehem. There he describes the church as extremely beautiful with marble architraves and capitals, marble pavements, and walls decorated with gold, silver, and colors. He mentions the grotto of the Nativity, and the other main sites such as the cell of St. Jerome and the place where the holy innocents were buried. Even though he tells us much more about the Church of the Nativity than what he had to say about the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, it is still a remarkably brief report. Overall, it seems that Thietmar's account clearly suggests that the accessibility of the holy sites by Christian pilgrims was somewhat diminished compared to what Wilbrand had to say, and that the sites themselves had to be visited extremely rapidly. Thus all we seem to hear about is a general impression of the church and a list of some of the main sites inside.

After mentioning many sites in the environs of Bethlehem, Thietmar heads south toward Sinai by way of a winding route. He apparently goes first to Hebron to visit the tomb of the patriarchs.[218] Then he doubles back to go down to Jericho[219] and the Jordan River, to the site where Jesus was baptized, where he mentions a "pulchra ecclesia in honore sancti Iohannis baptiste."[220] From here he goes south to the Dead Sea and into the territory of Moab on the east bank, where he mentions a number of biblical events and sites from the Old Testament.[221] As he travels south he mentions passing the castles of Kerak[222] and Shaubak,[223] now in Muslim hands. He continues through the wilderness of Edom past Mount Hor to the Red Sea (Gulf of Aqaba),[224] and then on to St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai.

In contrast to his comments on the Holy Sepulcher and the Church of the Nativity, Thietmar's discussion of St. Catherine's is long and discursive with a description of Mount Sinai as well.[225] He notes that there is a bishop here with the monks, who are Greek and Syrians, and that the monastery was well fortified. The church is "magnam et principalem," where there are services day and night, which he mentions. He describes the refectory and the food the monks eat. He particularly describes the Holy Chapel of the Burning Bush, where everyone – bishop, monk, Christian, Muslim – worships discalced, as Thietmar says he did. The bush itself has been "pro reliquiis distractus," that is, dispersed as relics. However, he describes a golden bush that has been put in its place, golden as if on fire, with the likeness of the Lord above or upon ("super") the bush and Moses standing on each side of the bush: to the left removing his shoes, to the right barefoot. There is no golden bush like this in the chapel today, only the remains of a desiccated bush and icons of the event elsewhere in the church. Thietmar could also have seen icons of this event, examples of which are extant in the church.[226] He also mentions that images of the bush are found on stones dug up from this site as if painted on them, and these stones are effective against diverse infirmities.

He then discusses the tomb of St. Catherine, which he had said he wanted to visit from the time he first arrived in the Holy Land. The tomb, which he notes is quite short because Catherine is small, is located in the church on the south side of the choir. During his visit the bishop allowed Thietmar to look into the tomb where he saw the *corpus* and could kiss the head of the saint.[227] Looking inside the tomb he could also see the holy oil that emanated from the corpus of the saint. At this point Thietmar launches into a long discussion on St. Catherine and how angels miraculously transported her body to this holy site.[228]

After his visits to the church, including the chapel and the tomb, and the monastery, Thietmar is guided up to the top of Mount Sinai.[229] Thietmar describes the trip in detail, noting details about the stairs, the sanctuaries visited,[230] and in general describing his experience at length. This whole discussion about his visit to St. Catherine's Monastery illustrates the fact that when he visited a holy site where he could move around slowly and reverently, seeing what he wanted to see, praying and meditating on the meaning of the sites, his account could be very full and informative of his personal experience. He does not tell us exactly how long he was at St. Catherine's Monastery, but it obviously must have been for several days, one can imagine even a week or ten days. This is the longest account of any part of his visits while on this trip.

While he is at St. Catherine's, inspired by the views from the top of Mount Sinai where he stayed for three days, Thietmar describes what he knows of Egypt.[231] We note in particular that the information Thietmar gives at this point about the Nile is quite basic, namely that the Nile starts flooding in July for a period that lasts about forty days.[232] What Thietmar reports as a pilgrim is straightforward information that clearly any educated person might know; it certainly did not depend on special military intelligence. How then was it possible that the leaders of the Fifth Crusade did not know what this famous annual phenomenon of the Nile would mean for their military operations a few years later? Thietmar also comments on the three main cities of Egypt: Cairo, Damietta, and Alexandria. He notes that there are many Christians in Egypt, and many churches, and that there is a patriarch who resides in Alexandria. It is worth noting that the Laurent edition of 1857 does not include the details of his discussion of Alexandria, which is, however, found in the manuscript used for the Tobler edition of 1851, published by Sandoli.[233] Finally, Thietmar also includes a section discussing Mecca and the tomb of Muhammed.

After his time on top of Mount Sinai, Thietmar returns to the monastery for another four days. When the bishop sees that it is time for him to depart, he gives him a container of oil from the tomb of St. Catherine. Taking his leave, Thietmar succintly describes his return journey in one sentence![234]

Thietmar's account ends with several pages of information on the lands and peoples of the Holy Land, both Christian and non-Christian. He also lists the trees found in the Holy Land, and then he describes the structure of the Latin ecclesiastical organization and the clergy of the two main holy sites in Jerusalem.[235] By this appendix as it were, Thietmar demonstrates his awareness of the multicultural complexity of the Near East in terms of its Christians. We can use it as an index of the partial knowledge that some pilgrims to the Holy Land might have of the Christians he or she might encounter. For example, Thietmar mentions the following Christians: Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Georgians, Armenians, and Nestorians. He omits, however, any mention of the Copts, the Ethiopians, or the Maronites, all sects that the late-twelfth-century pilgrim, John of Würzburg, cited.[236] Furthermore, when Thietmar cites the four patriarchs of the East in rank order – Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem – it is not clear whether he means Latin or Orthodox patriarchs, although every indication is the former. There was not, however, a Latin patriarch of Alexandria during this period.

The most remarkable aspect of Thietmar's account from the point of view of the Latin Kingdom is that even though he is a Crusader, he never mentions the Fifth Crusade in the course of his long account. It is, however, evident that the various manuscripts of Thietmar's text differ in wording and even in content, and that his name, "Magister Thetmarus"[237] or "Thietmarus,"[238] appears spelled differently and in different locations in these manuscripts. Reiterating the obvious, it is clear that a modern edition of Master Thietmar's important pilgrimage text is a major desideratum. Further study may also shed light on who he was and why he was so disinterested in the current Crusade, in which he was presumably participating.

The experiences of these two pilgrims, Wilbrand of Oldenburg and Master Thietmar, give us an invaluable glimpse into the Holy Land that we otherwise do not have from the written sources in this period, from 1210 to 1225. Nonetheless it is surprising how little the pilgrims have to say about the main holy sites they visit, in Jerusalem, in Bethlehem, and in Nazareth. Although their accounts are important for the special information they convey, it is still true that the text of "L'Estat de la Cité de Jérusalem" remains our most important descriptive narration about the Holy City. We cannot say exactly when that account was written, but it was most likely before 1212, when Wilbrand came to Jerusalem, as we have indicated earlier. Finally, what Wilbrand and Thietmar affirm, however, is that the holy sites were preserved and mostly shut down for protection when Christian pilgrims were not there to visit. However, there is no evidence of any artisitic activity at these sites, and the liturgical ceremonies seem to have been minimal as carried on by the Syrian Orthodox clergy allowed to remain in those special sacred places.

The other two figures of note in this period were, of course, the bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry, and Francis of Assisi. Both of them came to the Holy Land at this time; neither of them apparently visited Jerusalem or the other major dominical holy sites.

In regard to Jacques de Vitry, we have already observed that in 1217, Jacques de Vitry embarked on a preaching campaign in the Crusader States during which time he visited certain pilgrimage sites under Crusader control, most notably the shrine of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Tartus.[239] Jacques de Vitry includes a description of the Holy City in his section on the history of Jerusalem in the *Historia Orientalis*.[240]

However, the fact is that even though he apparently wrote both volumes of his *Historia* in the years between 1219 and 1225, everything in his text on Jerusalem essentially reflects the state of the holy sites before 1187.[241] He does not seem to know the pilgrim's accounts of Wilbrand of Oldenburg or Master Thietmar. It is perhaps surprising that no evidence points to a visit to Jerusalem by Jacques de Vitry, but his known activities as bishop of Acre left him little time for such a pilgrimage. After his arrival in the Holy Land and his preaching campaign, he accompanied the Fifth Crusaders to Egypt in 1218–21. After this he went to the West in 1222–3 for consultations with the pope, and in 1225/6 he left Acre to return to Europe for good.[242]

The situation with Francis of Assisi was different. After his confrontation with the sultan in Egypt in 1219, Francis remained in camp with the Crusaders for some months, although the date of his departure is a matter of considerable debate. When he leaves Damietta, the Paris Eracles says that Francis went to Syria and then returned home.[243] About this Roncaglia writes:

> The date of his departure from Egypt for Syria is not known, though some set it as far back as February 1220. Probably in view of his being able to satisfy his Christian piety, he asked for and obtained from the Sultan of Egypt a 'signaculum', a kind of permit, enabling him, along with his companions, to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Places. This particular is referred to in documents of the fourteenth century, somewhat too late, therefore. But, nevertheless, it seems that this can be admitted, at least for psychological reasons, that St. Francis visited the Holy Sepulchre. What causes perplexity is that so interesting an item has escaped the first biographers.[244]

Thus even though the story that St. Francis went to Syria is reported in the Paris Eracles, we know nothing about where he went, and the idea that he visited the Holy Sepulchre is entirely based on later tradition found only in texts from the fourteenth century and thereafter.[245] There is no early text, that is, from the years 1219 to 1300, that records this "event," and no tradition that Francis visited Jerusalem is reflected in the painted cycles of his life up through the time of Giotto.[246] Unfortunately Francis did not himself keep a diary about his travels, which has come down to us.

In sum, Jacques de Vitry and Francis of Assisi are figures of major importance, but they do not apparently visit the main holy sites. Furthermore, Wilbrand of Oldenburg and Master Thietmar are also major pilgrims whose experiences are quite revealing about how pilgrimage to the Holy Land had changed after 1187. Compared to the most detailed accounts in the twelfth century written also by two Germans, namely John of Würzburg and Theodorich, Wilbrand and Thietmar follow different itineraries, spend less time at the holy sites they are able to visit, and are unable to visit many lesser holy sites, because of the fact they are under Muslim control. Most importantly by way of contrast, whereas the twelfth-century German pilgrims describe the holy places they visit in extensive detail, the two pilgrims of 1212 and 1217 can describe very little about the main holy sites apparently because of how rapidly they are forced to visit these places. However, it is remarkable that Wilbrand and Thietmar are able to visit places twelfth-century pilgrims do not write about in any detail, such as Damascus, Saidnaya, and St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.[247] Furthermore, they include a wealth of information about the Muslims that reflects a new awareness and understanding about Islam that only a Christian observer open to the wonders of the Near East could convey. Thietmar obvously has more to say in this regard than does Wilbrand, presumably reflecting the fact that the former was a layman and the latter was a member of the clergy.

CRUSADER ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE IN THE CRUSADER STATES, 1210–1225

We have seen in passing that the architectural activity from 1210 to 1225 in regard to major Crusader fortifications was comparable to and apparently as intense as that found in the previous period, 1192–1210. That is, we have noted that certain Crusader cities and castles had their walls taken down by the Muslims, and subsequently some of these sites had had their walls rebuilt by the Crusaders. However, unlike the earlier period, some new city walls were apparently put up or at least started, and certainly a new castle, Chastel Pelerin, was erected during these years, 1210–25. What is the evidence?

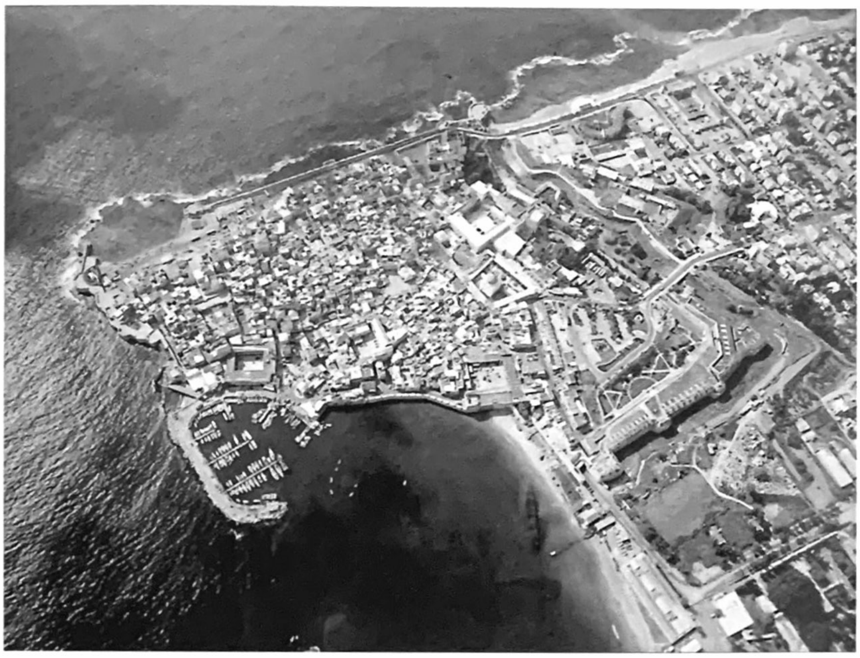
It is a remarkable fact that, as Pringle has pointed out, whereas almost all Crusader cities had some kind of defensive structure to rely on for their protection, that is, a citadel, a castle, a refuge tower, or some fortified building complex, like the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, only fourteen towns in the Latin Kingdom are known to have had full circuits of stone-built wall defenses.[248] These towns were Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Banyas inland, Ascalon, Jaffa, Arsuf, Caesarea, 'Atlit, Haifa, and Acre along the southern coast, and Iskandaruna, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut on the northern coast. The towns with a full system of walls have certain things in common. First, most of them are located on the coast. Second, most were major urban centers; only 'Atlit is an exception. Third, most of these towns already had walls when the Crusaders captured them, even if they were damaged or partly destroyed.[249]

North of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, there were also fortified cities in the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch. Of these, the main sites were Gibelet (Byblos or Jbail) and Tripoli in the County of Tripoli, and Tartus (Tortosa) and Antioch in the Principality of Antioch. Again most of these cities were along the coast, except for Antioch, most were major urban centers, and certainly most had important fortifications that dated from before the time the Crusaders had arrived in Syria-Palestine.

With these points in mind, it is remarkable that two of the Crusader cities received entirely newly built city walls, namely Acre and 'Atlit, in these years. Furthermore it is notable that, although the exact dates of the construction of these new walls are not known or agreed on by all, the work on both of these new fortifications appears to have begun between 1210 and 1225.

St. Jean d'Acre (Maps 8A and 8B; Fig. 61)

In the case of Acre, the new walls in question were built on the northern side of the existing circuit to enclose the suburbs



61. Acre, Aerial Photo (1994). (photo: after Kedar, by courtesy of M. Milner and Y. Salomon)

known as Montmusard. Montmusard was a new part of Acre located adjacent to the northern twelfth-century wall. Its new wall ran from a point just east of the *castellum* at the gate of St. Anthony to a point on the coast about 800 meters north of the wall, forming a triangular suburb. David Jacoby has argued that this new wall was referred to by the pilgrim, Wilbrand of Oldenburg, in the following passage:

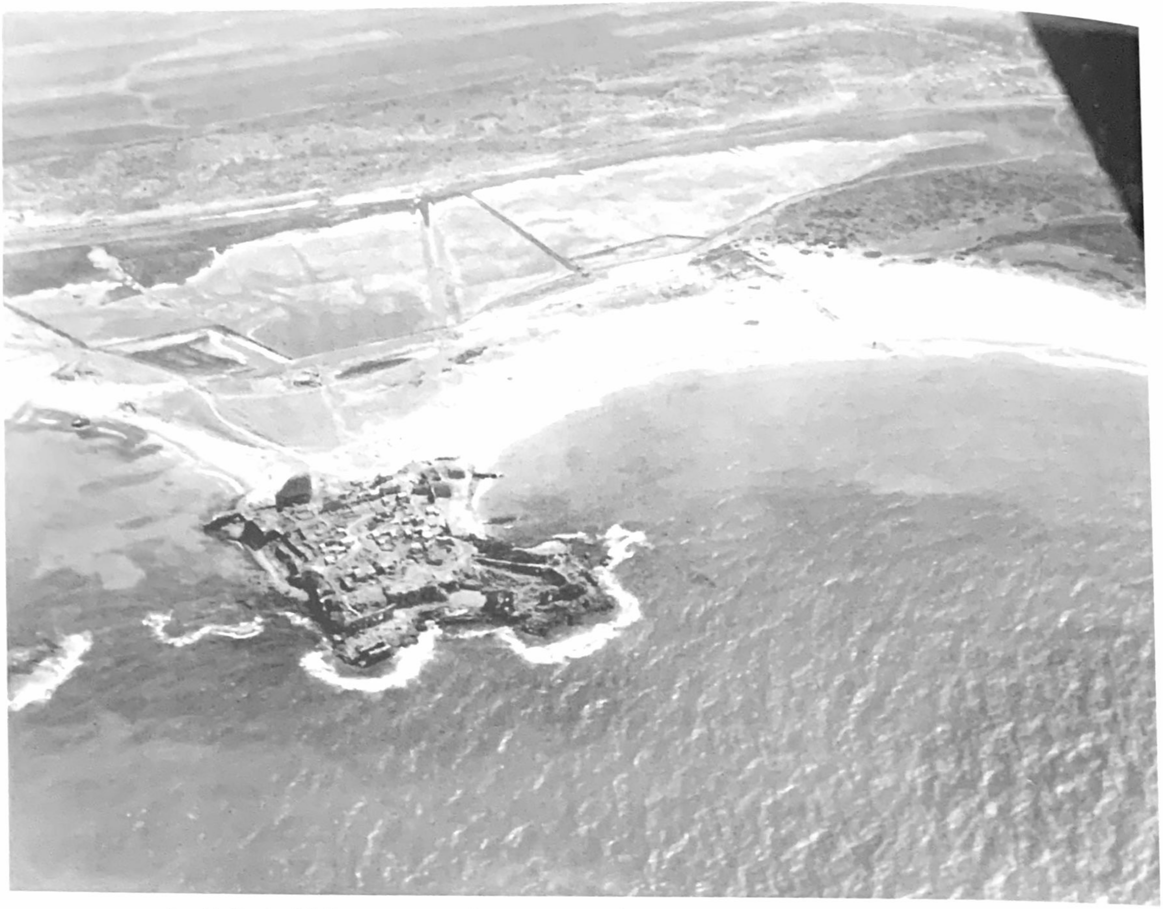
> This is a fine and strong city situated on the seashore in such a way that while it is quadrangular in shape, two of its sides forming an angle are girdled and protected by the sea; the other two are encompassed by a fine, wide and deep ditch, stone-lined to the very bottom, and by a double wall fortified with towers according to a fine arrangement, in such a way that the first wall with its towers does not overtop the main [second] wall and is commanded and defended by the second and inner wall, the towers of which are tall and very strong.[250]

Jacoby's major point is that in 1212 Wilbrand saw Acre with a system of double walls on the landward sides to the north and the east. Since the second [outer] wall of the double-wall system on the north side can only refer to that of Montmusard, he argues that this wall must have been built by 1212, in fact shortly before 1212.[251] The problem of what Wilbrand means in describing the city as "in dispositione sit quadrangula" seems to be less important, because different authors from the time of the Third Crusade on variously refer to the city either as triangular or quadrangular in shape.[252] The shape is clearly neither exactly, if we look at the early fourteenth-century maps of Acre published by Jacoby.[253] Furthermore, we cannot resolve this problem completely until we know exactly where the actual line of the walls for Montmusard is located by archaeological evidence. Nonetheless, Pringle proposes that the location of this line of walls for Montmusard is closer to resolution now, because of the identification of a round tower some 800 meters north of the present city walls, possibly the tower terminating the walls at the northeast corner of the city as shown on the fourteenth-century Italian maps.[254]

As for the date that the new walls of Montmusard were built, it is clear that the walls of Acre would have had to be repaired after the great earthquake of 1202 when the fortifications at Acre suffered serious damage. Once those repairs were carried out, it may have been possible to turn to the large project of putting up walls, de novo, for the Montmusard suburb north of the city. It appears that it was the early stage of these walls that were built by 1212, based on Wilbrand's description given above, but they may not yet have been as massive as the earlier city walls. Thus, Pringle points out that it is precisely the Montmusard walls that King Louis IX spends his time working on in 1251, to improve the fortification system of the city.[255] In fact, if Wilbrand's text is accurate, it may be that the Montmusard wall put up before 1212 was a single wall defining the outer perimeter with its ditch, and that what Louis IX mainly constructed at Acre was the second wall of the double-wall system seen on all of the fourteenth-century maps.[256] Defining just exactly which were the walls put up later, the inner walls or the outer walls, is a task the archaeologists will have to verify. Either is possible; Frankel favors the idea that the outer walls were built first.[257]

'Atlit and Pilgrims' Castle (Figs. 62–69)

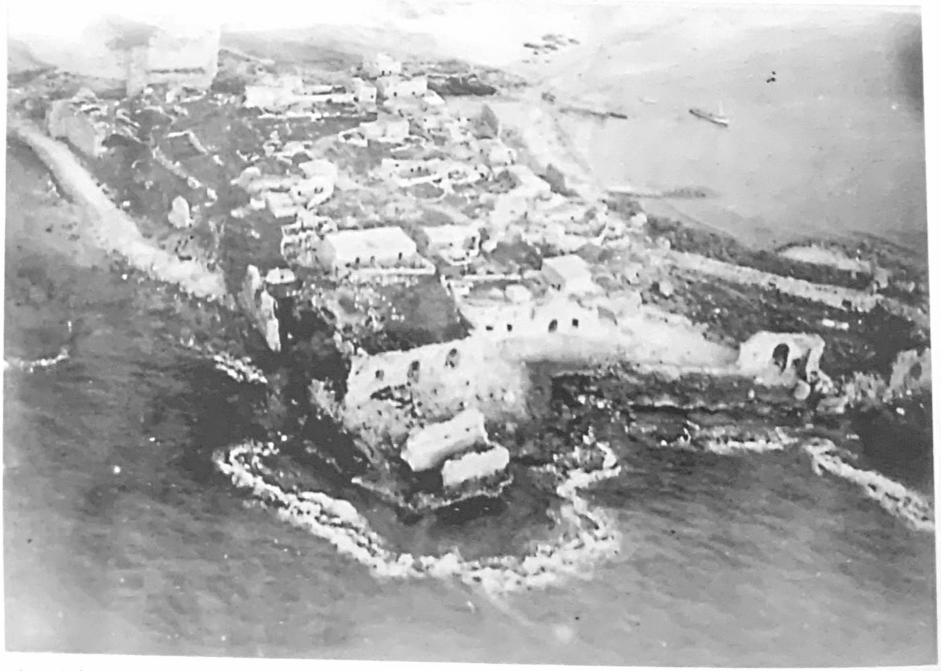
The other set of new Crusader city walls is found at 'Atlit, where the great castle was built in 1217–18 that was then given to the Templars. Pringle suggests it is likely that the town adjacent to the castle of Chastel Pelerin received its walls after al-Mu'azzam's attack on the fortress in the fall of 1220. He proposes to date these new walls to *c.*1225–50. Although not as formidable as the walls of the castle itself, they were impressive



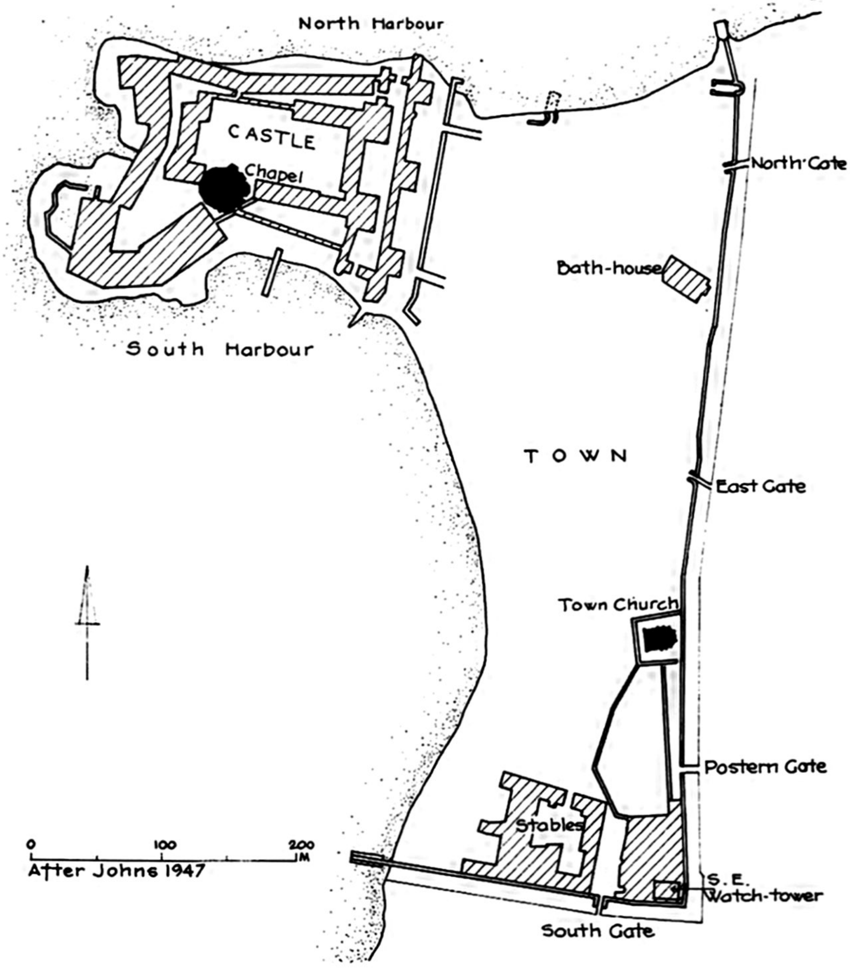
62. ʻAtlit: Aerial Photo, *c.*1930 (photo: courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London)

nonetheless (Fig. 64). Pringle provides a succinct description of their current condition:

> The town was defended by the sea on the north and west, and by the castle on the north-west. To landward it was enclosed by a wall some 645 m. long on the east and 230 m. on the south, giving an inhabitable area of 9 ha. The wall survives at least 7.25 m. high, measuring from the bottom of the ditch in front of it, and is built, like the castle, of massive limestone blocks with course heights of 0.75 m. and lengths averaging



63. ʻAtlit: Aerial Photo, WWI (photo: courtesy of Benjamin Z. Kedar, and the Gustaf-Dalman-Institut, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität, Greifswald).



64. ‘Atlit, Chastel Pelerin, Plan of castle and town. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

2.55 m. It had two gates and a postern leading into the ditch on the east side, and one gate on the south. The main gates were set in gate-towers, only the southern of which projected forward from the wall.[258]

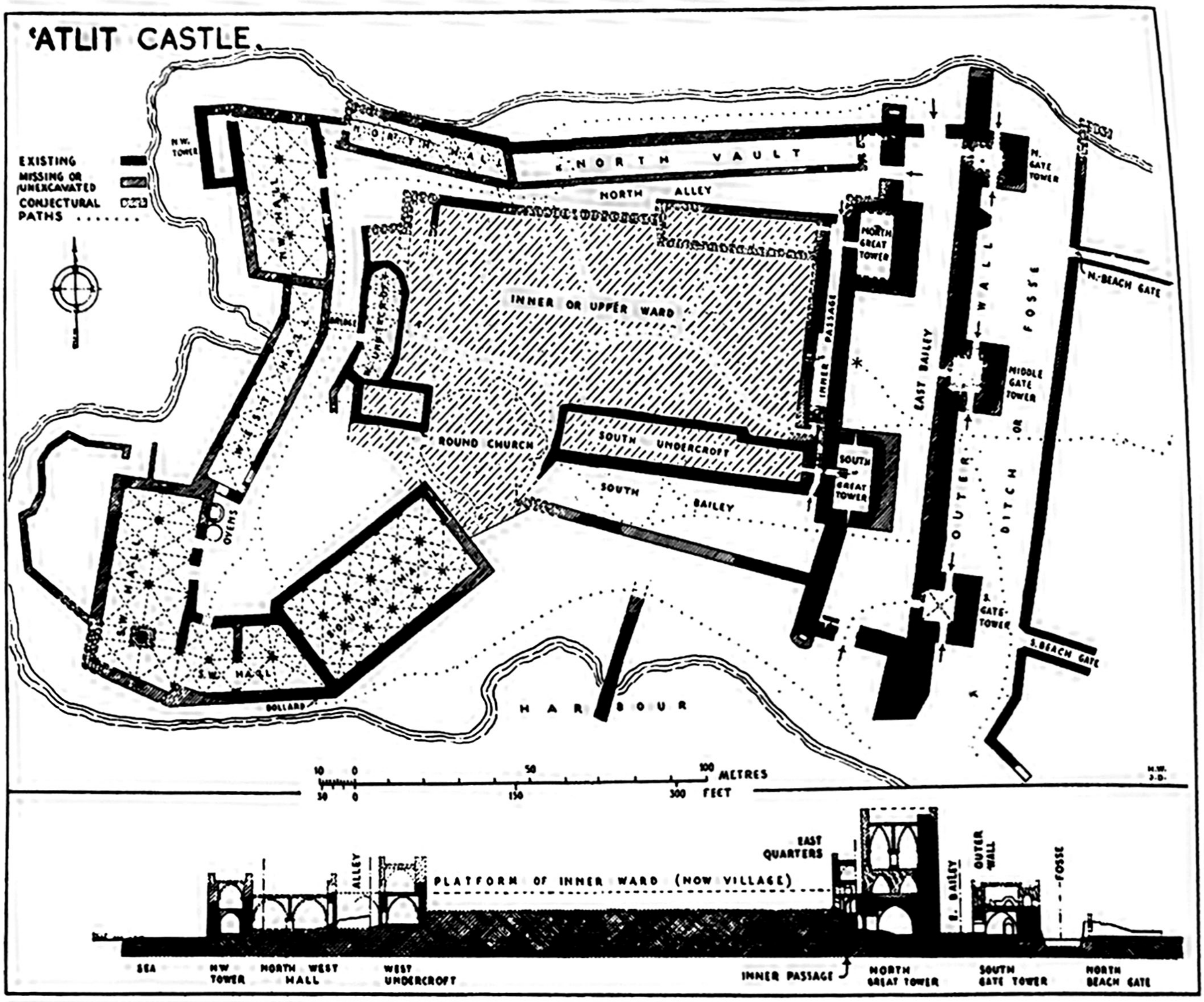
The north and south main gates were defended differently from the east gate, but they all probably had slit-machicolations; however, their towers do not survive to a point high enough for us to tell for sure. There were timber bridges set across the ditch in front of these gates. At the ends of the walls there were rectangular towers built in the sea to protect them, and there was also a rounded tower to guard the entry to the ditch at the north end of the beach.[259]

It is clear from the excavations carried out by C. N. Johns at ‘Atlit in the 1930s that construction of the town and its walls went on for a period of time, mostly in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, as Pringle indicates. However, Johns also has some comments of interest when concluding his report on the excavation of the stables:

> The evidence of the coins suggests that the building [stables] was in use for something like seventy years, almost as long as the castle itself remained in Crusader hands (1217–1291). If so, it must have been one of the first works to be undertaken in the suburb. It was not the very first; both the south-east watch-tower and the town wall preceded it. Yet the town wall itself can hardly have been built before the twenties. Neither the Crusaders who began the castle in 1217, before leaving for Damietta, nor the Templars who took it over afterwards can have had the time or the means for anything but the castle if they had already made it strong enough to resist attack in 1219 or 1220.[260]

Thus it appears that it must have been shortly after the Templars successfully defended this castle from al-Mu’azzam in 1220, when construction could have begun on the city walls. In the wake of appeals to the West for funds from the Templars, for aid to assist them in defending their holdings, it seems likely that the town walls at ‘Atlit could have been substantially begun between 1222 and 1225. This construction would then have been underway less than ten years after the main castle itself had been constructed.

The castle at ‘Atlit is one of the largest and most impressive new castles built by the Crusaders in the thirteenth century (Fig. 65).[261] Boase called it “one of the most splendid and significant undertakings of the crusading revival.”[262] It is located on a sandstone promontory, which has a sharp drop-off to deep water on three sides. (Figures 62 and 63) Inside the later city wall system, it is protected from the landward (east) side by a ditch at sea level, with a masonry counterscarp in front. Behind this is a massive double-wall system, with three projecting rectangular towers on the first wall and two larger and more massive towers on the second wall.[263]

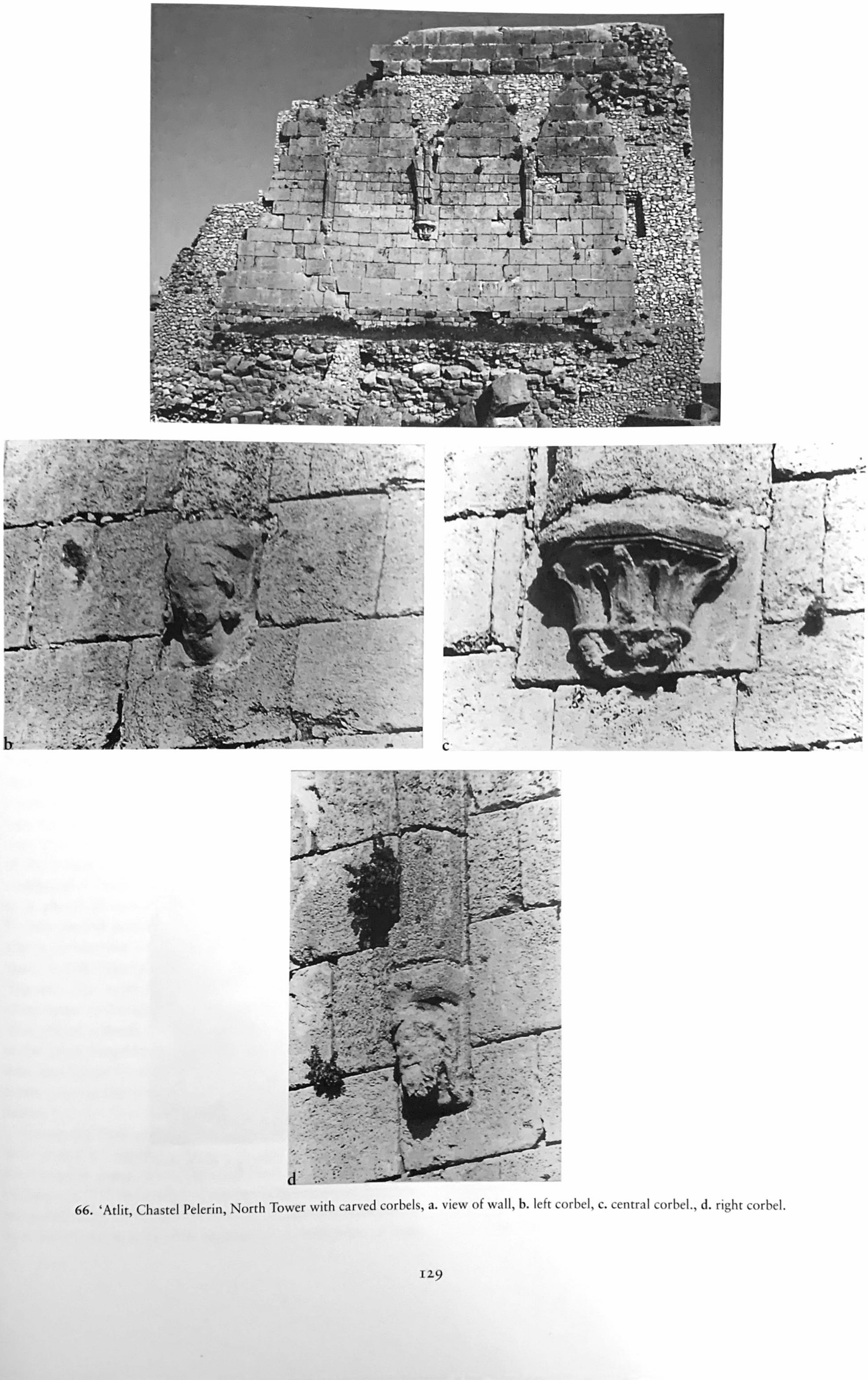

'ATLIT CASTLE
EXISTING
MISSING OR UNEXCAVATED
CONJECTURAL
PATHS
N.W. TOWER
NORTH HALL
N.W. HALL
NORTH VAULT
NORTH ALLEY
INNER OR UPPER WARD
WEST UNDERCROFT
WEST HALL
ROUND CHURCH
SOUTH UNDERCROFT
SOUTH BAILEY
OVENS
S.W. HALL
SOUTH HALL
BOLLARD
HARBOUR
NORTH GREAT TOWER
INNER PASSAGE
SOUTH GREAT TOWER
EAST BAILEY
OUTER WALL
N. GATE TOWER
MIDDLE GATE TOWER
S. GATE-TOWER
FOSSE OR DITCH
N.-BEACH GATE
S.BEACH GATE
10
0
50
100
METRES
30
0
150
300
FEET
H.W. J.D.
ALLEY
PLATFORM OF INNER WARD (NOW VILLAGE)
EAST QUARTERS
E. BAILEY
OUTER WALL
FOSSE
SEA
NW TOWER
NORTH WEST HALL
WEST UNDERCROFT
INNER PASSAGE
NORTH GREAT TOWER
SOUTH GATE TOWER
NORTH BEACH GATE

65. 'Atlit, Chastel Pelerin, Plan of castle. (photo: after Johns)

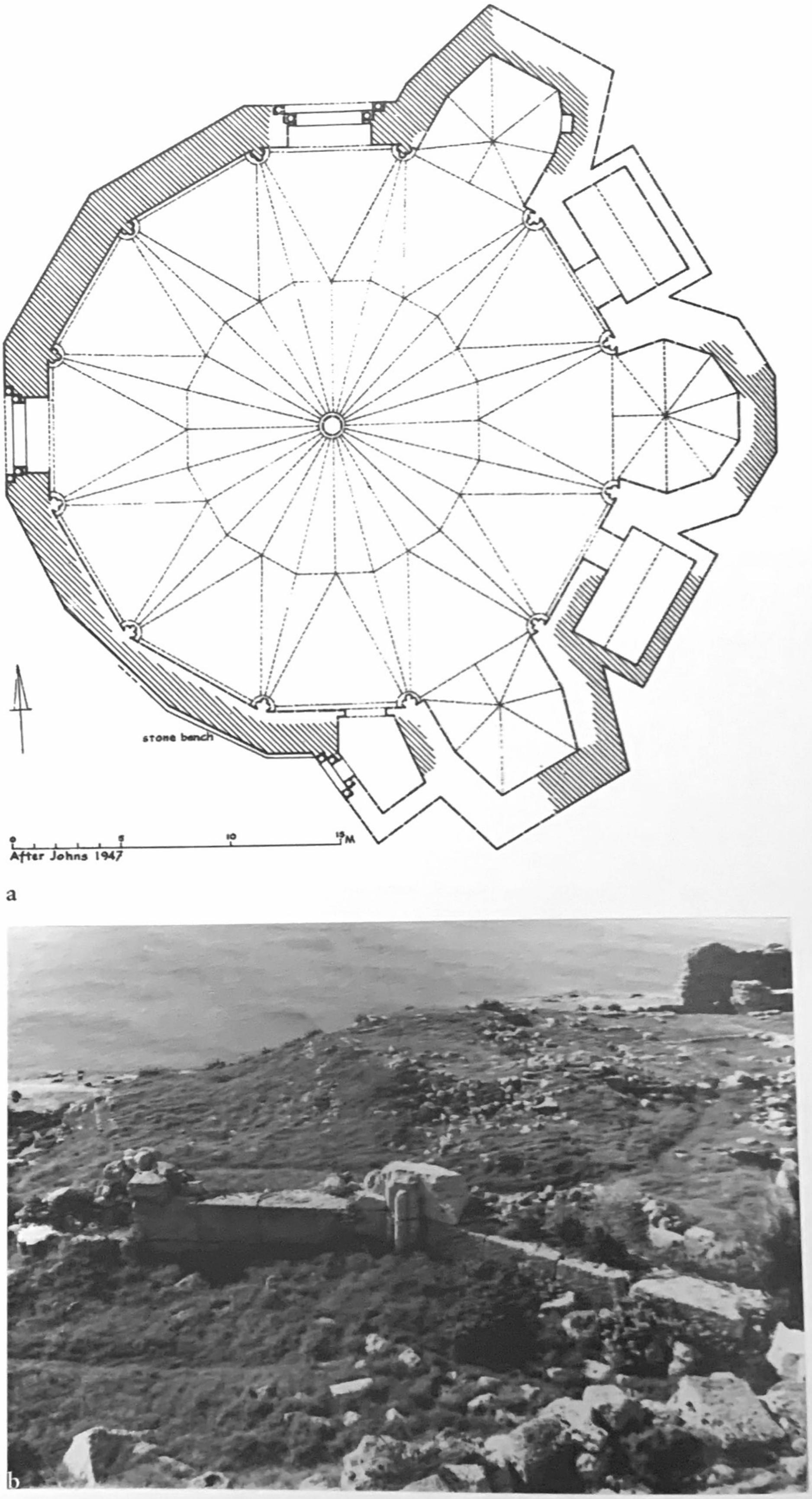
Oliver of Paderborn discusses its construction at some length, as we have mentioned previously.[264] Soldiers of the Fifth Crusade built it in the winter of 1217–18, led by Walter of Avesnes, a Fleming, and assisted by men of the Templars and the Teutonic Knights. It was erected on an ancient Phoenician site, and the Crusaders used masonry from that site, including some of the largest stone blocks employed for any Crusader fortification. Oliver says that a single one of these blocks could hardly be pulled by two oxen. The castle was never taken by the Muslims, neither by al-Mu'azzam who attacked it twice, in the winter of 1219–20 and the fall (October – November) of 1220, nor later by Baybars in 1265, but it is in ruins today.[265] After the Templars evacuated it in 1291, it was eventually damaged by an earthquake in 1837, after which Ibrahim Pasha removed large amounts of its masonry to construct the sea wall at Acre. Study of the site began in 1922 during the time of the British Mandate, and serious excavations were carried out here by C. N. Johns between 1930 and 1934, but were never completed.

Besides its massive defensive system, and the impressive masonry, the castle of 'Atlit is notable for its remarkable "round" church, and certain architectural sculpture. Only the foundations of the church remain, and the sculpture that survives is severely damaged by weathering. However, both represent new departures in the artistic activity of the Crusaders in the thirteenth century.

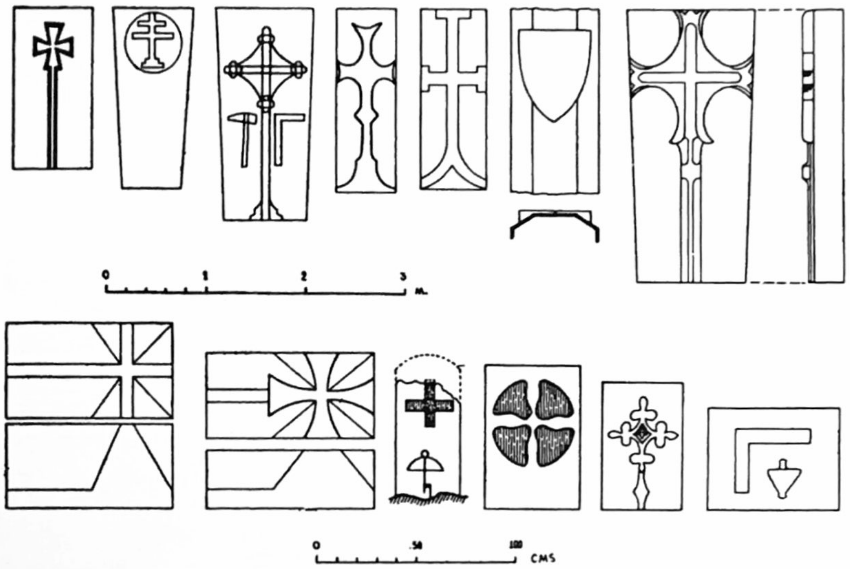
The chapel, or *oratorium*, whose ruins we see today is a remarkable polygonal, triapsidal structure, which seems to have had gothic rib vaulting with a central pier (Fig. 67).[266] This design for a castle chapel is no doubt a reflection of the *Templum Domini* in Jerusalem, and it reminds us of chapter house architecture in the West, as well as surviving churches in northern Spain – without the central pier to carry the vaulting – at Eunate and Torres del Rio.[267] In fact, however, as Pringle points out, the surviving evidence about this chapel, mostly in the form of column bases, compares stylistically to work done in France in the 1250s. Other sylistic considerations also suggest a date



66. ‘Atlit, Chastel Pelerin, North Tower with carved corbels, **a.** view of wall, **b.** left corbel, **c.** central corbel., **d.** right corbel.


stone bench
0
5
10
15 M
After Johns 1947
a
b

67. ‘Atlit, Chastel Pelerin, **a.** plan of polygonal church (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*), and **b.** view of fragmentary remains in 1975.

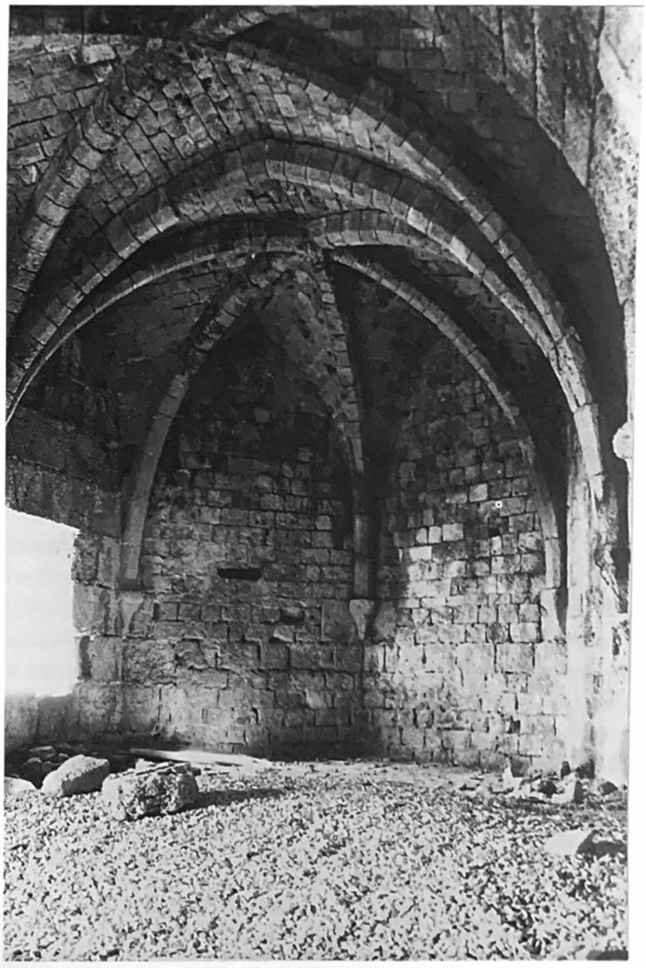


68. ʿAtlit, Drawings of carved gravestones. (photo: after Johns)

in the mid-thirteenth century. Johns dates this chapel along with the great hall in the inner north tower to "about 1250."[268] Camille Enlart compares the column bases for the chapel portals to work from the transepts of Notre Dame in Paris, and Baron Rey reported that fragments of the chapel windows reminded him of the Sainte Chapelle.[269] The ribs of the west undercroft probably resemble those that would have been seen in this chapel (Fig. 69). It seems likely, as Barber suggests, that the remarkable polygonal form of both this chapel and the octagonal chapel at Safed were built as a response to the loss of the Templar headquarters in Jerusalem.[270]

On the basis of this evidence, the polygonal chapel, whose foundations we see today, was probably built to replace an earlier more conventional, most likely rectangular chapel on the same site from *c.*1218. Oliver of Paderborn refers to the "*oratorium*" along with other buildings in the castle that he says were built for "utilitas,"[271] and we can expect that he might have commented on such a remarkable polygonal design for this chapel if it had been designed this way at that time. Indeed it seems fair to conclude more broadly that most of the extant decorative architectural sculpture – figural and nonfigural – inside the castle and in the town must belong to a phase of construction later in the thirteenth century. To this period belongs the third storey of the north tower where, on the east wall, we see human-headed corbel decorations, and the handsome church built inside the town walls[272] (Fig. 66). This work appears to belong to the time that certain of the latest buildings in the town at ʿAtlit were also going up. This period extends from just before the arrival of Louis IX in the Latin Kingdom, that is, in the 1230s and 1240s, to the time that Louis IX was active while in residence in the Holy Land, 1250–4, but well before the incursions of Baybars in the 1260s.

Among the finds at ʿAtlit, besides the architectural material, there is also a Crusader cemetery located outside the walls of the Crusader town, along the road from the northern gate to Le Destroit.[273] The number of graves in the cemetery has been estimated to be 1,700, but the number of persons buried there may far exceed this number because of the existence of mass graves. It seems reasonable to imagine that burials began here from the time of the building of the castle and continued up to 1291, but so far no attempt has been made to date any individual tomb.



69. ʿAtlit, Chastel Pelerin, view of the west undercroft.

Many of the burials are marked with stone tomb slabs, some of which have carved designs. None of the extant slabs in this cemetery has figural designs, but some have Latin cross designs (Fig. 68).[274] Enlart remarks that this kind of horizontal grave slab was the most common during the Middle Ages, East and West, by which he means for Frankish burials.[275] It is not clear which of these carved slabs belong to members of the Templar order and which belong to those persons who lived in the castle or the town but were not Templars. Johns notes that "many of the graves are probably those of the townspeople, the pilgrims and the local employees of the knights. Yet it seems likely that the knights themselves, their chaplains, serving brothers, and Syrian men-at-arms were buried here as well, and that it is mainly their graves, or those of visitors of standing, lay or ecclesiastical, which are marked by the carved tombstones."[276] The Templars had rights to their own burial grounds, and this may very well have been one of them. It is in any case the only large Crusader cemetery that has been identified intact in the Latin Kingdom from the thirteenth century. Whether there were also any burials inside the castle or inside the chapel in the castle has not been determined.[277]

Pottery at 'Atlit (Fig. 70) Besides 'Atlit's importance as a new and important castle, a new town, and for its remarkable cemetery, it is also of interest as an archaeological site because of the glazed pottery excavated in the town.[278] In fact 'Atlit is one of only very few major Crusader castles in the Latin Kingdom that have been excavated archaeologically to some extent, as opposed to being just cleared.[279] The pottery excavated there, which has a terminus post quem of 1217–18, is therefore significant in relation to the other sites investigated in the Crusader States.[280] The decorated pottery found at 'Atlit is mainly one of three types: St. Symeon ware from the region of Antioch,[281] proto-maiolica from southern Italy,[282] and by about 1220/5, Cypriot graffita ware.[283] Byzantine Zeuxippus ware from Constantinople and the Aegean[284] in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century is not found at 'Atlit apparently because this site only began to function in 1217/18 when Zeuxippus ware was largely being replaced by the Cypriot graffita ware. This pottery raises questions of trade and commerce on the one hand and the nature of Crusader artistic activity on the other. What are the characteristics of these various types, and which was Crusader?

'Atlit is of special interest because the pottery found there basically reflects current use during the thirteenth century, from 1217–18 to 1291. Of the major types of glazed pottery found here, some of it sgraffito ware,[285] only one is made in the Crusader States, namely the "St. Symeon ware" from Antioch.[286] This pottery is a polychromed, lead-glazed, sgraffito ware and was made in St. Symeon from the early years of the thirteenth century until 1268, when the principality of Antioch fell to the Mamluks. The most typical shape for this pottery is a shallow bowl with a flat lip.[287] Lane describes the pottery as follows:

> The clay body of the 'Port St. Symeon' ware is light orange- or pinkish red, rather coarse, and hard;. . . . The visible surfaces were covered with a thin white slip, through which the design was engraved in strong, thick lines when the clay was leather-hard. The colouring pigments were then applied in the necessary places, the normal scheme being an alternation of green (from copper oxide) and yellow brown (iron-oxide) with occasional additions of purple (manganese). The whole decorated surface was then covered with a transparent lead glaze which fired to a slightly yellowish tone and absorbed the colours. Very rarely the glaze is stained a monochrome green.[288]

The typical decorative repertory of motifs appears to include ornament in concentric bands, with cable, leaf-ribbon, and simple geometric forms along with triangular shields and pseudo-Kufic inscriptions. The well of the bowl can receive a radiating pattern, or a central object such as a shield or sun-face. Some interesting bowls also have figures of birds, animals, monsters, and even humans.[289] Among the examples of human figures depicted are an interesting man in Eastern dress holding a drinking vessel[290] and a soldier holding a large sword.[291]

The other graffita ware found at 'Atlit is from nearby Cyprus, a new source that replaces the older Byzantine Zeuxippus ware and its less fine Aegean relatives in the Crusader States in the 1220s. Cyprus sgraffito pottery

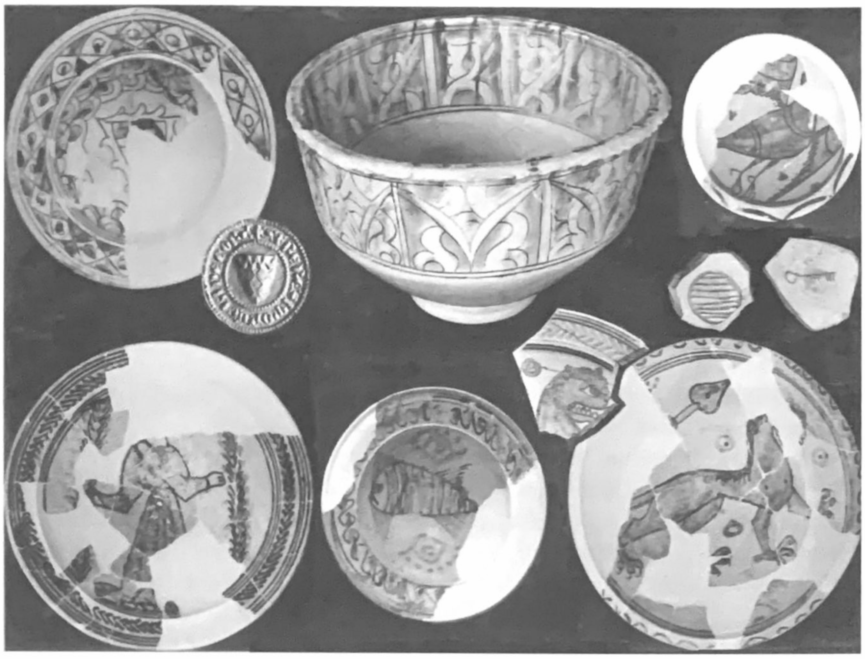
> types include those with a colorless or slightly yellow glaze (Cypriot Ic), others with a green glaze (Cypriot X), and a third (Cypriot III) with a clear glaze enlivened with splashes of brown and green. One of the commonest forms taken by the monochrome types is that of a carinated bowl with a vertical outwardly-concave rim and a high foot-ring base. The incised decoration of these bowls consists of concentric circles in the base and around the rim and of motifs described as "blazons", including representations of keys, fish, towers, hatched roundels or triangles.[292]

Lane noted that in appearance, the clay of the Cypriot bowls was similar to St. Symeon ware, but that the glaze is thicker, with a glossy and often irridescent surface. Furthermore, he says that "the engraved decoration is done with a finer point and the crowded patterns lack the bold simplicity found at Port St. Symeon."[293]

One of the interesting aspects of the Cypriot pottery, like that of the St. Symeon ware, is the fact that its repertory of decoration includes numerous human figures. Some wear Byzantine or European dress, including knights holding a sword and a shield, ladies with plaited hair wearing long dresses, and wedded couples embracing.[294] Although the dating of Cypriot pottery with these figures to the early period, that is, the 1220s, is not certain, and indeed there is some disagreement on dating, the interest in diverse imagery, which reflects to some extent the patrons for whom these vessels were being made, and the fact that these figures depict both Frankish and Byzantine dress are notable.

The third major type of pottery excavated at 'Atlit, ware known as proto-maiolica, was found in large quantities. Proto-maiolica is a polychrome tin-glazed pottery produced in southern Italy and in Sicily from the late twelfth century to *c.*1400. Pringle characterizes it by saying that

> this ware is distinguished from the other types found at 'Atlit by its painted decoration, executed in dark brown-black, blue and yellow-brown, over an opaque white tin glaze. The fabric usually tends to be rather coarse and sandy, cream or buff in colour and sometimes pinkish in fracture. Forms at 'Atlit



70. 'Atlit, pottery: Proto-maiolica ware, and seal of Simon de Guinecort, excavated at 'Atlit. (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London)

> include plates and bowls with low foot-ring bases and with rims either plain, flanged or thickened and hollowed.[295]

The repertory of decoration in the wells of these bowls is similar to what is found on the St. Symeon ware and the Cypriot sgraffito ware, albeit done by different designers. We find fish, birds, flora, animals, human figures, heraldic designs, abstract patterns, and even city walls with pennants flying.[296]

These three important wares found at 'Atlit have been selected here for notice in order to propose certain points about Crusader pottery *c.*1220. It should be clear that these are not the only wares found at 'Atlit,[297] or other Crusader sites, such as at Acre.[298] Besides these, there are, for example, much smaller amounts of underglazed painted pottery from Muslim Syria, among other types of interest. However, these three are the most important decorated glazed wares. Of these three types, one is "Crusader," that is, produced in a Crusader center, and that center is at St. Symeon in the principality of Antioch. This affirms in a new way the artistic presence and importance of Antioch as a producer of Crusader art. The other pottery was imported from outside the Crusader States, from Cyprus and from south Italy/Sicily. What is interesting about these imports is that they are large in quantity, and their decorative repertory is comparable, at least in terms of the human-figural designs, to the St. Symeon ware. However, they offer significant variations in technique, shapes, and colors, and an expanded repertory of decorative motifs for Crusader buyers and patrons.

'Atlit as a new consumer and trading center, close to Acre and to Caesarea, immediately becomes a part of the Crusader commerce in pottery after its completion in 1217/18, and the growth of the little town adjacent with its newly constructed walls in the 1220s. Certainly military shipments of grain, horses, and arms, accompanied by pottery, by and for the Templars from southern Italy to 'Atlit could partly explain the large amounts of proto-maiolica found there.[299] However, as Pringle has pointed out, one feature of the finds at 'Atlit is that they parallel finds at other major Crusader coastal sites:

> This hints at the existence in that period of a fairly intensive system of coastal redistribution, fed in part from potteries within the Crusader states producing both fine and coarse wares and in part with imports from southern Italy, Byzantine Greece [and Cyprus] and Muslim Syria. The abundant documentary evidence for long-distance trade between Europe and the Latin East in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries has perhaps tended to obscure the role played by coastal shipping in the economic life of the eastern Mediterranean before and during the time of Crusader settlement in Syria and Palestine. The evidence from pottery, an item of trade which is barely mentioned in written sources in any case, thus helps provide a useful corrective to the picture of trading activity presented by the surviving documentary evidence.[300]

Heretofore we have not attempted to discuss the issue of pottery and trade in the Crusader States at any length, partly because of the difficulty of dating the archaeological finds and partly because the study of Crusader ceramics is still very much in its beginning stages. With 'Atlit, however, we have a firm terminus post quem as we have indicated, and we can begin to glimpse the role that decorated glazed ware played in Crusader life, both economically and artistically. From this period, we can refer to the pottery at the various Crusader sites on a regular basis, and attempt to discern changes and developments through the thirteenth century. Like the coinage, with its tondo-based designs albeit without the numerous and specific possibilities of dated examples, pottery provides us with an important continuous view of economic life and an artistic dimension of popular culture in the Crusader States that we will attempt to assess from this point to 1291.

'Atlit and the Relics of St. Euphemia There is one final aspect, a matter of religious significance, connected with 'Atlit at this time which sheds light on its importance as a new center for the Templars, and for the Crusaders and other pilgrims on the coast between Mount Carmel and Caesarea. Various pilgrims' reports and handbooks written from about 1231 on mention that at "Chastiau Pelerin ... est de la maison du Temple, & gist iluec sainte eufemie, virge & martire."[301] Saint Euphemia, virgin and martyr (+303), was in effect the patroness of the Council of Chalcedon held in 451,[302] and certain of her relics were identified in Constantinople by several Crusaders at the time of the Fourth Crusade. Both Martin of Pairis and Conrad of Halberstadt came away from Constantinople with relics of St. Euphemia, which they took to the West. It is unclear whether the relics of St. Euphemia mentioned in 'Atlit all through the thirteenth century came from Constantinople.[303] It seems that the origin of the remains of Euphemia at 'Atlit were thought to be part of a miraculous translation, either from a local or from a somewhat more distant Levantine source.[304] Only the thirteenth-century pilgrim Philipp says they had been miraculously brought to 'Atlit from Constantinople.[305] It is also unclear whether the Templars at 'Atlit claimed to possess the whole body of St. Euphemia or only the head. Certainly by the time of the dissolution of the Order, the head, said to have been kept in a silver reliquary, was the most important relic.[306]

M. Barber describes one version of the situation:

> At 'Atlit, among other relics, they kept the heart and body of the virgin and martyr St Euphemia of Chalcedon (d. 303), whose miraculous properties drew in many pilgrims travelling south along the coast road from Acre on their way to Jerusalem. According to tradition, these remains had been miraculously translated to 'Atlit, a belief which must have added to their potency in the eyes of the faithful, although in fact the dedication of a church to the saint near Caesarea as long ago as the seventh century suggests that the region had been associated with her for many centuries before the time of the crusaders.[307]

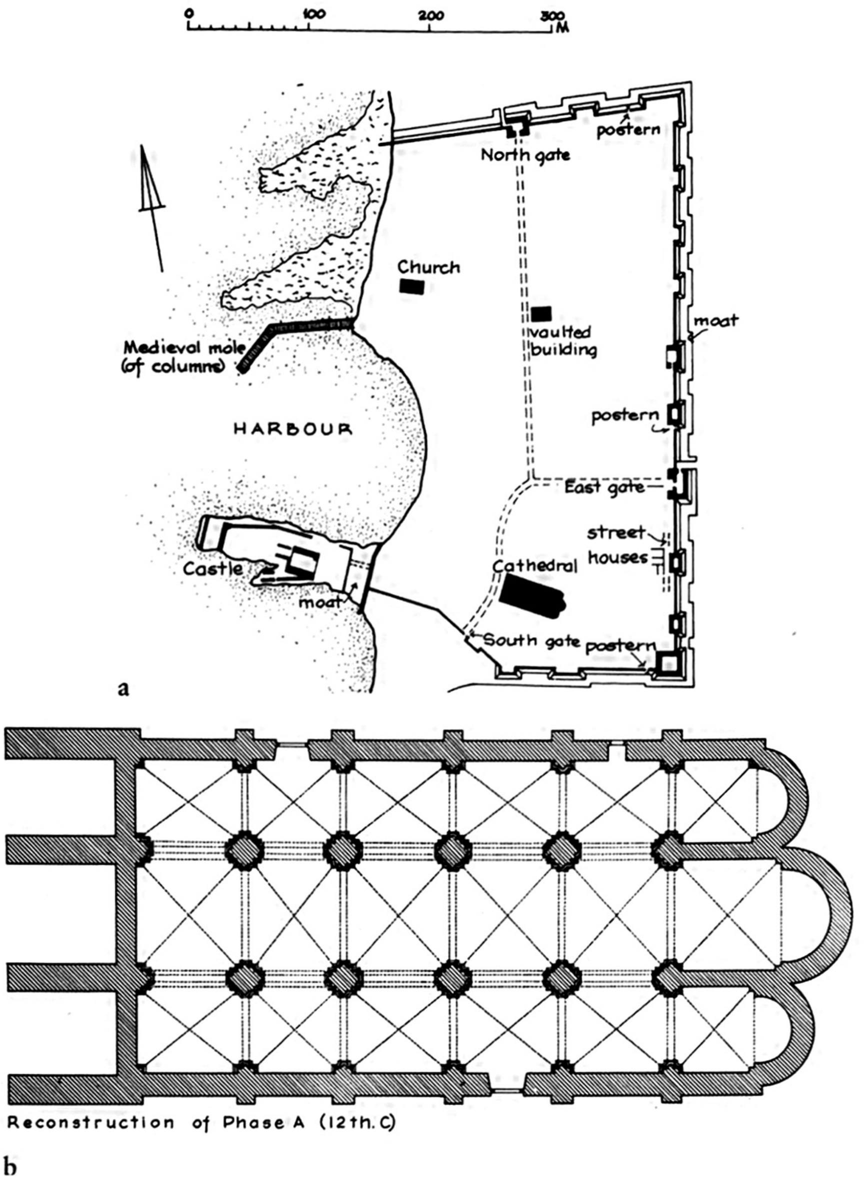
The question is, of course, where were these relics kept and what kind of reliquary they were kept in. Despite the lack of evidence from the excavations carried out on the two relevant churches, the most likely location was in the castle chapel, because the town church was not built until later on, probably in the mid-thirteenth century. It is interesting therefore that one of the functions of the castle chapel was as a pilgrimage church, which preserved holy relics. We shall be interested to consider this aspect of its role in considering its new design at the time it was rebuilt in the mid-thirteenth century. Unfortunately we know nothing about the container in which the relics were kept. It is possible, however, that the reliquary was a new product of Crusader goldsmiths commissioned by the Templars, perhaps in nearby Acre. Once again we can only glimpse the possibility of a thriving metalwork industry in these years.

The phenomenon of having the relics of St. Euphemia in 'Atlit is an important development for the Latin Kingdom. It demonstrates the possibility that certain new centers for relics came into being in the thirteenth century when access to the major holy sites was difficult, that these new places became well known by pilgrims, and that the sources of their relics could be more or less local, that is, not brought from Constantinople or from the West. This means that despite the flood of relics to western Europe in the wake of the Fourth Crusade,[308] local relics in the Holy Land were able to establish themselves for the pilgrims who kept coming to the Latin Kingdom. Because of the inability of the Crusaders to retake the main holy sites, the difficulties of the Crusader circumstances vis-à-vis the Muslims stimulated the identification of holy relics and holy places inside the territory controlled by the Latin king, the count of Tripoli, and the prince of Antioch. Furthermore, it means that a major fortification, like a castle, could become a holy place of sorts, something of a new development for the Crusaders in the thirteenth century, and a somewhat unexpected function for a castle.

K. Molin has discussed the various nonmilitary functions of Crusader fortifications in a recent article and his new book.[309] He suggests that the Templars at 'Atlit had an ideal site for levying tolls from tradesmen along the coastal road at Le Destoit, and they may well have done so the same way that the Hospitallers did it at Margat, also known as Marqab. At Margat, "a wall had been constructed running [down the hill] from the fortress to the water's edge, so that people using the coastal road between the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch were obliged to pass through a small gate and pay a fee before they could continue on their journey. This operation was supervised from a tower near the gate, the occupants of which therefore carried out the dual task of protecting travelers against robbers, and at the same time raising revenues for the Hospitallers."[310] For pilgrims also, Molin says, "Pilgrims' Castle itself probably became a popular spot for visitors to spend the night, so that its garrison could continue the traditional Templar occupation of looking after Christians traveling between Jerusalem and the coast."[311] In this role, 'Atlit became a safe haven for not only pilgrims, tradesmen, and other travelers, but also for the relics of St. Euphemia. In sum, Pilgrims' Castle became a major center for the Templars along with their fortified headquarters in Acre, it was a new and very important Crusader defensive position along the coast, and it was given a certain religious significance by the presence of the relics of St. Euphemia there from an early moment – after 1218 but well before about 1231, when the first pilgrim's text mentions the relics there.

Dismantled and Rebuilt Crusader Cities and Their Churches

Chastel Pelerin is clearly the most important entirely new Crusader military construction in this period, along with the new walls of Montmusard at Acre. There were, however, numerous fortifications whose walls were taken down and rebuilt during the years 1210–25. Caesarea Maritima, located just south of 'Atlit, is the central example in this period. Saladin had dismantled the walls of Caesarea at the time of the Third Crusade, and the city was recovered and reoccupied by the Crusaders by the terms of the ensuing truce. It was not, however, refortified and repopulated until 1217, when King John of Brienne, with the assistance of Leopold of Austria and the Hospitallers, began to rebuild it in December 1217. On 2 February 1218, the patriarch of Jerusalem and six bishops were able to celebrate mass in the Church of St. Peter inside the newly refortified city. Unfortunately this work was quickly undone, however, by al-Mu'azzam, who during his campaign against the Latin Kingdom in the winter of 1219–20, attacked the city and dismantled the walls again.[312] They were not rebuilt until the late 1220s, May of 1228 to be exact.[313]



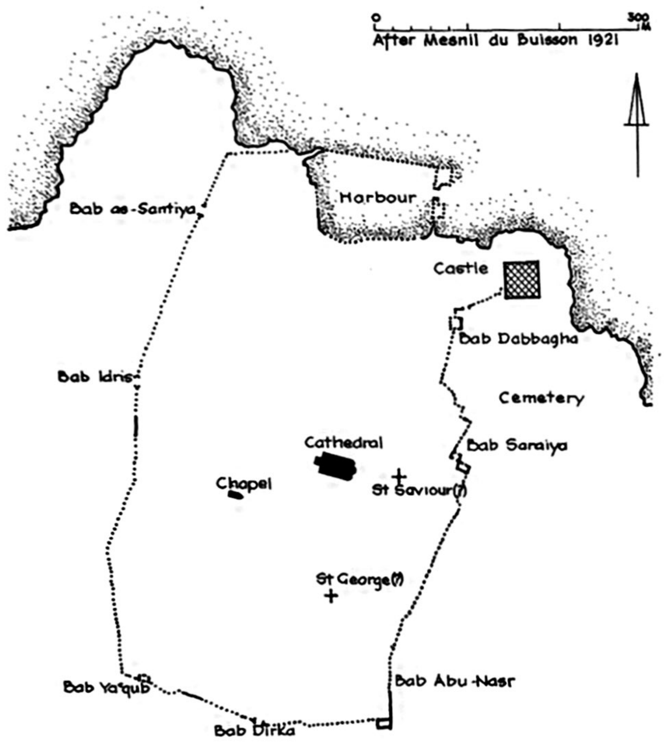
71. Caesarea, a. Plan of the city, and b. Plan of St. Peter's Cathedral. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

Caesarea's cathedral has been excavated adequately to discern that it had three building phases to it (Fig. 71).[314]

The first phase constituted the twelfth-century church, which was a three-aisled basilica with five bays. It is architecturally comparable to the church at Gaza,[315] as well as the cathedrals of Beirut[316] and Tortosa.[317] The two later phases appear to be rebuilds of the east end of the church for which there is no documentation as to their dates. We propose that perhaps the east end of the church was damaged at the time of Saladin's destruction of the city in 1191, and it was rebuilt in a makeshift way in order for the church to be used as the city began to be repopulated during the truce. When the city walls were rebuilt in 1217–18, however, the east end of the church was possibly repaired properly and the apsidal configuration was rebuilt almost to the same previous design. This work was done in time for the patriarch to celebrate mass here on the Feast of the Purification, 2 February 1218. As evidence for this scenario, I refer, first, to the findings that there is nothing to show that major changes in the new gothic style of the later thirteenth century were attempted here, and second, to the need for the cathedral church to be useable and functioning at all times when the Crusader population was present in the city.[318]

Other cities that had been demolished by Saladin during the time of the Third Crusade were not so fortunate. Ascalon had had its walls dismantled a second time under the terms of the treaty of 1192 and, as Pringle points out, the site lay derelict until November 1239.[319] Jaffa had, of course, been ceded to the Crusaders in 1204, and although some Christians were in residence thereafter, when Thietmar visited in 1217 the place was empty and its defenses were not rebuilt until troops of Frederick II arrived in 1228.[320] Sidon was regained by the Crusaders in 1197, but its refortification was not undertaken until 1227.[321] Finally, as we have seen, the walls of Jerusalem were dismantled by al-Mu'azzam in 1219, so that if Jerusalem were ever to fall into the hands of the Crusaders again, it could not be used as a fortified city against the Muslims.[322]

In addition to these various city fortifications and their churches there were also a number of castles whose walls were destroyed in this period, especially at the hands of al-Mu'azzam in his campaign against the Latin Kingdom during the fall and



72. Beirut, Plan of the location of John of Ibelin's Palace. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

winter of 1219–20. Belvoir had been lost to the Muslims in 1187, but apparently it was garrisoned by them until 1219. At that point al-Mu'azzam had its walls taken down, and it did not return into Crusader hands until 1241.[323] The walls of the castles on Mount Tabor – built by the Muslims themselves – Safed and Toron, were also taken down at this time.[324] Al-Mu'azzam's main line of fortified defense was anchored across the Jordan at Shaubak (Montréal) and Kerak, the latter which was refortified in 1192–3, and both of which he and his successors held onto firmly from 1218 onward.[325] Al-Mu'azzam insisted on the importance of these two fortresses for protecting his lines of communication with Egypt despite Crusader attempts to negotiate their return during the Fifth Crusade.

Otherwise, among the most remarkable architectural works we know about in this period there is the palace of John of Ibelin at Beirut (Fig. 72). The palace and fortifications at Beirut had been lost to Saladin in 1187 and retaken by the Crusaders in 1197.[326] The palace is famous mainly because of the detailed description given by Wilbrand of Oldenburg in his pilgrim's account (1212) referred to earlier:

> The fortress is very strong. On the side where it is highest, it is defended by the sea and by the escarpment of high rocks. On the other sides, it is surrounded by a masonry ditch, so deep that one can place prisoners there as if they were in a secure jail. The ditch is dominated by two strong walls in which are erected powerful towers, tested by the blows of siege engines. Their stone blocks, which are of large size, are linked to each other by iron joins set in durable mortar. In one of these towers recently constructed, we saw a very lovely palace which I will describe briefly, although I do not feel competent to do it. The palace rests on solid foundations. It is well situated, looking out on one side to the sea and the ships which pass by, and on the other, to view the meadows, the shepherds, and very pleasant countryside. It has a fine (subtile) marble pavement, which reproduces ripples on the water blown by a light breeze, in such a way that when one walks across it, it is as if one fords the water without leaving a trace on the sand represented below. The walls of the house are entirely covered with revetments of marble plaques done in the finest work, which resemble multi-colored wall hangings. The ceiling is painted the color of the sky, with such facility that one seems to see clouds pass, elsewhere a wind blowing, while the sun marks by its passage the course of the year, the months, the days, the weeks, the hours and the moments of its movement in the zodiac. Syrians, Muslims and Greeks boast of their virtuosity in this art and compete with each other in producing such delightful work. In the middle of the palace is found a nymphaeum[327] decorated with mosaics of diverse colors, in which the tesserae of different hues are so well assembled that one feels they could not be more finely done. These mosaics display an infinite variety of flowers in blossom which trick the eye into trying to identify them. In the center is a dragon, which seems to wish to devour the animals painted with it, and who gives birth to a crystalline fountain with water in such abundance that spouting upward, humidifies and refreshes, when it is hot, the air that penetrates the windows distributed in fair order on all sides. And this water, escaping the nymphaeum by passing through many tiny orifices, generates a soft murmur which invites sleep to those sitting nearby. I would very much like to pass my life in such a way there.[328]

Wilbrand's description is quite remarkable for the refinement and elegance it conveys, for the information it gives about the residence of a very important Crusader noble in the Latin Kingdom, for the attitude toward nature that it reveals on his part and on the part of John of Ibelin's artists, and for the information it gives us not only about those artists, but also about their work for a Crusader patron. The details provided are unusual and reflect an increased concern to record the *realia* of the visual and aural world. Despite the presence of this palace in a strongly fortified tower, the special comforts and delights that it provided the prince are far removed from the concerns of Crusader military architecture.

Not only is Wilbrand's description unusually detailed, but also his poetic sensitivity toward nature is unmatched among pilgrims' accounts in terms of the mood he evokes in this airy, sunny courtyard, looking out over sea and meadow, with water splashing from the fountain. The idea of combining an imaginary dragon for the fountain with diverse animals in the midst of arrays of colorful flowers portrayed in richly hued mosaics reminds us of late Roman and early Christian work from Antioch. It is a tradition followed in the superlative mosaics of the Ommayad villa at Khirbet al-Mafjar near Jericho, not to mention the courtyard of the Great Mosque in Damascus and the impressive mosaics of the Dome of the Rock/Templum Domini in Jerusalem.

John of Ibelin apparently employed local artists, Syrian and Greek Orthodox, and Muslims, to execute the marble floors and revetments, the paintings on the ceilings, the mosaics, and the waterworks for his palace.[329]

One need only look at the exquisite work surviving in monuments such as those mentioned earlier in conjunction with this description to imagine what this palace must have looked like. It is important to realize that John sought to employ the finest artists here working together for him in a secular, residential setting, in the way that the Latin king, Byzantine emperor, and bishop of Bethlehem had jointly sponsored the finest artists – Greek and Syrian Orthodox, and Latins, including Venetians – to decorate the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in the 1160s. This multicultural assembly of skilled artists in Beirut is impressive for two reasons, even if the results of their work is no longer extant. First, we see that the coming together of East and West that we found in the art of the Crusaders in the twelfth century is evident here as well, along with a heightened sensitivity toward the representation of nature. Second, we find that this art is produced for secular, not ecclesiastical use, as a reflection of the comfortable, indeed elegant lifestyle of certain of the established nobility in the Latin Kingdom, even in difficult times.

It is unfortunate that nothing much of this aristocratic world or its ecclesiastical counterpart survived the fall of the Crusader Kingdom in 1291. The result is that we only have glimpses of them, such as the example afforded by this passage, and occasional artifacts. Such an artifact is a particularly beautiful carved wooden panel, executed in the thirteenth century in Syria, which is preserved today in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris.[330] The panel in question is rectangular in shape, measures 1.78 × 0.92 meters, and features an exquisite and geometrically intricate star motif with interlocked diamonds carved in relief over its surface (Fig. 73). The sophisticated geometric design is enlivened with delicate floral decoration in the interstices, the work of an Arab or Turkish master carver, who was, however, apparently working for a Christian patron. In the border that frames the geometric and floral designs, we find a Latin inscription in Gothic script, as follows:

> Ego sum panis vivus qui / de celo descendi si quis manduca[v]
> erit ex hoc pane vivet in / eternu[m] qui manducat in / [m]eam
> carnem et bibit meum sanguinem [in] me manet et ego [in illo].
> (John 6: 51 and 57)

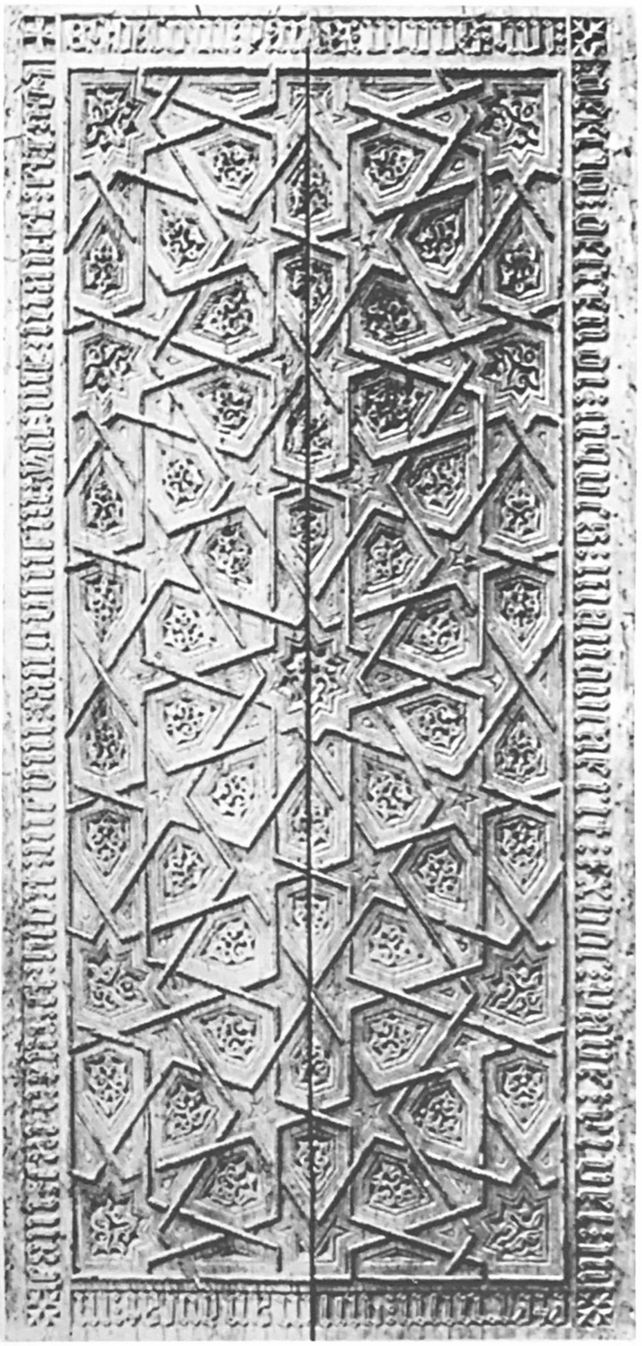
The religious content of this inscription suggests this panel was to be used in conjunction with the Eucharist, either as the panel for a special closure or as a window or a portal to a chapel, chamber, or church.

Similar wooden carved panels with intricately decorated cross designs were done for the west portals at Bethlehem at the Church of the Nativity.[331] These panels received Armenian and Arabic inscriptions, and are dated 1227.[332] There they were apparently used for the entry doors to the main nave. We have no information in regard to the location where our panel was done or for what specific site, nor do we know exactly when it was done, although the style of the script clearly indicates that it was executed in the thirteenth century. What is clear, however, is that this handsome sculptural work combines the Islamic geometric and floral decorative tradition with a Christian Biblical text for use in a Latin church or chapel, presumably somewhere in the Crusader States. As a work of art for the luxury market, it forms part of a corpus of works, most of which are metalwork and enameled glass, done by local Near Eastern artists, some local Christians, some no doubt Muslim, who produce works for Crusader, Frankish, and other patrons. Most of our examples appear to belong to the latter part of the thirteenth century, and will be discussed later, in Chapters 6 and 7.

Crusader Churches in Egypt

When the Fifth Crusade captured Damietta in November 1219 and held the city until September 1221, the main mosque of the city was turned into a Latin church. It was consecrated by the papal legate, Pelagius, as the Cathedral of St. Mary on the Feast of the Purification, on 2 February 1220. Oliver of Paderborn described the church:

> It is seen to be laid out on a square plan, almost as wide as it is long, and carried on 141 (or 139) marble columns, forming seven galleries (or colonnades: *portici*). In the centre is a long



73. Paris, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Carved Wooden Door Panels with Latin Inscriptions, c. 1215 (?). (photo: after *L'Islam dans les Collections Nationales* catalogue)

> wide open space, in which a pyramid rises up in the manner of a *ciborium.* Against the outside of the western wall a spiral [stair] rises on high like a bell-tower. Four principal altars were set up in it: the first dedicated to St. Mary, the second to Peter, Prince of Apostles, the third to the Holy Cross, and the fourth to St. Bartholomew, on whose feast day the river tower was captured.[333]

The plan apparently was to name a Latin archbishop to the see in Damietta, but no one was nominated before the city was lost in 1221.

Nothing remains of the great mosque today, nor is the whereabouts of other Crusader churches in Damietta, for example, the Church of St. Bartholus, known. Other traces of the Crusader presence in Damietta appear to have been obliterated.[334]

CRUSADER PAINTING

Just as we discovered in the previous period up to 1210, the architectural work of castle and church building generated a variety of painting activity between 1210 and 1225. Indeed some of this activity is quite unexpected, such as the secular monumental painting in the Palace of John of Ibelin in Beirut, in the form of ceiling frescoes, mosaics for the fountain, and intricate marble inlays for the floors and the revetments on the walls. There is also the evidence of the manufacture of "Crusader" ceramics at al-Mina, that is, St. Symeon near Antioch, and possibly at other Crusader sites, and the importation of this and other pottery at 'Atlit. What is equally clear from the finds at 'Atlit is that they are representative and typical of most major Crusader coastal sites at this time, each of which seems to have produced its own pottery.[335] They demonstrate that there was a lively trade apparently well established. Furthermore this shipping commerce brought several different types of pottery to these Crusader sites from the West, from Byzantium and/or Cyprus, and from other sources in the Crusader States, including especially St. Symeon.

The above-ground investigation of the castles at Crac des Chevaliers and Margat in the period before 1210 revealed an extensive program of fresco painting was planned for both, mainly focused on the castle chapels. We are justified in extrapolating from these finds that at 'Atlit the castle chapel may also have been embellished with such painting. Of course, at 'Atlit not only are there no extant paintings of this sort, but also the original chapel has apparently disappeared, having been replaced by a later and quite sophisticated chapel in the mid-thirteenth century. Despite the lack of any evidence about the earlier chapel or its decoration, we know a great deal more about 'Atlit than we do about Crac or Margat because it has received a certain amount of serious archaeological investigation. We may be sure that if and when similar campaigns of archaeological study are carried out at both Crac and Margat, it will be possible to assess the extent to which they participated in the same commerce in pottery, not to mention aspects of other possible artistic activities carried on in each place.

In regard to manuscript illumination, unlike the previous period before 1210, we can only unfortunately report that we have no certain extant examples from this period, 1210–25.[336] Nonetheless we can suggest that this is the result of chance survival, not an indication that there was nothing done at this time in the Crusader East. We know, for example, that Crusaders at Damietta carried books with them and read them for enjoyment during the long encampment during the siege in 1218–19. Philippe de Novare tells a story about how Pierre Chappe and Raoule de Tiberiade pressed him to read to them from a *roman.*[337] Although there is no evidence that these books are illustrated, and if illustrated, where – in Acre, in Cyprus, or somewhere else – nonetheless, it is important to note that Crusaders carried *romanz* texts, that is, books with works written in verse or in prose, in Old French, with them. It is one indication of the relation between the aristocratic knights and this kind of "literature chevaleresque," which as Jacoby writes, "contribua affermir la conscience d'un groupe social qui, en dépit de sa disposition géographique de l'Occident au Levant, ne connaissait pas de frontiers et se considérait comme un communauté partageant les memes attitudes et la meme éthique."[338]

There are also the lists of books that do survive, such as the Nazareth list now in Erfurt, dating *c.*1200, and the references to books contained in the Antioch inventory, dated 1209, that we have discussed in Chapter 3. There is the Naples Missal that we discussed also in Chapter 3 and dated to *c.*1200. Surely it is not impossible to consider that if the Naples Missal was executed to resupply an unknown church in Acre with a service book needed because of the destruction and losses to churches in Acre or elsewhere, for a congregation located there, we are justified in projecting similar needs into our period. At 'Atlit, a wholly new castle chapel would have needed its own service books, which may well have been ordered in nearby Acre from the Templar headquarters there. At Caesarea, the damage to the Cathedral Church of St. Peter may have required certain replacements among the required service and prayer books, in order to celebrate the return to the church on 2 February 1218. Since we know that the patriarch of Jerusalem celebrated that special liturgy together with six bishops, it is not impossible that he individually, or they corporately, made a gift of a new service book (or books) to Peter of Limoges, the current archbishop of Caesarea. The list of such possibilities could be lengthened, but our purpose here is only to suggest that the fact that we cannot at present identify actual books produced in the Crusader States between 1210 and 1225 should not be taken as an absolute indication that no such books were produced, or that such books might not be recognized in the future.[339]

The same argument must also be made in regard to panel painting, but for this medium there are several possible extant candidates that may have been painted between 1210 and 1225. As we have seen in the period before 1210, there is good reason to think that icons were beginning to be commissioned and used by the Crusaders, based on the evidence of the Freiburg Leaf and the panel of the enthroned Christ from St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai (Fig. 52, App. no. 76/1024).[340] In the context of that same discussion, we proposed to see the tiny icon of the *Maestas Domini* from St. Catherine's (Fig. 51, App. no. 34/308) to be dated approximately *c.*1220 to *c.*1230, largely on the basis of its parallelism stylistically with the earliest examples of Gothic painting in the West.[341] Kurt Weitzmann, of course, dated this panel somewhat later, to the second half of the thirteenth century, but he noticed that the interlaced cable pattern on the frame, like that on the enthroned Christ icon Nelson and Hunt now date to the mid-thirteenth century, suggests an earlier date. He even suggested that on this panel, the "lower layer . . . also depicted a Christ enthroned, or perhaps a *Maiestas Domini*."[342] One cannot, however, see a lower layer here, and I would like to propose that perhaps we are looking at the "lower layer," which may have been touched up, as icons often are, later in the century.

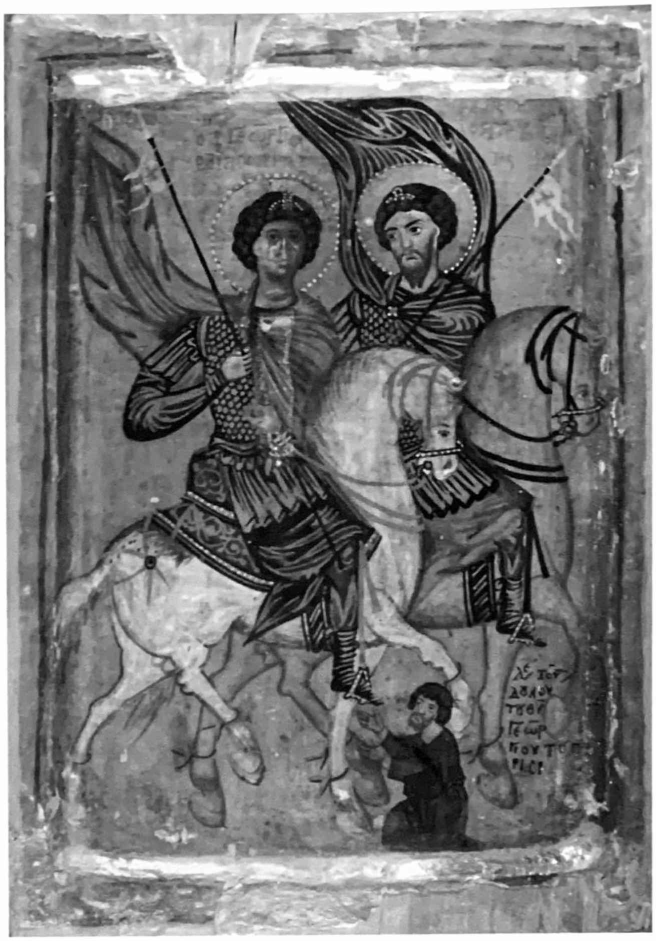
I suggest that this representation of the *Maiestas Domini* is in fact based on images widely seen in France in the early years of the century. Not only is our icon completely western in its basic theme and iconography, and in the Latin inscriptions that the apocalyptic creatures hold, but also it is one of the earliest examples of this Western presence among the collection of icons at Sinai. Compare this *Maestas Domini* icon with early thirteenth-century French miniatures of the same subject, such as the missal of St. Maur-les-Fossés done in Paris and dating about 1200.[343] The image in the missal is quite simple, not very well painted, and bears only a general resemblance to our panel. However, the miniature is an early version of what blossoms into the *Bible Moralisée* style in the 1220s with features more recognizeably closer to the icon. Consider, for example, the carpentered throne (as seen on the image of the throne of Solomon), the pink and blue colorism, and the repertory of ornament (as seen in the contiguous circles of the borders), and to a lesser extent, the linear drapery style of Christ's cloak.[344]

The Sinai *Maestas Domini* icon is clearly a difficult example with which to deal. It is difficult because it is in such damaged condition and careful study is needed to see to what extent the main figures may have in fact been repainted. It is problematic in terms of its specific iconography with the poses of the main figures, what they are doing and what they carry. Its style is hard to assess because it seems to be so composite, and the parts are mostly Western, making the combination rather curious. Nonetheless, its special characteristics may well be original to the 1220s at St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.

A similarly difficult icon to assess is the panel that Kurt Weitzmann compares most closely to the lower scene on the Freiburg Leaf, namely the image of St. Theodore Stratelates and St. George Diasorites with the donor/pilgrim named George Parisi (Fig. 74, App. no. 94/1463).[345] Weitzmann does not date the Theodore and George icon as early as the Freiburg Leaf, but he proposes that the artist of the Freiburg Leaf may have seen an earlier panel like this one. What he suggests exactly is the following: "Some features point to a Crusader icon, comparable to the one with St. Theodore and St. George on Sinai, although the latter is somewhat later in date, so that the artist of the model book must have copied an earlier icon of this type."[346]

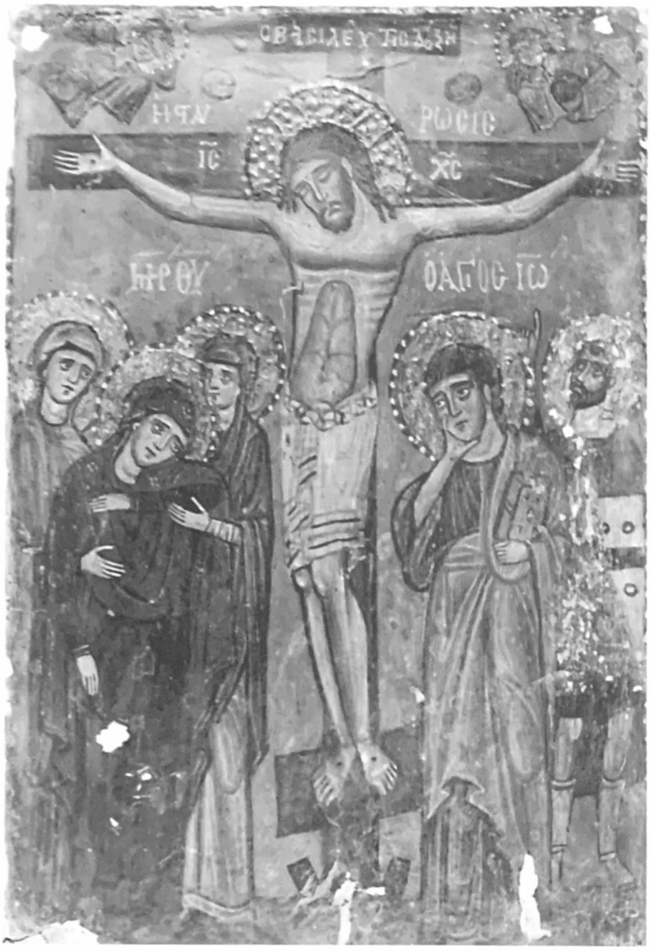
As a specific indication of what he meant by "somewhat later in date" for this icon, Weitzmann suggested the years 1250–1300 on the reproduction that appeared in one publication.[347] However, it would not be impossible according to any of his published remarks or discussion to date this icon of Sts. Theodore and George before 1250, to the first half of the thirteenth century, and I would propose to place it as early as *c.*1225, or in the period 1225–50. The question is also, where might it have been done?

The artist of this icon does not necessarily seem to be French in background; that is, this work does not obviously parallel works in the recognizeably Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of icons now at Sinai. There are, however, certainly details of the soldiers' garments, their banners, and the horses' decoration that reflect French style. Yet there is no question that these knights look notably Byzantine. They wear Byzantine military costume; their facial types are Byzantine; and the flame-like drapery of their cloaks is dramatically delineated by chrysography. This technique and even certain aspects of the style is reminiscent of the most sophisticated late twelfth-century Byzantine icons, such as the famous Annunciation from Sinai, and a harbinger of much later Palaeologan examples as found in the Anastasis image of the Dodekaorta panels from Florence.[348] The fact is that this icon presents a distinctively Crusader merger of a slightly earlier imperial Byzantine style as interpreted by a Crusader painter, with a rather folksy representation of the somewhat diminutive, almost toylike horses with their tiny faces and the unusual tassels on their legs.



74. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 94/1463: Sts. Theodore and George. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Finally, there can be no doubt that despite certain clear Crusader aspects of this icon, the donor – who appears to be Greek – wanted it to speak to a Greek audience, because he commissioned all of the inscriptions to be in Greek. Indeed, the artist's apparent patron, kneeling below the equestrian figure of St. George, who is also named George, appears to have the surname, "Parisi," and therefore comes from a Greek family.[349] This is one unusual aspect of this icon, a Greek patron who is named in the Western manner. Another unusual

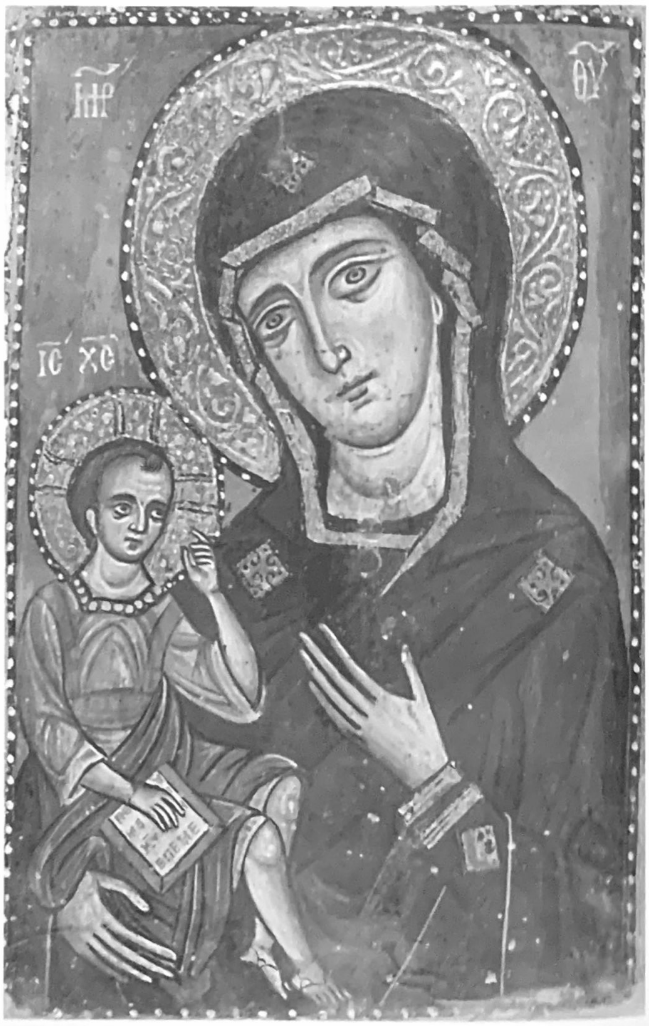


75. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 32/285: Crucifixion. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

aspect is the epithet given to St. George, "diasorites." This appears to be an eponymous epithet, derived from Dios Hieron, a sanctuary of Jupiter in Lydia, where a monastery dedicated to St. George was built. This epithet is not otherwise known in the Crusader East, but can be found on the Greek mainland, on the islands, on Cyprus, and in Serbia from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century. In this case it appears as if the donor must have requested this epithet and perhaps supplied the model for the artist to use. Taken together, this icon has therefore a number of remarkable features that indicate special patronage, but patronage that combines Byzantine and Crusader aspects.[350]

Weitzmann assumed it was a Crusader icon from Sinai, but the style is difficult to compare with other Crusader work found at Sinai, before or after 1250. It is also not impossible that the diminutive donor figure and his identifying inscription has been added a bit later than the original painting of the two knights, but that has not been demonstrated as yet. L.-A. Hunt has, in any case, suggested alternatively that the painter of this icon "was an indigenous eastern Christian, Syrian Melkite, artist working at the behest of the western visitor, probably in the area of Tripoli and Qalamoun during the middle to third quarter of the thirteenth century."[351] Like the icons of St. Marina (Houston) (Fig. 192, App. no. 126) and St. Sergius with a kneeling female (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80) – both icons of the period, *c.*1250 to the 1260s, to be discussed below in Chapter 6 – Hunt proposes that this icon (Fig. 74, App. no. 94/1463) in style "can be paralleled in wallpaintings in churches in the County of Tripoli and the area of Qalamoun painted by indigenous artists between the 1240s–1270s."[352] This is an interesting possibility that must be considered for the icon of Sts. George and Theodore and may explain the unusual style. The patronage, dating, and exact parallels will, however, need to be studied further, and we shall have to consider how the icon, if done in the County of Tripoli, then made its way to St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.[353]

Two other icons have also been proposed to belong to this period in "the early thirteenth century." Both are also modest-sized panels and both are painted on red grounds with boldly decorated frames, which have been suggested to be a pair, even though the frames are different. One is a Crucifixion with a swooning Virgin, a sorrowing St. John, and mourning half-length angels (Fig. 75, App. no. 32/285).[354] The other panel is a bust-length Virgin Hodegetria *Dexiokratousa* (Fig. 76, App. no. 57/679).[355] Mouriki regards both of these icons to be the work of a Syrian Orthodox, not a Crusader artist, but to



76. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 57/679: Virgin Hodegetria Dexiokratousa. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

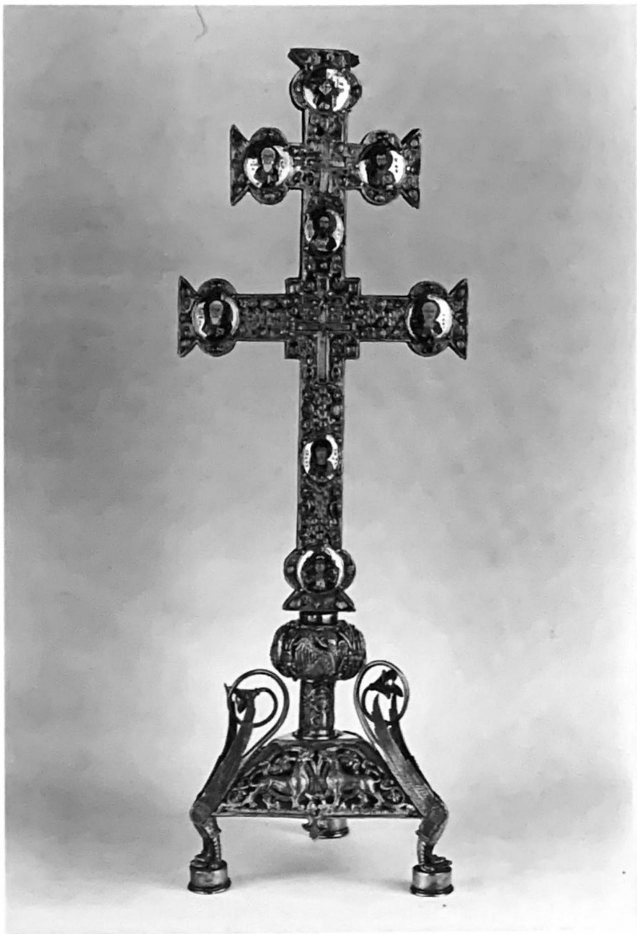
have Crusader characteristics. These features include the combination of Western iconographic elements such as the swooning Virgin, and the knot in the loincloth on the Crucifixion, or the child gesturing with his proper left hand on the Hodegetria, along with the relief decoration in gesso on the nimbi of both panels. The strong designs on the frames of both icons are also typical of Crusader work, either the gilded gesso on the frame of the Crucifixion or the blue and white textile design on the Hodegetria icon.[356] The red backgrounds remind us of Syrian miniatures or Cypriot fresco painting; the white "pearl" borders are frequently found in Crusader panels. All the inscriptions on both icons are in Greek. These traits combined with the Cypriot iconography of the bared legs and the red harness of Christ, and the folksy style also indicate the multicultural richness of these and many other Crusader commissions for which the exact role and function of the panels and their patron are unfortunately unknown. Because of the complexity of these two panels in contrast to those examples discussed earlier, we regard them to be later than 1225, sometime in the later second quarter of the thirteenth century. Accordingly we will discuss them again in Chapter 5.

It is clear from the examples discussed that no uniform style, such as we shall find in a number of icons in the period after 1250 and which may indicate a workshop production style, are discernible in these panels. Just as the dates of these icons, their functions, and their patrons are all somewhat vague and unspecified, or unknown even when named, in these early examples, the panels seem to reflect workshop situations that seem to be not yet fully established where the artists are quite transient. Nonetheless it is important to entertain the possibility that these panels are in fact done in this early period. Whatever the final resolution of the questions of style and date may be, we surely see the characteristic Crusader features in these icons, the same that we find in later panels that can be associated with larger workshop productions in more consistent stylistic groups.

METALWORK AND TEXTILES

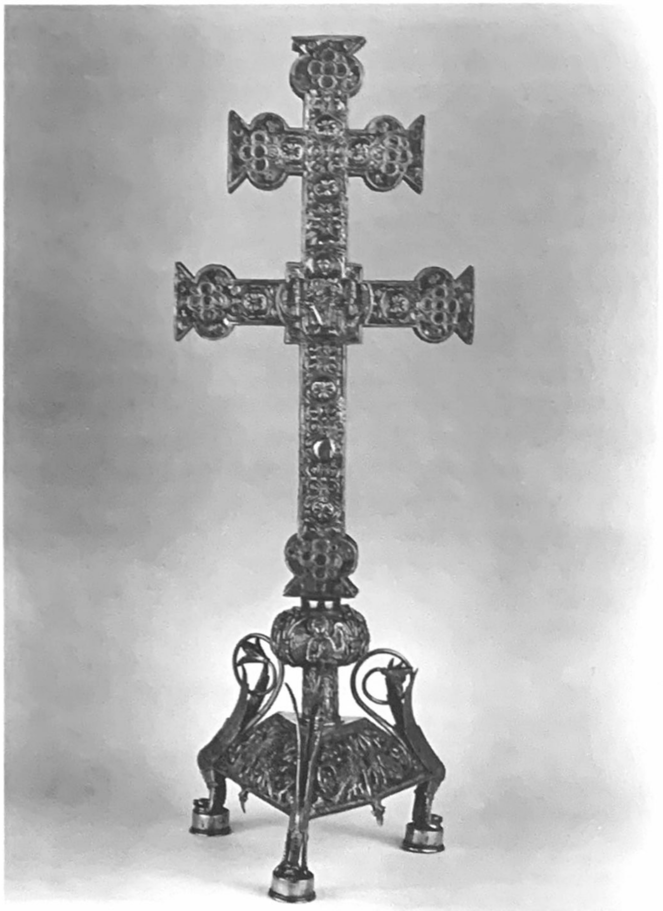
The design and technique of the gilt frame on the Crucifixion icon discussed previously is a sure indication that these artists were thinking of metalwork when doing the panel. The unfortunate problem is that there is very little metalwork from this period for us to consider even though, again, there are some promising indications that metalwork was an artistic medium actively practiced in the Latin Kingdom at this time. We recall that relics were acquired during this period for different reasons, for example, by King Andrew during the early part of the Fifth Crusade to take back to Hungary, or by the Templars for the castle chapel at 'Atlit. In both cases, and especially in regard to 'Atlit with the relics of St. Euphemia, a handsome metalwork reliquary was required, for the presentation and the protection of the holy relics, which so many persons wished to see, and which became an important goal for pilgrims to visit during their visit to the Holy Land.

The most promising potential source of metalwork, and indeed of extant textiles from this period, belongs, however, not to collections related to the kings of Hungary or the Templars. The sisters of Notre Dame de Namur preserve today a remarkable treasury from the Augustinian priory of Oignies.[357] The contents of this treasury was saved from confiscation by the state during the time of the French Revolution in 1794 by being hidden and then was given to the nuns for safe-keeping. The few rich medieval treasuries that were saved, like this one and that at Conques, are eloquent testimony to the otherwise inestimable losses at the time of the Revolution. The treasury of Oignies is of particular interest to us because it contains a number of objects bequeathed to it by Jacques de Vitry. From 1226 to 1229, the former bishop of Acre lived in Liège, while he requested and was officially allowed to resign from his difficult see in Acre by the pope, which he did in 1228. In 1229, Jacques de Vitry was made a cardinal by Pope Gregory IX, demonstrating that he had the full confidence of the pontiff even though he had abandoned his episcopal duties in Acre. Jacques died in Rome on 1 May 1240, and he willed his property to the Augustinian priory of Oignies where he had been a regular canon.[358]



77. Acre: Treasury of Oignies, Gold Cross from Acre, front. (photo: by permission of the Convent of Oignies, Namur, copyright: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique (IRPA/KIK), Brussels)

Most of the objects in this treasury are Mosan goldsmithswork and have nothing to do with the Holy Land. However, there is one cross, which tradition says was given to the treasury by Jacques de Vitry. It is known as the "croix byzantine" (Figs. 77, 78).[359] It is clearly a reliquary of the True Cross, and in its present condition it is a composite work that combines a double-armed cross that has received seven Byzantine cloisonnée enamel plaques on the front face with a triangular base surmounted by a nodule with the four apocalyptic



78. Acre: Treasury of Oignies, Gold Cross from Acre, back. (photo: by courtesy of the Convent of Oignies, Namur, copyright: Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique (IRPA/KIK), Brussels)

creatures. No one disputes the Byzantine origin of the enamelled medallions, which are probably to be dated to the eleventh century. Nor is there much doubt that the triangular base of the cross is a Mosan work of the early thirteenth century. However, the double-armed cross itself has been a matter of intense discussion, some among the older scholars considering it to be the work of the Mosan goldsmith, Frère Hugo, or some other Mosan goldsmith working in the spirit of Nicholas of Verdun; some considering the whole cross to be Byzantine, or "orientale."[360] More recent opinion has been more consistent in accepting the enamel plaques as Byzantine and the cross as Mosan work, although the dates suggested for the latter range from the beginning of the thirteenth century to 1230–50.[361]

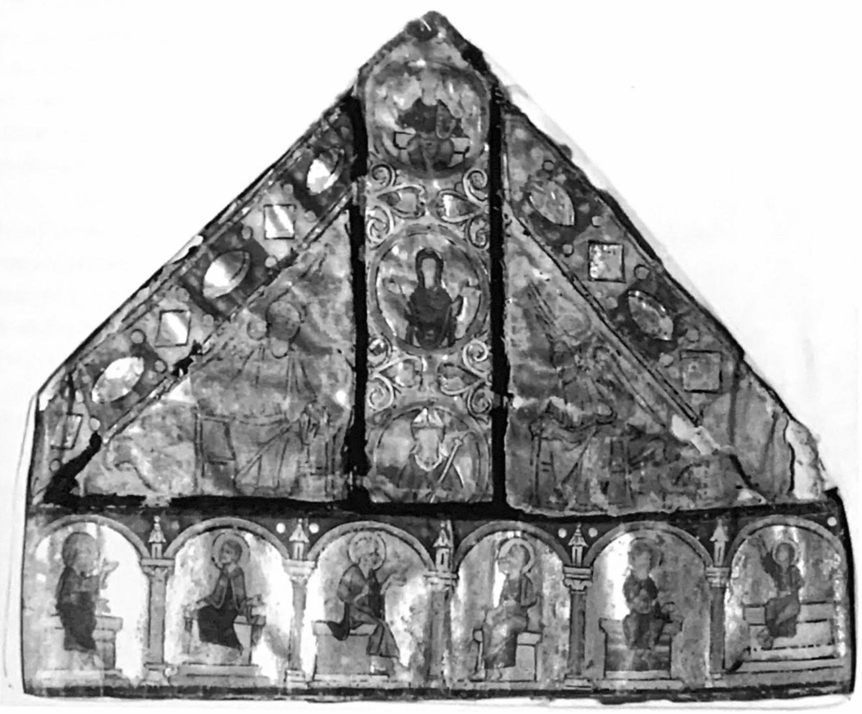
In the face of this near consensus among recent scholars, it is with a certain temerity that I suggest the possibility that the goldsmithswork on the cross may be related to the work of Crusader goldsmiths seen in the later twelfth century. Whereas the shape of the cross is obviously not typical of anything Crusader, other than the double-armed format, and the figural designs are all added – on the front side are the Byzantine enamels and on the back is the roundel of the Virgin enthroned cut and nailed into place in two pieces – the techniques and the repertoire of the ornament on the two sides relate to Crusader work. I invite comparison with the beaded gold filigree work, the use of quatrefoils and circles with floral decoration reminiscent of reliquaries made in Jerusalem in the second half of the twelfth century and now in Santiago da Compostela, Conques, Paris (the Louvre), and Agrigento.[362]

The question is, how can the basic links in technique and decorative repertory be explained? Is it possible that Jacques de Vitry brought back a Crusader reliquary of the True Cross from Acre in 1225 that was subsequently renovated and expanded by his patronage in the Liège region? I insist on the possibility of this link; the problem is to assess whether any of the metal of the cross was brought from the Holy Land, and how to explain the configuration of the reliquary as we see it today, perhaps reworked in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, in the treasury in Namur.

The other interesting objects associated with Jacques de Vitry in this treasury is a set of two miters.[363] Here again I propose to raise issues rather than to solve them. In one case we have an unusual miter made of parchment with a remarkably detailed program of miniature painting executed on the front and back (Figs. 79–81).[364] In this case the later inventory of 1628 is quite explicit about a miter "ex pergameno" that came from Jacques de Vitry, quite an unusual and notable example.

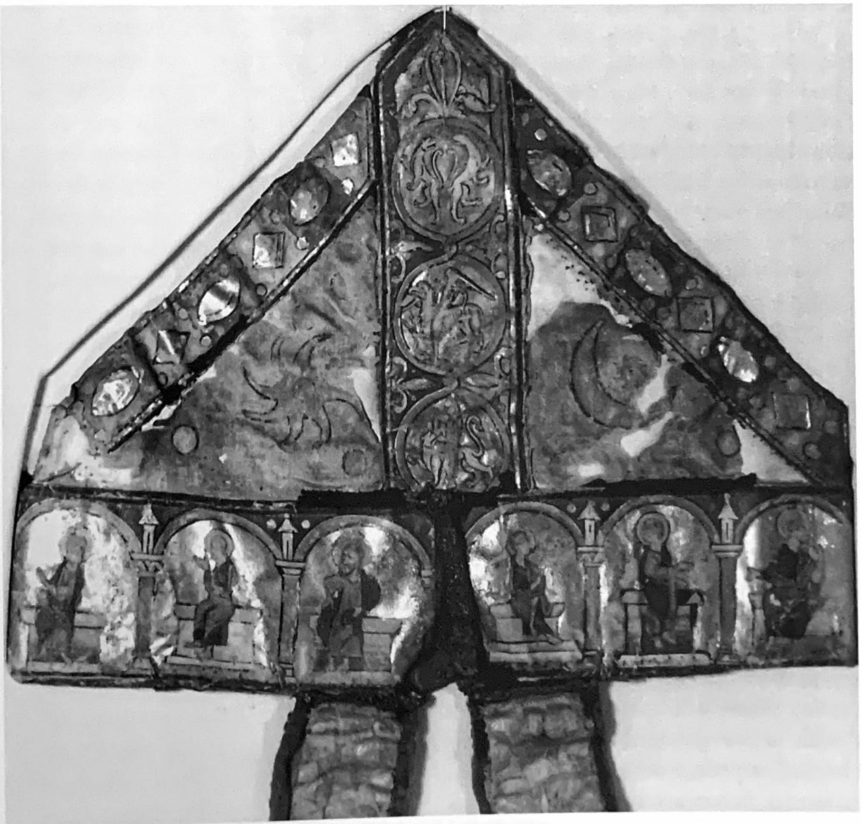
The choice of parchment for the painting is obviously very remarkable and worthy of consideration. Although Jacques de Vitry could no doubt have gotten luxury textiles in the Holy Land where this miter was presumably done, he apparently wanted the lustrous effect of painted gold, not just a textile with golden thread. Furthermore, the use of parchment facilitated the painter's ability to create a program on the mitre with a copious number of figures. Above a line of horizontal arcades in which the Twelve Apostles are seated around the base of the miter, we find on the front vertical element, Christ enthroned above with a bust-length orans Virgin and a bust-length bishop with his crozier below, all three represented in medallions – Christ and the bishop in green medallions, the Virgin in a red one. In the triangular interstices we find the four symbols of the Evangelists, the winged eagle and the winged lion quite diminutive figures in the outer corners, left and right, respectively. However, the winged man and an extraordinary image of an ox-horned winged male-like figure are large seated figures on carpentered wooden thrones. This ensemble of Evangelist symbols is truly unusual in its composite iconographical character, matching the parchment medium as a singular feature.[365] If they have been chosen as this mixed group partly because of the strange and difficult triangular field in which they are placed, the artist must be credited with an innovative and sophisticated creative solution. The angular sides of the miter on both front and back are painted with simulated oval, losenge, and round-shaped precious and semiprecious stones to suggest a sumptuous jewelled and golden episcopal object that would perhaps match, or at least reflect the bishop's liturgical books.

On the back of this miter, we find, above the seated apostles, three fabulous beasts in roundels on the vertical strip, images of the fiery sun and the crescent moon, with smaller round planetary objects, giving the whole ensemble a cosmic reference for the teaching magisterium of the bishop wearing this impressive episcopal liturgical headdress. It is all the more notable, therefore, that the two lappets, hanging below, contain ten additional saints, the top two, bust-length, the lower eight full-length standing male and female figures, with the bottom two each carrying a book and a palm.

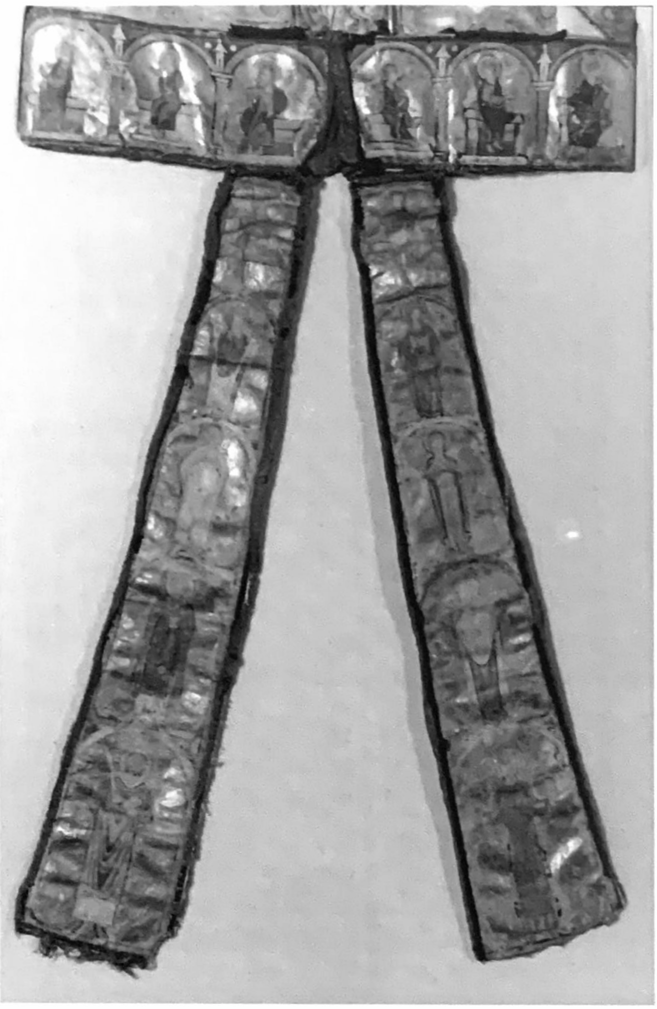


79. Acre: Treasury of Oignies, Parchment Miter of Jacques de Vitry, front. (photo: by courtesy of the Convent of Oignies, Namur)

Courtoy remarks that "cette mitre est unique dans son genre. On n'en connait pas de semblable dans les musées et les trésors d'églises."[366] Its unique characteristics are notable in terms of the unusual material it is made of and in terms of the remarkable program of decoration, a truly grand and universal program to complement and even proclaim the episcopal teaching authority of the bishop wearing the miter. There can be no doubt that the image of Christ enthroned with the Virgin and all Twelve Apostles below, in conjunction with the symbols of the four Evangelists directing attention to the Holy Gospels,



80. Acre: Treasury of Oignies, Parchment Miter of Jacques de Vitry, back. (photo: by courtesy of the Convent of Oignies, Namur)



81. Acre: Treasury of Oignies, Parchment Miter of Jacques de Vtiry, detail, lappets. (photo: by courtesy of the Convent of Oignies, Namur)

could not fail to invest the bishop as teacher, as preacher of the Word, with visual affirmation of his important responsibilities.

F. Courtroy and J. Braun attributed this miter to a French atelier in the north of France.[367] Colleagues such as M. A. Stones, however, describe the style as "byzantine influenced or byzantinizing" and see it as decidedly strange and unexpected in a Western, French setting. Therefore, following the arguments of J. Greven and C. Cannuyer, I suggest that this miter is a work commissioned by Jacques de Vitry while he was in Acre, before his departure in 1225.[368] I propose that this program refers explicitly to his self-perceived role as preacher of the Word, par excellence, as indicated by the appearance of the Evangelist symbols in direct relationship with the bust-length image of the bishop seen on the front of the miter. The singular iconography refers specifically to this role for him as bishop, that is, as a follower of Christ and the Apostles. In addition, the sun and the moon not only give a universal context for his preaching, which in fact Jacques de Vitry carried on in both East and West, but they also relate to his personal insignia as found on his episcopal seals in Acre.[369] Jacques de Vitry employs on the reverse of his seal the image of the sun and moon, instead of the alpha and omega in conjunction with the image of the True Cross often seen on twelfth-century seals of the bishop of Acre. Cannuyer has argued that this iconography, found also on the beautiful portable altar of Jacques de Vitry, which is apparently Mosan work done in the West, was favored by the bishop for a number of works commissioned by him.[370] Finally, the saints decorating the two lappets contain explicit reference to the idea of pilgrimage with which he was familiar in the Latin Kingdom, by virtue of the two saints carrying palms as pilgrims to Jerusalem.

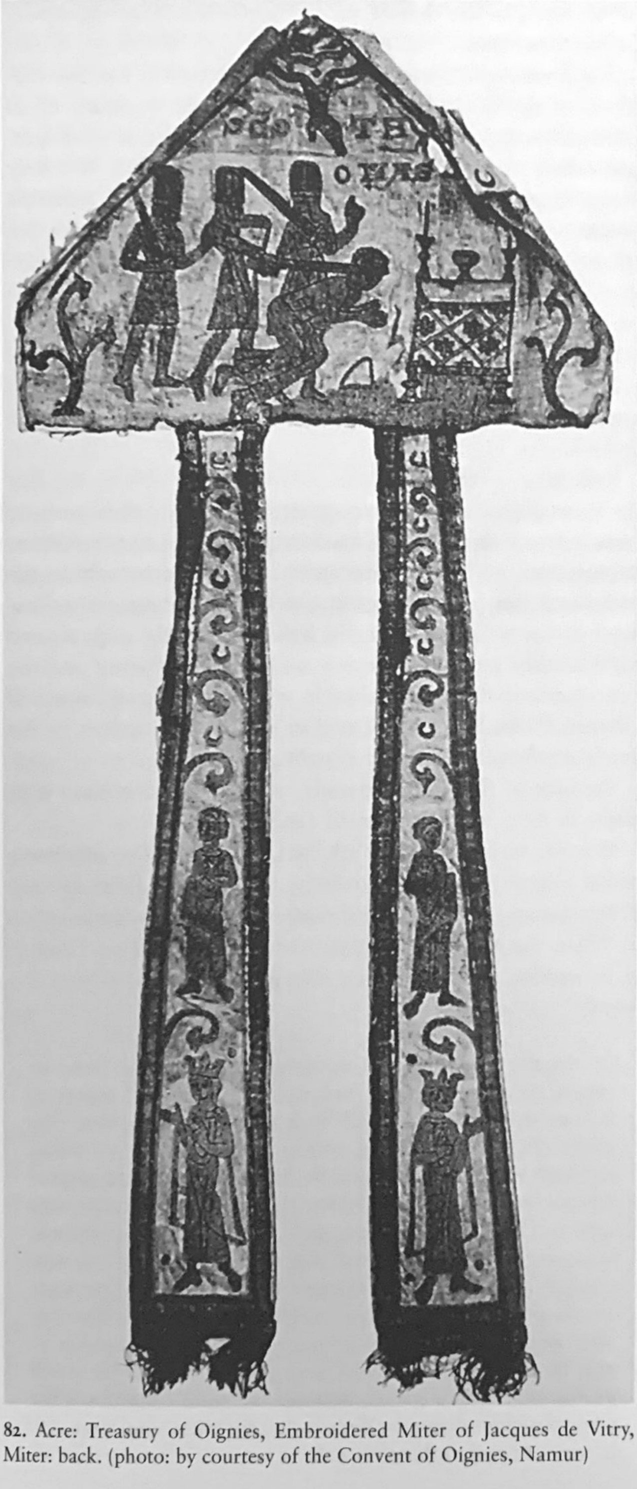
The uniqueness of this miter in terms of the medium, the style of its miniatures, and the powerful message of its iconographic program all reflect the intensity of the activity of Jacques de Vitry in Acre. The idea of the work as being done by French painters from northern France, first proposed by Braun and reiterated by Courtroy, might be valid, but the only way I could understand this possibility is that these artists must have been working in Acre, in a Crusader context with a certain Byzantine influence.[371] Further discussion of this proposal must await futher opportunity to investigate the variety of artistic styles seen on this miter and the codicological character of the parchment.

The other miter in the treasury presents a different set of problems. This example is more conventional in its embroidered technique, with scenes of martyrdom front and back (Fig. 82).[372] The 1628 inventory that in fact mentions two miters in the treasury from Jacques de Vitry, one of parchment and one "ex serico," is much less definitive here, although Courtoy accepts this miter as the other one mentioned. This miter is made of samite, a thick white silk, so it is clearly a good candidate to be the other one referred to as having belonged to Jacques de Vitry.

On the front of this miter is embroidered a scene of the early Christian saint and deacon, Lawrence, martyred on an iron grill by two soldiers under the Hand of God. On the back is the murder of St. Thomas à Becket by three soldiers, again under a Hand of God. There are Latin embroidered inscriptions front and back to identify the saints. The lappets have an interesting representation of large king and queen figures at their ends, with two servant figures above, and a series of five crescent moon decorations alternating with curving floral stems.

Joseph Braun considered this miter to have been done in Sicily.[373] As one of his major considerations, he noted the decorative repertory of the crescent moons embroidered on the material between the front and back scenes, along with the upper part of the lappets. Courtoy says, "on peut hésiter sur cette attribution, car la technique de ce genre de broderie doit avoir aussi été pratiquée dans les ateliers français ou de l'Empire."[374] Obviously the iconography and the identity of the king and queen is of major concern and needs to be examined more closely. Otherwise the program refers to major saints of relevance to a bishop: Lawrence the guardian of the Holy Scripture as deacon; Thomas the recent hero-martyr. It remains to be seen how the imagery of royalty, martyrs, and the crescent moon seen on this miter may be related directly to Jacques de Vitry. We shall hope to find evidence for what the artist intended by the unusual representation of the king and queen and how to account for the copious numbers of the embroidered crescent moons on this liturgical headdress. Certainly the historical arguments relevant to the miter decorated with paintings on parchment discussed previously provide a possible context for this embroidered miter to have originated in the Holy Land as well, although the iconographic and technical evidence is less explicit. If further indications can be identified that link this miter to Jacques de Vitry, the unusual decorative repertory may possibly be explained by the activity of a Sicilian working in Acre.

Finally, we can point out that if both of these miters eventually can be attributed more securely to the patronage of Jacques de Vitry in the city of Acre, then we shall have yet another example of how we need both text and *objets d'art* to inform our knowledge of art in the Crusader East. In the period, 1192–1210 we had only the text of the Antioch inventory dated 1209. Here we have no inventories for 1210–25 from the Latin East, but the likely possibility of extant objects to demonstrate that the commissioning and production of textiles, miniature painting, and metalwork continued in the Latin Kingdom at this time.



82. Acre: Treasury of Oignies, Embroidered Miter of Jacques de Vitry, Miter: back. (photo: by courtesy of the Convent of Oignies, Namur)

COINAGE

Again in the period 1210–25, as in the period preceding, the coinage was quite conservative with one or two major exceptions. As we have seen in the previous period, the king continued the use of the immobilized Amalricus-type deniers, but also minted two new coins discussed in the following. The use of gold bezants imitative of Fatimid coinage continued in the Latin Kingdom. The most important other, nonroyal coinage was again found in Beirut and Sidon, with conservative coin types found farther north in Tripoli and Antioch. In sum, the most interesting new coinage is found in the royal mint.

When John of Brienne goes to Damietta, he apparently mints two new deniers. One, what appears to be the earlier type, of which very few examples have been found, has a crowned figure on the obverse surrounded with the legend, "+IOHANNES REX". On the reverse is found an equal-armed cross with the legend, "+DAMIETA" around it (Fig. 59). Metcalf notes that these coins "are usually found on flans with ragged edges, and poorly struck – possibly signs of haste."[375]

The image on the obverse has been the object of much controversy, but Metcalf is surely correct to see here the "portrait" of the king. Not only do we have the similar type used by Guy de Lusignan, both in Jerusalem and on Cyprus,[376] but also the iconography of the crown is very similar. We find a low isoceles triangle on the head with pendilia. What is distinctive about the iconography used for John of Brienne is the presence of three circles on the crown in the "+DAMIETA" type, and three pellets, presumably meant to represent jewels, on the crown in the "+DAMIATA" type (Fig. 60).[377] In any case, this is unlikely to be a miter as has also been suggested.[378] If the designer had wished to represent an ecclesiastical figure with a miter, he would presumably have shown the head from the side, and represented the miter as two steep triangles, as we find with Bishop Stephen's coinage from the second half of the twelfth century in France.[379]

The significance of this royal coin, and in the one to follow at Damietta, is the reference to "King John at Damietta," not "John, King of Damietta," as Metcalf has pointed out. Metcalf entertains several possible scenarios for this "+DAMIETA" coin, without deciding for certain why there was a change. Although it is not altogether clear why King John of Brienne would have chosen the more Byzantine-type crown for this issue, it is certainly relevant that in making this choice he had the coin type of Guy de Lusignan as a precedent. Furthermore, given the rarity of this coin, and the fact that the evidence appears to suggest that it was made somewhat in haste, I suggest that it was struck during the siege of Damietta, to pay for necessary expenses. Recall that the Crusaders were in camp from May 1218 until November 1219. King John of Brienne was in the Crusader camp for the entire time, and would have needed financial resources to pay for his expenses, before Damietta was taken.

When Damietta was finally captured, John of Brienne was able to establish his royal mint in a more stable setting in the city. With this major change in situation, I propose that he strikes a new coin that reverses the earlier example. Now the obverse contains the equal-armed cross surrounded by the legend, "+IOHES: REX:" with the bust-length portrait of the king on the reverse, wearing a Western-type three-pointed crown, and the legend, "+DAMIATA" (Fig. 59). This is the coin that entered commerce and was circulated throughout the Crusader States in substantial numbers. This is also the coin that John uses to proclaim his new status as ruler in the city of Damietta.

This proposal, that King John minted coins at Damietta, raises once again an issue that certain scholars have found to be quite problematic, namely the notion that the Crusaders from time to time were forced to establish their coin production operations – the minting of their coins – in a military camp situation. We have proposed this at Jerusalem in 1187 before the fall of the city to Saladin, and at Acre before the city was taken in 1191, both in emergency circumstances.[380] Now once again, we find the likelihood that such minting activities were underway in Damietta for King John points to another such situation. I think that this situation at Damietta provides us with the best evidence for the fact that sometimes it was necessary to mint coins in a military camp environment. The earlier coin type of King John is more rare, and the extant examples show signs of hasty minting. These characteristics suggest a coin type that was done in difficult circumstances and for which there may have been a reduced number of coins issued. The later version of the King John coin is better produced, issued in much more plentiful numbers, and is clearly intended to signify the presence of the king in the context of the new conquest. This second type was presumably produced under more favorable conditions in a more secure setting inside the city of Damietta. This evidence at Damietta seems more persuasive in regard to the possibility of minting coins in camp, in my opinion, because of the sequence of and changes in the coins, which seems to fit the differing circumstances of the king, the first situation in camp, the second inside the city.

In any case, the coinage once again demonstrates that artistic activity continues with the Crusaders, even and perhaps especially where the army was in active operation. Our problem in this period of 1210–25, like that of the preceding period, is that, as Metcalf noted, "we have a gap of no less than 40 years in the hoard evidence," from the 1180s into the 1220s.[381] Therefore our access to changes and developments in the coinage is restricted until we move into the next phase, to be examined in Chapter 5.

Patronage and Presence in the Crusader States

We have discussed in Chapter 3 the appearance of the lay confraternity as a possible important new factor in the life of the Crusader States. These confraternities are potentially very significant in relation to the artistic activity in Acre through their role as patrons. In the period 1210–25, the spotlight of evidence falls on a different segment of the Crusader experience, namely the importance of Germans and German contributions to the Latin Kingdom. Germans had been prominent in Jerusalem in the twelfth century, as, for example, with the German hospital there. However, it is an observable fact that when examining the history of the Crusader States in the period from the late twelfth century up until the middle of the thirteenth century, Germans played certain special roles, for example, as pilgrims. From the time of John of Würzburg and Theodorich in the period around 1170, to the time of Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 1212, and Master Thietmar, 1217, German pilgrims present us with the foremost accounts of the Holy Land. Their accounts are the most detailed, the longest, and the most informative with regard not only to the holy places, but also in terms of life and culture in the Crusader Levant, compared to other reports. Complementary to this, it is remarkable that the two most interesting "artistic pilgrims," that is, artists, parts of whose sketchbooks survive, the artist of the Freiburg Leaf in the late 1190s/*c.*1200 and the artist of the Wölfenbüttel Sketchbook, whom we have yet to meet, in the decade of the 1230s, are both apparently German travelers.

The prominent presence of these Germans in the developments of the Crusader Near East cannot be regarded as an anomaly in light of the fact that there was such an important influx of German Crusaders during this time. Not only do we recall seeing the German Crusade of 1197–8, from the ill-fated expedition organized by Henry VI Hohenstaufen, but also we recall the major role played by Crusaders from German-speaking territories in the Fifth Crusade, the Crusade that Frederick II was meant to lead himself.

Furthermore, as we shall see in Chapter 5, Frederick II would eventually make his way to the Holy Land in 1228, and the impact of his visit would last long after his departure, for better or for worse.

Reflecting on these obvious points, we are able to see that Germans played a newly important role in the Crusade movement between the late twelfth century and 1244 in terms of the military and political developments, if not necessarily in the ecclesiastical realm. To some extent we must adjust our assessment of this period accordingly, balancing off the ongoing and continuously important French and Italian presence and the English role in the Third Crusade, with the new prominence of German Crusaders, represented in the Latin Kingdom by the newly established Teutonic Knights, who arrived so to speak at the time of the Third Crusade, when they established their house in Acre, and stayed until 1291.

To some extent we must hark back to the plaintive comments of the pilgrim, John of Würzburg, who chafed from the lack of recognition rendered to his countrymen and commented on it. When discussing the commemoration of the First Crusade in Jerusalem, John bursts out into a long discussion over this issue:

> On the third day is the Anniversary of the Noble Duke of blessed memory, Godfrey, who was the prince and master of that sacred expedition, and born of the German race. The whole city observes this in solemn fashion.... Nevertheless, although every one is anxious for his own honour, the siege of the city is not ascribed to him with any German troops, who were not least in the labours and actions of that expedition, but only to the Franks. Hence also these detractors of our race deleted the epitaph of the famous Wicher, approved by many a famous deed, because they could not deny he was German. They replaced it with the epitaph of some French soldier, as may be seen by any one who goes there. For his coffin is still visible outside at a corner, between the main Church and the Chapel of Saint John the Baptist. But his name is missing, and is replaced by another.[382]

Against this injustice, John provides his own interpretation of what the inscription on the tomb should say:

By Franks, not French, but Germans, all
    More powerful with the sword, I shall
Recount that after long campaign
    Jerusalem was seized again.
The Holy City was set free
    From various pagans' tyranny.
From Franconia, not from France
    Lord Wicher's and Lord Guntram's lance –
Duke Godfrey's too – by this agree
    About the truth of victory.[383]

John of Würzburg then continues with an *apologia* of sorts for why the Germans had not been recognized properly in the Holy Land, which is not necessary to examine here. What is interesting in his account, however, is a certain sensitivity to the claim that German contributions had not been adequately recognized in the Latin Kingdom. He also invites us in effect to reconsider what the proper interpretation of the word "Frank" should be in the Crusader Levant. Finally, perhaps without knowing it, he stands at the beginning of the period, that is, *c.*1170, when the German presence in the Latin Kingdom will become a powerful factor. We have seen this to be the case in the period from 1187 to 1225. It will be even more apparent between 1225 and 1244.

CONCLUSIONS

Far from aiding the Holy Land, the best that may be said of the Fifth Crusade nonetheless was that it did not bring direct harm to the Crusader States. The Fourth Crusade had diverted men and resources away from Syria-Palestine, and had even caused clergy and soldiers to leave for the Latin Empire. The Fifth Crusade had the possibility of the restoration of Jerusalem and the Latin Kingdom as it was before 1187 – except for the territory in Transjordan – in its grasp through repeated offers of a truce by the Sultan al-Kamil. However, the leaders of the Crusade let it slip away, not by the failure of determined efforts, but by their unrealistic refusal to consider anything less than total victory. Damietta, which could have been a major asset to the Crusaders militarily and commercially, was lost after it had been captured. The effort to invade Egypt by the Fifth Crusade thus left the Crusader States, and especially the Latin Kingdom, vulnerable to the attacks of al-Mu'azzam and drained of their manpower and financial resources.

Artistically, we can again see glimpses of lively production and ongoing production. It is clear that just as we found the situation between 1192 and 1210, the circumstances in the Crusader States from 1210 to 1225 seem to offer certain practical and ecclesiastical necessities as the main evidence for artistic productivity. There is especially the architectural rebuilding of fortifications, the construction of new castles, and the ongoing design and minting of coinage. However, as we have seen there is also clear indication that miniature painting, panel painting, fresco and mosaic work, and metalwork and textile production, including liturgical garments, were all active areas as well. Clearly the religious objects predominate, but there is also evidence for remarkable secular work in the palace of Beirut and the widespread use of glazed pottery. Finally, we have seen that there was both local production and internal trade, and the import of Western examples and of works done in the eastern Mediterranean. We can expect these developments to continue and to strengthen and expand when the holy sites are once again reopened to Christian pilgrims by treaty in the period 1229–44.

5

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: 1225–1244

In all Christendom
there is not a more valiant house
than that of the Ibelins.

Philip de Novare

God has delivered the city,
In which the joy of the faith resides.
What more can sinners desire
Than the sepulchre and the glorious cross?

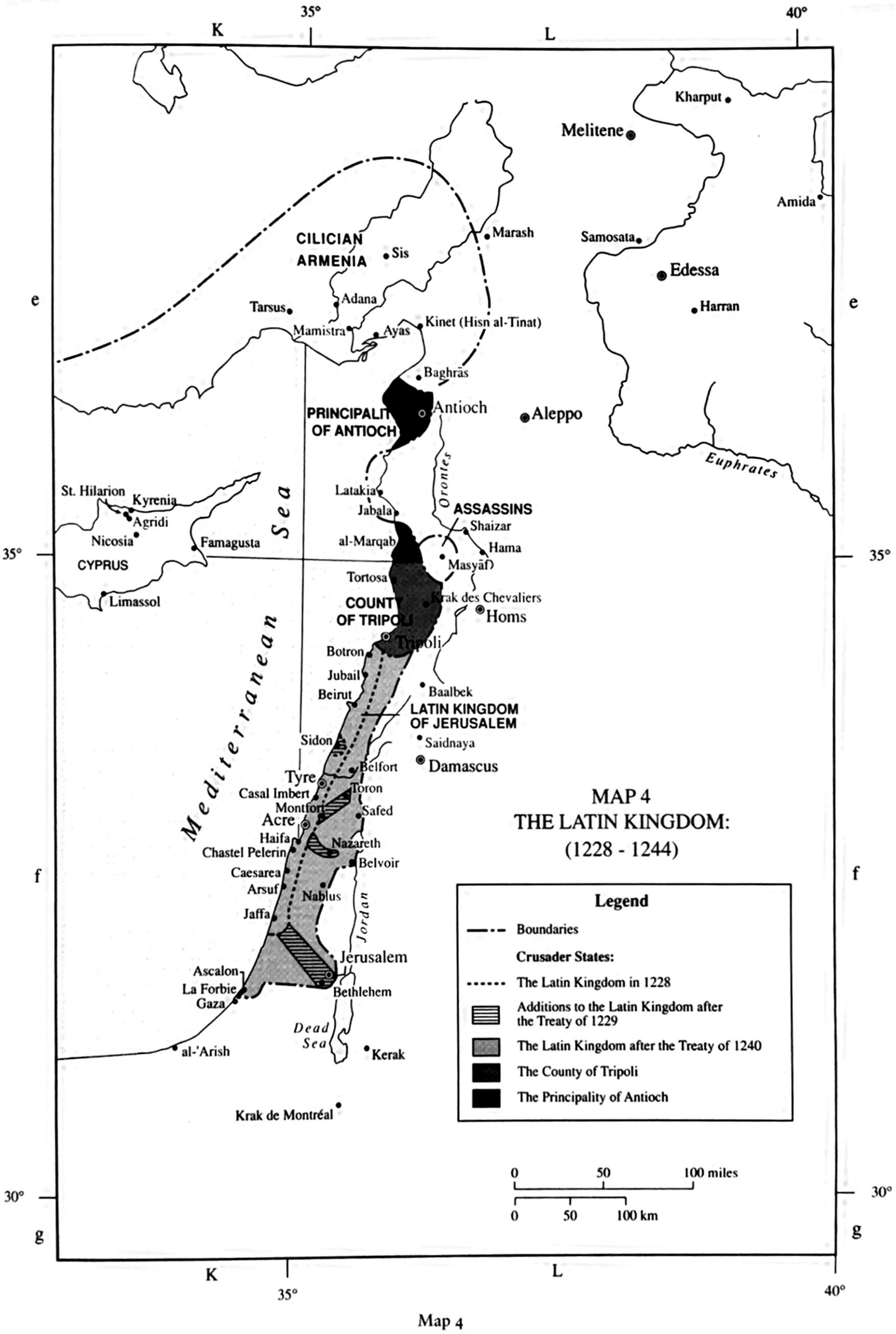
Freidank

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM FROM THE TIME OF QUEEN ISABEL II, TO THE TREATY OF 1229 AND THE FALL OF JERUSALEM IN 1244

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM FROM 1225 TO 1229: QUEEN ISABEL II, THE "CRUSADE" OF FREDERICK II, AND ITS AFTERMATH, THE TREATY OF 1229

The marriage of Frederick II with Isabel II in the Cathedral of Brindisi on 9 November 1225 meant that the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem suddenly did not have a resident ruler, whether king, queen, or regent. Stripped of his position as regent and deprived of his royal duties by Frederick, John of Brienne could only fall on the mercy of the pope for assistance. Honorius III, seeing once again the unpredictable directions that Frederick II was capable of going, found John of Brienne a temporary position in Italy. Meanwhile Frederick II kept his new queen, Isabel II, in Palermo, where she lived far from her native land in Outremer. In due course, on 25 April 1228, she gave birth to a son, Conrad, heir to the crown of Jerusalem. Unhappily, however, a few days after his birth, on 4 May, she died and Conrad became the infant king.[1] Conrad would never see his kingdom. By contrast, his father, Frederick, would go to Jerusalem and personally attempt to claim his son's kingdom. He was Conrad's guardian, and, if the barons of the Latin Kingdom agreed, regent for his son. Frederick, who had been king of Jerusalem by virtue of his marriage to Queen Isabel II, would even audaciously proclaim himself king as guardian of his infant son, but he would find that the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was one he could not rule.[2]

Frederick II had first pledged to go on Crusade as far back as July 1215, after his coronation as king of Germany. However, the demands of his involvements with protracted and complicated political and military activity in the West prevented him from honoring his vow, and he never did set out to join the Fifth Crusade (1217–21). Kantorowicz observed airily that "the


35°
40°
K
L
e
f
g
30°
Kharput
Melitene
Amida
Marash
Samosata
Edessa
Harran
CILICIAN ARMENIA
Sis
Adana
Tarsus
Mamistra
Ayas
Kinet (Hisn al-Tinat)
Baghrās
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
Antioch
Aleppo
Euphrates
Orontes
St. Hilarion
Kyrenia
Agridi
Nicosia
Famagusta
CYPRUS
Limassol
Sea
Mediterranean
Latakia
Jabala
ASSASSINS
Shaizar
al-Marqab
Hama
Masyaf
Tortosa
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
Krak des Chevaliers
Homs
Tripoli
Botron
Jubail
Beirut
Baalbek
LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
Saidnaya
Sidon
Belfort
Damascus
Tyre
Casal Imbert
Toron
Montfort
Acre
Safed
Haifa
Chastel Pelerin
Nazareth
Belvoir
Caesarea
Arsuf
Nablus
Jaffa
Jordan
Jerusalem
Ascalon
La Forbie
Gaza
Bethlehem
Dead Sea
al-'Arish
Kerak
Krak de Montréal
MAP 4
THE LATIN KINGDOM:
(1228 - 1244)
Legend
Boundaries
Crusader States:
The Latin Kingdom in 1228
Additions to the Latin Kingdom after the Treaty of 1229
The Latin Kingdom after the Treaty of 1240
The County of Tripoli
The Principality of Antioch
0
50
100 miles
0
50
100 km

Map 4

emperor's presence would have been of no avail" in averting the catastrophe in the Nile Delta, but the weight of contemporary opinion was otherwise. As the troubadour Peirol wrote: "emperor, Damietta awaits you, and night and day the White Tower weeps for your [imperial] eagle which a [Muslim] vulture has cast down therefrom."[3] Frederick remained committed to the Crusade, however, and in the wake of the disastrous results of that Crusade, eventually he vowed once again to take the Cross, according to the agreements reached at Ferentino in 1223 and then, more specifically, at San Germano on 25 July 1225.[4] He reiterated his determination to proceed with the Crusade at the Diet of Cremona in 1226, along with a policy of suppressing heresy in his domains, and his insistence that his imperial rights be recognized everywhere in the Holy Roman Empire.

The main Crusader army indeed sailed as scheduled in the San Germano accord, from Brindisi in August of 1227. Frederick himself set out shortly thereafter, in early September, only to fall seriously ill. He put in at Otranto in serious distress, and eventually went to Pozzuoli to recover, sending his fleet on to Acre under the command of Hermann of Salza, master of the Teutonic Knights, and the new patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold of Lausanne. He designated Henry, duke of Limburg, as overall commander of the Crusade until he himself could join the army. He also sent a delegation to Rome, to explain to the pope what had happened.[5]

In the interim, however, Pope Honorius III, his former tutor, had died on 18 March 1227. The new pope, Gregory IX, a cousin of Pope Innocent III, was not prepared to accept any excuses. On 29 September 1227, Gregory summarily excommunicated Frederick II, and the sentence was solemnly proclaimed in an encyclical dated 10 October.[6] His letter leveled a whole list of accusations against Frederick.[7] The most serious were the following: he was accused of violating his sacred oaths to go on Crusade, of being responsible for the sickness and death of many Crusaders who had come to Brindisi to join the army, of delaying the acquisition of ships and supplies, and of feigning illness. Frederick II, for his part, issued a letter defending his situation, and prepared to sail to Outremer in the following spring, in order to join the Crusaders already there. In April 1228, Frederick sent Marshal Richard Filangieri with five hundred knights to the Holy Land in advance of his own departure. Frederick II himself finally left Brindisi on 28 June 1228. The pope had not released him from the ban of excommunication, but at this point Frederick would not let the censure detain him from setting out. Frederick sought to proceed as a Crusader on his own terms; "he made the Crusade into an imperial expedition."[8] The pope apparently could only perceive him to be a political adversary who was attempting to use his Crusader status to his own advantage. "The threat of a Crusade unblessed by the papacy was a threat to the political standing of the papacy, as organizer of holy war and mediatory, . . . between God and man."[9]

As this standoff developed, a power vacuum emerged in the Latin Kingdom, which found itself without a functioning resident ruler. In this situation, John of Ibelin, count of Beirut, assumed de facto leadership of the lords of the kingdom.[10] John of Ibelin already had exercised government leadership previously, once before John of Brienne had arrived in 1210, and again between 1225 and 1228 when John of Brienne had gone West and Frederick had not yet arrived. John at this time was the head of one of the most powerful families in the Latin Kingdom, with strong ties to the royal families of both Jerusalem and Cyprus. He was wealthy and possessed excellent credentials and experience, having formerly also served as constable of the kingdom, having been given the important fief of Beirut in 1198, and having married Melisende, heiress of Arsuf. Because of his stature and his sterling personal qualities, he was recognized by most of the nobles as their leader when the ruler became absent: because of either Queen Isabel II (1225–8) living in the West, King John of Brienne as her regent going to the West, or the infant Conrad after 1228, born in Italy, never coming East. When Frederick II arrived in the Levant therefore, he directed his main efforts to take control in Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom at John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut.

Not only was the royal throne of the Latin Kingdom without a resident occupant between 1225 and 1228, but also the Latin patriarchal throne was vacated by the death of Ralph de Merencourt in 1224. In the interim, Peter, archbishop of Caesarea, administered the church in the Latin Kingdom, and Ralph's successor, Gerold of Lausanne, was finally named in May 1225. He waited to sail eastward with the new Crusade, however, and did not arrive in the East until the fall of 1228. Gerold's qualifications consisted in the fact that he had been the bishop of Valence and, even more impressive, he had served previously as the abbot of Cluny. As he arrived to take charge of the Latin patriarchate in Jerusalem, former proven clergy of the Latin church in the East were being elevated to new positions of importance, perhaps as an indication of increased papal interest and involvement in dealing with Levantine affairs. Simon of Maugastel, the archbishop of Tyre, who had lived in the West for several years after 1225, was named to be the Latin patriarch of Constantinople in 1229. Jacques de Vitry, who had returned to Liège in 1225, was allowed to resign as the bishop of Acre in 1228, and in 1229 he was made cardinal bishop of Tusculum, as we have mentioned earlier. His successor was John of Pruvino, dean of Paris, who arrived at Acre in 1230 after being consecrated in Rome. Some of these ecclesiastical officials were destined to play an active and important role in the upcoming struggle with Frederick II.[11]

When the first elements of the Crusader army arrived in the Levant probably in late September or early October 1227, the papal excommunication of Frederick was just being proclaimed. Shortly thereafter the twenty galleys dispatched by the emperor from Otranto in September also arrived at Acre. When word began to circulate that the emperor was ill, and that he had been excommunicated and would be delayed, the newly arrived Crusaders were alarmed and grew restless. Just as we have seen at the time of the German Crusade in 1197 and the Fifth Crusade in 1217, the first arrivals came with expectations of action, primarily so that they could fulfill their vows and return home. If the Crusade was not going to pursue the goals to which the soldiers had responded in taking the Cross, what was the point of their being here? In the face of the emperor's absence and the constant threat of serious illness in camp, many turned right around, boarded ships and sailed westward. Faced with these problems, Duke Henry of Limburg, Frederick's deputy to lead the Crusade pending his arrival, understood the urgent need to make a decision on what action to take. Although the truce arranged at Damietta in 1221 was still in force, Henry and the other prominent leaders, such as Thomas of Acerra and Bishops William of Exeter and Peter of Winchester,[12] saw the necessity for some kind of military activity. Deciding against a frontal attack on Jerusalem, they sanctioned several lesser operations.

Certain French, English, and Spanish Crusaders for their part marched to the north, past Tyre, to the city of Sidon.[13] The Paris Eracles narrates what happened:

> The pilgrims who were not at Acre, not wanting to be idle, took counsel and agreed that they should go to Saete [Sidon]

> to fortify the city and the castle. When they arrived, they realised that it would be too much work to undertake the fortification of the town and castle. They saw an island in the sea beyond the harbour and they knew that they could make a better and more secure fortification there in a short time. They set to work and built two towers, one large and the other medium, and a length of wall between the two towers. They worked at this between St. Martin's day [11 November 1227] and the middle of Lent [2 March 1228].[14]

This is, of course, the famous "sea castle" at Sidon, built on a reef located about 100 meters offshore at the mouth of the harbor. Much of what we see today is construction done later in the century, but part of the core of the castle is surely the work described in the Paris Eracles.[15]

While work on the sea castle at Sidon was getting underway, a contingent of German Crusaders marched into the hills some 20 kilometers to the northeast of Acre where the Teutonic Knights had identified a site for their new headquarters.[16] Eschewing the urban setting, unlike the Hospitallers and the Templars who had their headquarters in Acre, Hermann of Salza decided on an isolated and eminently defensible castle for their administrative center in the Latin Kingdom. It is located on a narrow rocky spur rising abruptly 180 meters above the Wadi al-Qarn. Preliminary work to prepare the site may have started already in 1226 soon after the exchange of lands that gave the Teutonic Order the possession of this strategically located spur. However, it was with the manpower provided by a contingent of newly arrived German Crusaders that heavy work got underway in late 1227, possibly starting with digging the foundations. Even so, the serious construction must have mostly been carried out in 1228 after the rainy season was over. Phase one of the construction, which is probably what was executed in 1228, has been identified by Pringle to consist mainly of the purely defensive architecture, such as the keep and the inner bailey wall. Although Montfort, known as Starkenburg in German, was obviously an important castle, we do not know exactly when it was finished, but it was certainly fully operational in the 1240s. It was held by the Teutonic Knights until it was captured and heavily destroyed by the siege engines of Sultan Baybars on 4 July 1271.[17]

Later, in 1228 additional work was undertaken to the south of Acre by the Crusaders. Part of the army marched along the coast to begin refortification of the cities of Caesarea and Jaffa.[18] The fortifications of Caesarea had been worked on by members of the Fifth Crusade in 1217, but al-Mu'azzam had inflicted more damage in 1219–20. Now in the spring of 1228, work on the walls started once more. Work at Jaffa, also apparently begun at this time, was pursued more substantially in the fall of 1228 when Frederick II finally arrived.[19]

On 11 November 1227, just as the work at Sidon was beginning, al-Mu'azzam, the redoubtable Muslim ruler of Syria, died. This development greatly aided the Crusaders in one sense, because now Sultan al-Kamil in Egypt sought immediately to acquire the Syrian territory of his late brother, which passed to al-Mu'azzam's twenty-one-year-old and inexperienced son, an-Nasir Daud. While the Muslim rulers of Egypt, Syria, and the Jezirah were preoccupied with this power struggle, Crusader building activities could go on uninterrupted. However, from a different point of view the death of al-Mu'azzam was also a problem for the Crusaders because it strengthened al-Kamil's hand in Syria.

Sultan al-Kamil had, already in 1226, sent one of his trusted emissaries to open discussions with Frederick II. Emir Fakr ad-Din had come to Frederick II in Sicily where he sought the emperor's support against al-Mu'azzam, who had at that time recently allied himself with the leader of the Khwarismian Turks along his eastern border, thereby alarming his brother in Egypt. Al-Kamil's other brother to the north, al-Ashraf, was at this moment unable to consider a joint operation to divide al-Mu'azzam's Syrian holdings by force between them because of his own commitments, so al-Kamil turned to Frederick for possible assistance. To entice the emperor, he held out the prospect of restoring Jerusalem to the Christians, just as he had repeatedly done earlier during the Fifth Crusade. In 1226 Frederick was interested, but, contemplating his upcoming Crusade and faced with problems in Italy, he could do nothing at the time.

In May 1227 al-Mu'azzam was again sufficiently concerned about the possibility of Jerusalem being returned to the Crusaders, one way or other, that he ordered the demolition of the walls of the Holy City, work started in 1219, to be completed. A partial destruction of the citadel, but not the Tower of David – the only major fortified tower of the city to survive this period undamaged – may have been the demolition work undertaken at this time.[20] However, by November of 1227 when al-Mu'azzam died, the situation changed substantially. Al-Kamil saw his way open to proceed with the annexation of Syrian lands. Now he did not need Frederick's help with the same urgency as he had before. What would happen to Jerusalem now, and how would he welcome Frederick to Syria in 1228? Frederick for his part was determined to come to the Holy Land and recover Jerusalem, although the pope could not believe it.[21]

Frederick II finally sailed from Brindisi for Outremer on 28 June 1228, via Otranto, and the islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, Crete, and Rhodes.[22] When he received confirmation of Frederick's departure, the pope commented that he went unreconciled to the Church and that no one knew where he was going. Frederick II, writing to his subjects, reported: "With Christ as our leader we have just left Brindisi for Syria, sailing swiftly before favourable winds."[23] He arrived off Limassol on Cyprus on 21 July 1228, after a voyage of twenty-four days.

Frederick's first step in the Levant was to establish imperial sovereignty over Cyprus. It would be a sobering example for the lords of Outremer to see the methods he was prepared to use to carry out his policies. According to the Paris Eracles, "Li empereres fu receuz a Limecon a grant joie et a grant honor." After being met by his marshal, Richard Filangieri, and other nobles, and having received their homage, Frederick, taking the initiative as always, invited the *bailli* of the kingdom of Cyprus, John of Ibelin,[24] with his sons, the young king of Cyprus, Henry I, and a number of the nobles to a banquet. Despite warnings by his friends of possible danger from the emperor, John of Ibelin correctly saw it to be his duty to be present. Frederick sent cordial greetings and requested that the Ibelins put aside their black robes of mourning for Philip of Ibelin, who had died in 1227. He sent them handsome robes of scarlet to wear.

The banquet was equally lavish. Philip de Novare recorded the events in some detail. The location ironically was in a house that had been built by Philip of Ibelin. John of Ibelin was placed at the head table with the emperor, and the king of Cyprus and the Cypriot knights were seated so they could see and hear the two of them when they spoke. When the dining was over, Frederick ordered his soldiers to take possession of the house and the banquet hall by standing behind each of the guests with their weapons drawn. Philip de Novare describes the dramatic confrontation:

> The Cypriots took good note but did not say a word, and they strove to give the appearance of ease. The emperor turned his face towards the lord of Beirut and said loudly to him: "Sir John, I wish to demand of you two things; you will do them agreeably and well if you know what is wise." And he replied: "Sire, speak your pleasure, and I shall do willingly that which I consider to be right, or what honest men so deem."
>
> "One of the two things," said the emperor, "is that you surrender to me the city of Beirut, for you do not have and hold it by right. The other is that you render to me all that the bailliage of Cyprus and the rule thereof has profited and brought you since the death of King Hugh; that is, the revenues for ten years; for it is my right according to the usages of Germany." The lord of Beirut replied: "I believe that you jest and make sport of me; and it may well be that certain evil men who hate me have suggested this demand, and because of this it has been made by you; but, as God wills, you are so good and wise a lord that you know to whatever extent we are able to serve you we will do so willingly, and so you will not believe them." The emperor put his hand to his head and said: "By this head which many times has worn a crown, I will accomplish my will in these two things which I have asked or you shall be taken a prisoner."
>
> Then the lord of Beirut arose and said in a loud voice with commanding presence: "I have and I hold Beirut as my rightful fief; for as much as my lady Queen Isabelle, who was my sister through my mother and daughter of King Amaury and thus legal heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem, together with her lord King Amaury gave me Beirut in exchange for the constableship, when the Christians had recovered it all destroyed so that the Temple and the Hospital and all the barons of Syria had refused it. I fortified it and maintained it by the alms of Christians and by my own work, and always I used and consumed therein whatever I had in revenues in Cyprus and elsewhere; if you contend that I hold it illegally, I will furnish you proofs and rights thereto in the court of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Of what you require of me concerning the revenues of the baillage of Cyprus and the rule thereof, I have never had any, and my brother as bailli had never aught save the trouble and the labor of the government of the kingdom, but Queen Alice, my niece, had the revenues and disposed of them at her own will, as the one who legally held the baillage according to our usage; and if you demand of me the right of this, I will furnish you proofs by the usage and by the court of the kingdom of Cyprus; but be certain that for fear of death or of prison will I not do more unless the judgement of the good and loyal court requires me so to do."...
>
> The emperor was much enraged and changed color often, and people looked often at the lord of Beirut and many were the words and threats; and the men of religion and other good men intervened to reconcile them, but in no way could they change the lord of Beirut from that which he said he would do. The emperor made several strange and menacing demands. In the end it was agreed as the lord of Beirut had previously offered, and no more could force prevail than that he should surrender to the emperor twenty of the most prominent vassals of Cyprus, who pledged with their bodies, goods, and estates, that the lord of Beirut would serve him and would go to the court of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and there furnish his proofs; and only when he should appear in the court were the hostages to be freed and released.[25]

In this manner the Holy Roman Emperor made his personal entry into Outremer. Here we see, as Jonathan Riley-Smith has written, "a man who had a strong will and was capable of ruthless and arbitrary acts, but was motivated by conservative ideas, determined to enjoy what he took to be established imperial or royal rights, and although these rarely coincided with the baronial interpretation of law and custom it does not follow that they were indefensible."[26]

If John of Ibelin could not be cowed, the fact was Frederick still needed to establish his exercise of power on Cyprus and he still needed money for his Crusade. For the remainder of July and August, Frederick summoned others to do his bidding, while John of Ibelin retired discreetly, first to Nicosia and then the Castle of St. Hilarion, which guarded the mountain pass north to Kyrenia, staying out of harm's way. Meanwhile Frederick was recognized as suzerain of Cyprus, and the king paid him homage, and although Alice was still regent, the emperor appointed new *baillis* to govern the towns and the country. Eventually the emperor made his peace with John of Ibelin, whose power and influence on Cyprus was, however, now at an end.[27] As John LaMonte characterized the situation, "Prior to this time, John had been at most an important baron in an unimportant kingdom; thereafter, as the defender of the baronial liberties against imperial aggression, he became a figure of international significance."[28] John for his part proceeded to serve Frederick correctly, albeit cautiously, during the emperor's time in the Levant, as his vassal in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The emperor had successfully claimed his suzerain rights over Cyprus, rights deriving from the creation of the Lusignan kingdom on Cyprus by Henry VI. He also tried without success to get Bohemond to do him homage for Tripoli and Antioch, but Bohemond recognized no overlord save perhaps the Latin Emperor of Constantinople. At this point, Frederick was anxious to move on to Palestine where he intended to claim rights as king of Jerusalem. On 3 September 1228 he sailed from Famagusta to the Latin Kingdom. Frederick was welcomed at Tyre and Acre, and as Philip de Novare reports: "The emperor was very well received in Syria and all did homage to him. He left Tyre and went to the city of Acre, and was received there with honor."[29] In fact though he was initially well received in Acre on 7 September as the leader of the Crusader army and the main hope for the restoration of Jerusalem, the clergy would not render him the kiss of peace because of the ban imposed on him by the pope.

When Frederick sought to organize the Crusaders for action, problems developed because of his excommunication.[30] The Teutonic Knights, the Sicilians, the Pisans, and the Genoese were committed to the emperor, along with other firm supporters, such as the bishops of Winchester and of Exeter. In fact, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, made his biggest contribution to this Crusade in Acre by transforming the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr into a military establishment organized according to the rule of the Teutonic Order.[31] However, the Templars and Hospitallers, along with the clergy of the Latin Kingdom, refused to recognize Frederick's command because he was excommunicated. Others wavered, and even though Frederick attempted to win recruits for his Crusader army by appointing commanders who were untainted by his status – namely, Herman of Salza, Master of the Teutonic

Knights, Richard Filangieri, Frederick's marshal, and Odo of Montbéliard, constable of the kingdom – he was unable to raise a very large army. Even when Frederick was persuaded to appeal to the pope for absolution from his ban, sending as his emissaries to Rome the bishop of Bari and the admiral of the Sicilian fleet, a papal letter to the patriarch of Jerusalem and to the masters of the knightly orders warned them not to have any part in Frederick's activities in Syria.[32] Meanwhile Frederick learned that the pope was preparing an army commanded by John of Brienne to attack his kingdom of Sicily.

In light of these developments, no doubt Frederick II could see the course of action he would have to take at this point. Whereas on the one hand he wished to claim rights to the kingdom of Jerusalem and to legitimate this claim by personally restoring Jerusalem to Christian control, on the other hand, it must have been clear that he would not be able to do this by force of arms alone and that he would have to rely heavily on diplomatic initiatives. Furthermore in light of events in the West, time was of the essence; far from being a multiyear campaign, his Crusade would have to reach its goals efficiently and with all deliberate speed. To this end he sent Thomas of Acerra and Balian of Sidon as his emissaries to al-Kamil, announcing his arrival in the Holy Land and expressing his interest in continuing the discussions that had been underway between the two rulers since 1226.[33]

Ibn Wasil reports the following:

> When the Emperor reached Acre, al-Malik al-Kamil found him an embarrassment, for his brother al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, who was the reason why he had asked Frederick for help, had died, and al-Kamil had no further need of the Emperor. Nor was it possible to turn him away and attack him because of the terms of the earlier agreement, and because this would have led him to lose the goals on which his heart was set at the time. He therefore made a treaty with Frederick and treated him with great friendship.... The Emperor settled at Acre and messengers came and went between him and al-Malik al-Kamil until the end of the year.[34]

The making of a new treaty thereby remained a goal and was a process that took several months of personal negotiations between Frederick and al-Kamil, with Emir Fakr ad-Din playing an important role. The positions of the two rulers as described by Ibn Wasil were quite different. An agreement had to be worked out through extended discussions and the exchange of gifts; there were feints and counterfeints and hard bargaining. In the end both rulers would have to appear to have won important gains and to have yielded nothing of importance. The emperor was unwilling to leave the Holy Land except on the conditions that Jerusalem was surrendered to him along with at least part of the area taken by Saladin that was still in Muslim hands. Al-Kamil needed to avoid a war with the Franks and sought to neutralize them, so he could get on with his campaign to annex the Syrian lands now held by an-Nasir Daud. As he saw it, any territorial concessions he decided to make at this point could be regained later, when the Crusaders had gone home.[35]

In late November, Frederick attempted to apply pressure by initiating a military operation to Jaffa, as a putative staging point for a possible attack on Jerusalem he knew he would not order. He organized the troops that were willing to follow him and marched to the south to refortify and further garrison the city. But al-Kamil refused to be bluffed. He knew of Frederick's troubles with the pope, and by extension with the Templars and the Hospitallers, and he complained that the emperor had attacked Muslim villages en route. Frederick had to pay reparations before the negotiations could continue.[36]

Frederick persisted with the negotiations. He attempted to impress the sultan with his intellectual prowess and knowledge of philosophy, geometry, mathematics, and poetry.[37] He literally competed with the sultan in the exchange of gifts.[38] Indeed the patriarch of Jerusalem complained bitterly to the pope: "It is with the greatest shame and disgrace that we report to you that it is said the Sultan, hearing of the Emperor's enjoyment of living in the manner of the Saracens, sent to him singing girls and jugglers, persons who were not only of ill repute but unworthy even to be mentioned among Christians."[39] Frederick sought to enhance his personal friendship not only with Sultan al-Kamil, but also Emir Fakr ad-Din. In the end Frederick's efforts proved to be rewarded in the sense that he is reported to have persuaded al-Kamil of the following proposition:

> I am your friend. You must be aware that I am supreme among all the princes of the West. It is you who caused me to come here. The kings and the pope know of my expedition. If I return without having obtained something, I shall lose all respect in their eyes. After all, is not the city of Jerusalem the place of birth of the Christian religion? Have you not destroyed it? It now stands in direst need. Give it back to me in the condition in which it is so that upon my return home I may hold my head among kings. I renounce in advance all advantages which I might obtain from it.[40]

As the negotiations stretched on into early 1229, Frederick's situation became more pressing. Reports were received from Italy where John of Brienne was said to have captured San Germano and had moved on to threaten Capua. Frederick intensified his efforts, and on the advice of Emir Fakr ad-Din, he sent his premier emissaries, Thomas of Acerra and Balian of Sidon, to al-Kamil once more. On 11 February al-Kamil proposed terms that Frederick could and did accept.[41]

Philip de Novare reports this activity quite succinctly:

> The emperor, his men, and all the men of Syria left Acre to go to Jaffa, and there they made terms of truce with El Kamel, who was then sultan of Babylon [Egypt] and Damascus [sic] and who held Jerusalem and all the country; thereby were surrendered Jerusalem and Nazareth and Lydda to the emperor.[42]

Indeed, the culmination of Frederick's negotiations with Sultan al-Kamil was a major treaty that achieved a number of remarkable results. This Treaty of Jaffa was concluded on 18 February 1229. No full text of the treaty survives, perhaps because it was a personal arrangement between the sultan and Frederick. Indeed it had been secretly arranged between the emperor and the sultan; neither the Muslim emirs nor the Christian clergy or lords had been consulted in its preparation or about its provisions. It depended on the personal relationship between al-Kamil and Frederick for its implementation. John La Monte reconstructed the provisions of this treaty from a variety of sources and he usefully summarizes the essential content as follows:[43]

> (1) The sultan delivered over to Frederick or his officers the city of Jerusalem;

(2) the Temple Area, including the Dome of the Rock, was reserved to the Moslems, who were to be free to exercise their religion there unmolested;
(3) Moslems were to be allowed free right of pilgrimage to shrines at Bethlehem and other holy places of their religion;
(4) Franks should be allowed to enter the Temple Area for the purpose of prayer, provided they showed proper respect for "the dignity of the Temple of the Lord";
(5) Moslems in Jerusalem were to have their own court to which they were amenable;
(6) The emperor promised to remain neutral in any war which might be waged against the sultan and not to assist anyone against him;
(7) The emperor should forbid any of his subjects to make war against the sultan and [restrain] anyone who proposed to do so;
(8) The emperor pledged himself to enforce the terms of the treaty and prevent any breach of the truce;
(9) Tripoli, Antioch, Tortosa, and the castles of Safita, Margat, and Crac (castles belonging to the Temple and Hospital) should be left as they were (i.e. excluded from the treaty), and the emperor should prevent his subjects, Syrians and others, from assisting the lords of these territories against the sultan;
(10) St. George (Lydda) and the villages between it and Jerusalem should be restored to the emperor;
(11) Nazareth and the villages between it and Acre should be restored to the emperor;
(12) Toron with its lands and villages should be restored;
(13) Sidon and its vicinity should be restored;
(14) Bethlehem and the villages between it and Jerusalem should be restored;
(15) The walls of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Caesarea, and Montfort (a castle of the Teutons) might be rebuilt by the Christians (though Makrizi states that the city of Jerusalem was not to be fortified);[44]
(16) No new fortresses were to be built nor were any old ones to be reconstructed by the Egyptians during the time of the truce;
(17) There was to be a complete exchange and restoration of prisoners, including many of those captured in the Damietta campaign;
(18) The truce was to last for ten years, five months, and forty days.[45]

This last provision meant that the truce was to be in force from 18 February 1229 to 27 August 1239. According to Muslim law, it was acceptable for truces with nonbelievers to last for ten years with reference to a precedent set by Mohammed in 628.[46]

The fact is that by this treaty Frederick II made a signal accomplishment for the Latin Kingdom; indeed, "as a second Heraclius he had brought Jerusalem back into the Christian fold."[47] Nonetheless, because of the way the treaty had been privately negotiated, there were many misgivings about its provisions, once they became generally known. Furthermore, because Frederick was excommunicated and dealing personally and directly with the Muslim ruler, many Christians including a number of the most prominent resident Crusaders – clergy and soldiers alike – were distressed by the content of this treaty, so remarkably different from its predecessors. Yet although Crusader access to Jerusalem and the holy places had been part of treaties proposed by al-Kamil, stretching back to the time of the Fifth Crusade, no negotiation to this point had successfully resulted in reopening Jerusalem to the Crusaders as this treaty of Jaffa did. What irony that it was Frederick II who accomplished it! (Map 4)

Whereas Christian pilgrims welcomed the new access to the holy sites, Gerold, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the clergy of the Latin church, and the members of the Hospitallers and especially the Templars found this treaty deeply problematic and quite unacceptable.[48] Not only did the agreement permit the Muslims rights to worship in Jerusalem with their own court, but also Frederick had agreed in effect not to mount any Crusade attacks on the Muslims in Egypt, and to restrain any other Christians in the Latin Kingdom from doing so. Furthermore, obviously the Templar headquarters in Jerusalem remained in Muslim hands, and Frederick II had made no effort to negotiate the restoration of Church lands surrounding the three holy places of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, or Nazareth, so the economic problems of supporting these important pilgrimage sites were unresolved. We can recall that there had been substantial opposition to a possible treaty with al-Kamil during the Fifth Crusade when he proposed to return Jerusalem and all the lands of the Latin Kingdom conquered by Saladin, but not the castles *oultrelejourdain*, that is, Shaubak and Kerak. Now the sultan had conceded much less, only corridors of access to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Toron, which the Crusader lords wondered how they would defend. Finally, the private negotiations by which this treaty had been arranged meant that neither the clergy nor the religious orders nor the nobility of the kingdom had been involved on the Crusader side; indeed only Frederick had signed for the Crusaders. As for the Muslims, only al-Kamil had signed the accord, not the ruler of Damascus, his nephew an-Nasir Daud.[49]

There was consternation in the Muslim world as well. A great Muslim preacher living in Damascus at the time reported:

> News of the loss of Jerusalem spread to Damascus, and disaster struck all the lands of Islam. It was so great a tragedy that public ceremonies of mourning were instituted: al-Malik an-Nasir Dawud invited me to preside over a meeting in the Great Mosque of Damascus and to speak of what had occurred in Jerusalem.... It was a memorable day, for not one of the people of Damascus remained outside. In the course of my oration I said: "The road to Jerusalem is closed to the companies of pious visitors! O desolation for those pious men who live there; how many times have they prostrated themselves there in prayer, how many tears have they shed there! By Allah, if their eyes were living springs they could not pay the whole of their debt of grief; if their hearts burst with grief they could not diminish their anguish! May God burnish the honour of the believers! O shame upon the Muslim rulers!"[50]

Al-Kamil issued a proclamation saying that the Muslims were to leave Jerusalem and hand it over to the Crusaders, which they did "amid cries and groans and lamentations."[51] The sultan defended his concessions in this treaty by saying, "'We have only... conceded to them some churches and some ruined houses. The sacred precincts, the venerated Rock and all the other sanctuaries to which we make our pilgrimages remain ours as they were; Muslim rites continue to flourish as they did before, and the Muslims have their own governor of the rural provinces and districts.'"[52]

Frederick wasted no time in requesting permission from al-Kamil to go to Jerusalem. The sultan appointed the qadi of Nablus, Shams ad-Din, to be responsible for handing over the city to him, to escort him during his visit, and to be at his service. Frederick entered the city on 17 March 1229, a little over a month after the treaty was concluded. He was accompanied by his imperial troops and members of the Teutonic Order, along with his Sicilian bishops and two English bishops, and a contingent of pilgrims. He was handed the keys to the city by Shams ad-Din, in the name of the sultan, al-Kamil. Frederick took up residence in the hospital, opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[53]

On 18 March 1229, Sunday in mid-Lent, Frederick II, still excommunicated, entered the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The Paris Eracles describes what happened with certain unique details:

> li empereres . . . s'en entra ou mostier dou Sepucre et fist metre une corone d'or dessus le maistre autel dou cuer, et puis vint la, si la prist et la mist sur sa teste.[54]

We are not told in other sources that the crown was gold, where the crown was placed in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher before the emperor wore it, or how the crown was placed on his head. The details in this account suggest that this author had access to quite specific information about this event, or even that he might have been present in Jerusalem at this time. Thus, without the presence of the patriarch or other priests, without the benefit of the liturgy, Frederick II wore his imperial crown at the center of the world in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Frederick II stated what he did in a letter to King Henry II of England:

> On the seventeenth day of the month of March . . . we entered the Holy City of Jerusalem, and there as Catholic Emperor, on the next day, after worshipping at the Sepulchre of the Lord, we wore the crown which God the Omnipotent through his special grace, provided for us from his majestic throne.

Hans Mayer has argued persuasively that Frederick's actions here should be regarded as the ceremonial act of crown-wearing, just as the emperor describes them in the letter to Henry. It is a royal act customarily seen on the great feasts, but also performed on other important occasions, and this certainly was an important occasion for the emperor.[55]

By force of will therefore, he now claimed to be not only father and guardian of Conrad, but also regent for Conrad, king of Jerusalem, which the lords of the Latin Kingdom could recognize. He was also of course the Holy Roman Emperor and wore the crown recalling the legend of the last emperor in Jerusalem.

It is interesting to note that we have very little indication of what kind of crown he actually wore at this momentous event. Although all the chroniclers mention it and it seems to have caught the attention and imagination of people, there were obviously very few eyewitnesses, and none describes what exactly the crown looked like.[56] It is highly unlikely that this was a new crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem, recently made for this occasion, or an older crown, part of the regalia from earlier times.[57] It is much more likely to have been an imperial crown that belonged to Frederick that he brought with him and supplied for this special event. Given the stormy and adversarial relationship he had with the patriarch Gerold at this point, and the fact that far from facilitating Frederick's presence in the Holy City, he had attempted unsuccessfully to block him from being there, it is quite impossible that the emperor would have access to the regalia of the Latin Kingdom. If, as is likely, he himself supplied the crown, we would like to know whether this "corone d'or" was a special royal crown or an imperial crown.[58]

Following his crown-wearing, Frederick II left the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and had an address read to the people on his behalf by Hermann of Salza, master of the Teutonic Knights, first in Latin and then in French. The content of this speech was amazingly conciliatory toward the pope; indeed he forgave the pope for proclaiming the ban of excommunication against him, because as he says, the pope could not have known of his true intention to fulfill his Crusader vow faithfully. Despite this magnanimous and politically astute gesture of reconciliation toward Gregory IX, Frederick was about to feel the weight of yet another ecclesiastical blow with the intent to discredit him.

Once Frederick and al-Kamil had concluded their treaty on 18 February, Frederick had sent an abstract of the text to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold, hoping for his approval. Far from reconciling Frederick with the patriarch, however, the treaty threw Gerold into a rage, mainly because of the idea of treating with the infidel Muslims as equals rather than as enemies to be subjugated and destroyed. Gerold ordered Peter, the archbishop of Caesarea, to place the city of Jerusalem under an interdict. But Gerold was too late. Frederick had staged his triumphal entry into Jerusalem without delay, on 17 March. Although the interdict ostensibly had been issued to prevent the army and the pilgrims from entering the Holy City with the emperor, when it finally was declared, on 19 March,[59] it had the effect of denying access to the holy liturgy to the pilgrims and Crusaders who were already there, much to their consternation and resentment. Mass could now only be celebrated outside the city walls, for example, at the Tomb of the Virgin in Gethsemane, or west of the city in the Monastery of the Holy Cross.

Frederick II had accomplished his principle goals in Jerusalem. After visiting the Muslim holy places in the Haram al-Sharif, he summoned the major representatives of the kingdom to give them his report on the state of the realm under the new treaty. He also wished to discuss the possible rebuilding of the defenses of the Holy City,[60] but in the face of open disapproval over the treaty, he retained Odo of Montbéliard as constable of the kingdom and abandoned any attempt to consider refortifying Jerusalem.

Wishing now to return home as soon as possible to defend his kingdom of Sicily against the invasion of papal forces currently getting underway, Frederick marched rapidly to Acre via Jaffa. When he arrived, he discovered the patriarch Gerold engaged in raising mercenary troops to defend the kingdom, an activity that plainly contravened the provisions of the new treaty. Frederick would not tolerate this breach of his authority and he attacked both the patriarch and the Templars and their supporters in Acre, creating thereby a brief civil war during April. It was a bad omen for the future. Thereafter he rapidly completed his affairs, first with regard to Cyprus. He leased the *baillage* to Amaury Barlais and his four colleagues, Amaury of Bethsan, Gauvain of Chinchi, William of Revet, and Hugh of Gibelet, for three years. He established a garrison in Acre to protect imperial interests. The Teutonic Order was given possession of Montfort, as a stronghold from which they might dominate the city of Acre.[61]

At sunrise on 1 May 1229 Frederick boarded his ship in the harbor of Acre to sail home. Philip of Novare tells an incredible story of popular disapproval expressed directly to the emperor as he departed.

> The emperor arranged for his passage secretly, and on the first day of May at dawn, without letting it be known by anyone, he got into a galley before the street of the butchers. Whence it happened that the butchers and the old people of the street, who were most ill disposed, ran along beside him and pelted him with tripe and bits of meat most scurrilously.
>
> The lord of Beirut [John of Ibelin] and Sir Eudes de Montbéliard [constable of the kingdom] heard talk of this; and they hurried there and drove away with blows those who had been throwing things at him, and they cried to him from the land to where he was on the galley that they commended him to God. The emperor replied in so low a voice that I do not know whether it was well or ill; he said that he was leaving as baillies in his place the lord of Sidon and Garnier l'Aleman. The emperor had very well equipped the castle of Tyre, and he gave it to the lord of Sidon to command and made it appear that he trusted much in him; but King Henry of Cyprus he took with him.[62]

This story as told here is full of irony and contradictions, so much so that one wonders whether it can all be valid. Although Philip de Novare gives this detailed version, neither the Eracles texts nor the *Chronique d'Ernoul* include it, mentioning only that the emperor sailed to the West.[63] If the emperor had made such secret arrangements for his departure, is it likely or possible that so many people, both high nobles and common people, would know about it anyway, or that such a large crowd could have assembled on the spur of the moment early in the morning? If John of Beirut and Odo of Montbéliard really knew about this, or even were accompanying Frederick II as his official escorts, why did they not protect the emperor from this indignity, instead of making a show of stopping it only after it had begun? How odd that the emperor would respond to their wish of a good trip with word that he had named Balian of Sidon and Garnier l'Aleman as *baillis*, except to underscore apparently with irony that they, his supporters, were not there to see him off, leaving unsaid but indicating by implication that they awaited him in Tyre, where he obviously expected better treatment.[64]

As Jonathan Riley-Smith has written, "the first part of Frederick's stay in Palestine had ended in triumph with an imperial crown-wearing in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but the second, although it was marked by his seizure of power in Cyprus, could scarcely have been more humiliating for him."[65] Although he had the intention of leaving his trusted lieutenant, Thomas of Acerra, as his *bailli*, events had forced him to reconsider and name two local barons, investing one of them, Balian of Sidon, with the city of Tyre, a bastion he wished to hold in the Latin Kingdom. Riley-Smith furthermore identified four main consequences of Frederick's brief but tumultuous sojourn in the East:

1. His involvement with Egypt through the Treaty of Jaffa placed him at possible odds with the needs of the Latin Kingdom for peace with Damascus to ensure stability for the economies of the seignurial holdings among the barons.
2. His poor treatment by the people of the Latin Kingdom made him ever more determined to impose his will on them. The barons had relied on their interpretation of the *Assise de la ligèce* to resist Frederick's attempt to infringe on their rights, but the emperor was resisted at a time of weakness, a situation that would change.
3. His arrangements in Cyprus left the island on the verge of civil war.
4. The situation in Cyprus inevitably spilled over into the Latin Kingdom and poisoned dealings with his vassals there.

Unhappily one of Frederick's most lasting legacies to the Holy Land was indeed a civil war, in effect the transfer and implantation of the Guelf–Ghibelline conflict raging in Italy to the Frankish East, primarily in Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom.

In regard to Cyprus, the emperor's final deed en route to the West was to see the marriage of King Henry I to Alice of Montferrat, daughter of the marquis, who was one of his strong supporters in Italy. However, Frederick was leaving the Crusader East with John of Ibelin essentially unchallenged after their confrontation in 1228. Not surprisingly, the Ibelins staunchly refused to recognize the authority of the five *baillis* that Frederick had appointed on Cyprus. The result was that John of Ibelin led an army from Beirut to Cyprus and fought a victorious battle against Imperial forces at Nicosia on 14 July 1229. The five *baillis* and their backers retreated to fortified havens in the castles of Kyrenia, Kantara, and St. Hilarion (Dieu d'Amour). Peace was finally reestablished in 1230 when the *baillis* surrendered, leaving the Ibelins and their supporters in control.[66] The opening battle of the civil war had been quickly won by the Ibelin party, but the war had only begun.

It is difficult to assess the achievements of Frederick II in the Frankish East because he did so much that was damaging to the Latin Kingdom and to the two Crusades with which he was involved. However, even though he plunged the kingdom of Cyprus and the Latin Kingdom into a long civil war on his departure, the War of the Lombards,[67] the fact remains he was the only Crusader after 1187, when Saladin captured Jerusalem, to regain the Holy City. None of his famous predecessors had achieved that, neither Philippe II Auguste nor Richard I "The Lionheart." What is interesting, however, is that despite his famous Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 by which Jerusalem and the other holy places were returned to Christian hands, Frederick's reputation was largely a negative one in the mid-thirteenth century, outside of imperial circles. This is illustrated by the author of the Rothelin Continuation, who, writing in the 1260s in the region of Soissons in France, had the following to say about the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Land:

> In these holy places . . . the Saracens had turned the holy Temple of Our Lord into one of their Mahommeries and so it remained under the treaty Frederick made with the Sultan, ... Frederick did not rebuild the churches of the holy places, nor did he strengthen the holy city. Such was his fondness for the unbelievers, so close his intimacy and friendship with them, that he did them more honour and took more pleasure in their company and their affairs than in those of any other people. He employed infidel Muslims as his chamberlains and confidential servants, used those who had been

> castrated to guard his women, and in many ways followed Saracen customs and manners. Whenever he received envoys from unbelievers, he would greet them so kindly and with such delight that all were astonished, and would give them handsome and expensive gifts. He often sent splendid and costly presents to the sultan, and the sultan behaved in just the same way to him and his envoys. For this reason the pope and all Christians who knew of this were very much afraid he had fallen into the unbelief of Muhammed's law. Others however, maintained that he had not yet decided which faith to destroy and which to keep as the best. He also said, they alleged, that Moses had fooled the Jews, Jesus Christ the Christians and Muhammed the Saracens.[68]

This is a remarkable bit of testimony about how Frederick II was regarded in Europe in the second half of the century, after he died in 1250. Furthermore it appears in the Continuation under a chapter heading entitled, "De la mauveistié Fedric l'empereeur d'Alemaingne," that is, "on the wickedness of Frederick." From the content of the chapter he is faulted not only for what he failed to do in the Holy Land, but also for his favoritism of the Muslims and his questionable religious beliefs. What this testimony may reflect more than anything else by the 1260s, however, is how effective adverse papal propaganda had been in the meantime.

One aspect of Frederick's visit to the Holy Land that remains something of a mystery is the extent of his interest in the art that he would have seen during his time in the Latin Kingdom, whether Crusader, Eastern Christian, or Muslim. He is known to have exchanged lavish gifts with al-Kamil in the process of his diplomatic negotiations leading to the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229, but we are not told about the works of art among these gifts in any detail, nor do we know which of them he took home with him when he sailed to the West. Frederick is known to have been a patron of the arts in the kingdom of Sicily, but his art patronage in the Latin Kingdom is basically unidentified. Despite the close association of the Teutonic Order with Frederick throughout his adventures in the Latin Kingdom, he is not personally linked with any of their various projects during his sojourn in the East. It is unknown whether he commissioned works of art using prominent men in their ranks as his agents. We do not even know for sure whether he supplied the crown that he wore at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1229, although it is likely. The only illustrated manuscript once proposed to have been ordered by him in the Crusader Kingdom now appears to have been commissioned for his second wife, Isabel, in 1225, not his third wife of the same name approximately ten years later, but no direct role of his can be documented in this project even at the earlier time.[69] Other Crusaders are said to have brought back objects from the East after this Crusade of 1228–9, as with all Crusades, for example, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and William Brewer, the bishop of Exeter,[70] but we have little information on what visual arts Frederick interested himself in, as a patron or otherwise, while he was a Crusader in the East.[71] We have no evidence that he brought back any major works of art to Italy when he left the Holy Land in 1229. For the time being we must perhaps conclude that in the arts – as well as in religion and in politics – Frederick II's views and interests were highly individual, often enigmatic, and frequently both brilliantly innovative and boldly unpredictable, but difficult to document.

After his arrival back in Italy in June 1229, Frederick was able to assemble an army rapidly and by the end of the year he had managed to repulse the invasion by the papal army and take full possession of his kingdom. As a result, John of Brienne was forced to flee to Champagne for refuge, a fact even noted in the Paris Eracles.[72] Under the terms of negotiations between Frederick and the pope, worked out laboriously over many months, from San Germano to Ceprano in July 1230, the heavy ban of excommunication was finally lifted. Moreover the emperor yielded significant concessions over the Sicilian clergy – rights to temporal jurisdiction, taxation, elections, and ecclesiastical property – and he returned property confiscated from the Templars and Hospitallers taken in Sicily in retaliation for their opposition to him in the East.[73] So successful was Frederick II in reestablishing himself at home, that in September 1230 he visited Pope Gregory IX at Anagni where "this great priest and this mightiest of emperors feasted together for three days in the palace of the Supreme Pontiff."[74] His reconciliation with the pope was thereby accomplished; no longer would he be harassed to take the Cross and fulfill his vow. Now his claim to be king of Jerusalem would be valid in the eyes of the pope, no matter how it was regarded by the Crusader nobility. Following the San Germano–Ceprano agreement, the pope ordered Gerold, the patriarch of Jerusalem, to remove the interdict against the Holy City and to accept the provisions of the Treaty of Jaffa between Frederick and al-Kamil in 1229. Now Frederick II was able to enter into the affairs of the Latin Kingdom and the kingdom of Cyprus and play a major role from a position of considerable power, albeit from afar.

CIVIL WAR IN THE CRUSADER STATES AND THE CRUSADES OF THIBAUT OF CHAMPAGNE AND RICHARD OF CORNWALL: 1229–1244

The Rothelin Continuation turns directly from its indictment of the "wickedness of Frederick" in regard to the Treaty of 1229 to the next Crusade in 1239. "The pope realised that Frederick was not going to put forward any plan for freeing the Holy Land from unbelievers. He sent to France, England and other parts of Christendom, ordering the clergy to preach the cross beyond the sea, and renewing all the pardons, indulgences and remissions which his predecessors had granted to crusaders."[75] Seen from the European West, this sequence may have reflected the main events with regard to the Crusaders in the Holy Land, but looked at from the viewpoint of the Latin Kingdom, the years 1229 to 1239, skipped over by the Rothelin Continuation author, are crucial to the understanding of significant new developments there. These include the civil war – what is also known as the Lombard War – the establishment of a commune in Acre, the assertion of baronial rights, the loss of the tradition of monarchical power in the kingdom, and the shrinkage of Crusader territory, including eventually the loss of Jerusalem, again.[76] This period is covered unevenly, but in some detail, by the Paris Eracles, although there is a curious hiatus for the years 1234–7.[77]

In the East, the results of Frederick's crusading legacy combined with the provisions of the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 were beginning to surface, directly and indirectly. Basically the emperor's claim to the kingdom on behalf of Conrad deprived the kingdom of a resident leader because he would not send his son to the Holy Land with a designated regent. In the absence of the king, the kingdom was split between the imperialists and the pro-Ibelin supporters. Therefore there was no person in a position of clear authority who could take advantage of the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa. Even if a policy for the welfare of the kingdom based on the treaty could have been established, there was no one to enforce it. The Crusader lords attempted to protect their own territorial holdings, but the corridors to the holy places in the territory regained under the terms of the treaty went unprotected. The Paris Eracles tells the story of the first raid on Jerusalem by "Sarrasins" in 1229 after the treaty was in force.[78] The raiders were expelled on this occasion by the tiny imperial garrison with the help of reinforcements from Acre, but there is no evidence that the Crusaders made any attempt to refortify the city, nor were they apparently able to protect the pilgrimage routes up to the holy places very securely.[79]

Meanwhile the redoubtable John of Brienne reappeared in the Latin East, this time in the Latin Empire. As mentioned earlier, John had been commanding papal troops before he was forced to flee to Champagne in 1229. At that point, John's four-year-old daughter, Marie de Brienne, was offered the hand of the eleven-year-old Baldwin II, child emperor of Constantinople, if he, John, would consent to be regent. Remembering his brutal experience with Frederick II in 1225, John of Brienne carefully arranged to be given the title of emperor until his death, and consented to this new opportunity on those conditions.[80] John arrived in Constantinople by the summer of 1231, where he was crowned emperor, the marriage of Marie and Baldwin took place, and Baldwin II rendered homage to his new father-in-law as co-emperor. By any standard this last position was one of the finest chapters in his already remarkable career: the former king of Jerusalem, who had apparently once been mentioned as a candidate for the throne of England, became the Latin Emperor of Constantinople.[81] Despite the fact that Frederick II had become reconciled with Gregory IX by this time, what irony for him suddenly to find his former father-in-law, John of Brienne, in this unexpected capacity. The Holy Roman Emperor in the West cannot exactly have been pleased by this appointment of John of Brienne as the Latin Emperor in Constantinople.

A few months after his reconciliation with the pope, Frederick II intervened directly in the East. Following a papal letter to the Templars, demanding their submission to the imperial bailiff and to the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa, Frederick organized an expedition to be sent to the Latin Kingdom in the autumn of 1231 under his marshal, Richard Filangieri.[82] Although Frederick told the pope plausibly enough that he had to deploy an army for the defense of the Latin Kingdom, in fact his marshal, Filangieri, proceeded to attack the Ibelins on the basis of his explicit command. After landing at Limassol, he sent instructions from Frederick to the king of Cyprus to banish members of the Ibelin family from Cyprus and take over their lands. Finding the king of Cyprus unwilling to dissociate himself from the Ibelins, and John of Ibelin there with the king, Filangieri sailed to Beirut, took the city, which was surrendered by the resident bishop, and laid siege to the castle in the absence of its lord. Leaving his brother Lothair in charge of what turned out to be a long siege, he also occupied Sidon and Tyre and then went to Acre.[83]

When he arrived in Acre, Marshal Filangieri as imperial bailiff took the important step of assembling the nobles and the burgesses together in the great hall of the palace[84] where he presented letters sealed with gold,[85] "et venoient de par l'empereor Fedric a touz ceauz dou roiaume."[86] Once accepted as *bailli*, he attempted to proclaim the forfeiture of all Ibelin lands in the kingdom. The speech that Balian of Sidon is reported to have delivered[87] in response to this imperial initiative is described by Riley-Smith as "one of the most famous of all the barons' statements and in no other passage in the sources is their view of the relations between crown and vassal so well expressed."[88] It also reflects what Prawer calls "the incredibly legalistic minds of the Crusader nobility," especially from the imperial point of view.[89]

Riley-Smith summarizes the content of the speech as follows:

> Because of the circumstances of the conquest of Palestine by the First Crusade and the election of Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler the kings had a special relationship with their vassals; that among the laws they had sworn to obey was one forbidding them to dispossess their vassals without *esgart* of court; that John of Beirut was the emperor's man and that Richard Filangieri, who was Frederick's lieutenant with the duty of guarding the land and maintaining the rightful heir – evidence that he had been accepted as *bailli* – had dispossessed John of the city and fief of Beirut and was besieging his castle without previously having sought *esgart* or *jugement*; that in consequence Balian, on behalf of the vassals, required Richard to withdraw from Beirut so that John could be put back in seizin of it, because no action could be taken unless John were summoned to trial in the High Court according to the usages of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; and that if by the *esgart* of the court John was found to be guilty of wrongful possession of the fief, Balian committed the vassals to help Richard to dispossess him.[90]

Richard Filangieri said he would consult with his men, but when he returned to Beirut, he pressed the siege of the city ever more vigorously. Emissaries sent from Acre to learn of his decision were told that he was the emperor's man and was bound to follow his orders. If the Crusader nobles could not accept his actions, they should apply directly to the emperor themselves.[91]

Once again, the high-handed tactics of the emperor failed in the face of the laws of the Latin Kingdom and the rights of the Crusader lords. In fact, this second imperial effort to break the power of the Ibelins only had the result of solidifying baronial support for John of Ibelin. The imperial attempt to have what was in effect a provisional government run by appointees from among the local barons with Marshal Filangieri in supreme command only succeeded in generating a "climate of permanent resentment and rebellion."[92]

As a stellar demonstration of their opposing views, the citizens of Acre, merchants together with a number of nobles in the city, organized an independent commune in the city of Acre. This was not the first commune in the Crusader East; others had appeared, briefly in Tyre, and there was a long-standing commune at Antioch.[93] The commune at Acre was organized on the basis of a confraternity to which most of the members belonged.[94] This confraternity of St. Andrew was unusual among typical examples in the Latin Kingdom at this time, because it was open to all freemen willing to take an oath binding themselves to uphold the rights of the group. The confraternity had its own seal,[95] so it seems certain that the commune would have had its own seal as well. The commune was known to have its own bell, to call its members together, which was apparently hung in the campanile of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross.[96] It had its own officers and John of Ibelin was invited to become their first mayor.[97] In April 1232, when John was reasonably certain that the city of Beirut could hold out against Filangieri, he came to Acre and solemnly took office. The commune thus began in 1232 and existed until 1243, although its last official act occurred in 1241.[98]

As the result of these developments, the battle lines in the Latin Kingdom between the imperial forces and the Ibelin supporters were drawn more clearly than before as hostilities expanded to several locations. The main problem was that central political – and, to some extent, ecclesiastical – authority in the Latin Kingdom did not exist for the next twelve years, because of what amounted to civil war.[99] There continued to be no resident king, and in fact the patriarch of Jerusalem was also absent for four years, between 1233 and 1237, called to Rome by the pope because of his alleged opposition to Frederick II.[100] In fact when Gerold returned to the Latin Kingdom in 1237, two important prelates had also recently died and replacements were desperately needed.[101] Lacking a king in this situation, the Latin Kingdom was split between the imperial forces and the Ibelin party. The imperialists consisted of the marshall, Richard Filangieri, with his two brothers and their troops, staunchly supported by the Teutonic Knights led by Hermann of Salza, a few Crusader nobles, and the Pisans. The Hospitallers overall also maintained a pro-imperialist stance. The Ibelins were supported by most of the Crusader nobility, a total of forty-three major lords, the commune of Acre, the Genoese, and King Henry I of Cyprus. A third important group attempted to position themselves between the warring factions, but eventually they were forced to side with the Ibelins. They included the Templars, the Venetians, and certain nobles such as Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard, along with many of the clergy.[102]

As bases of operation, the imperialists held Tyre and Sidon, the Ibelins controlled Acre, Beirut – which was, however, currently under attack – and Cyprus. John of Ibelin had sent his son, Balian, to seek help through an alliance with Tripoli.[103] Jerusalem remained unfortified, but there was a small garrison of imperial troops. Gerold the patriarch pointedly refrained from taking up residence there between 1231 and 1233, even after the interdict on the city had been lifted, and then again after his return from Rome in 1237. Instead he appointed the dean of Jaffa and the abbot of the Mount of Olives monastery as his vicars there.[104] Gerold remained fundamentally opposed in principle to the Treaty of 1229, Jerusalem's walls were dismantled and he could not in any case afford to undertake the refortification of the Holy City on his own, and he would not countenance the idea that Jerusalem was to be shared with the Muslims. In contrast to Gerold's decision to maintain his residence in Acre, the bishop of Bethlehem and the archbishop of Nazareth apparently did return to their cathedrals while the treaty was in force.[105] However, as Hamilton points out, "their custodianship was half-hearted."[106]

Hostilities continued through the latter part of 1232. At Acre, the commune led by John of Ibelin seized thirteen ships of the imperial fleet in the harbor there. At Beirut, the Ibelins held on firmly to the castle in the face of the imperialist siege. The Ibelins planned a counterattack by mounting a foray against Tyre. When Filangieri learned of this attack, he ordered the siege of Beirut lifted and his troops to return to Tyre for its defense. Beirut had been heavily damaged by the siege, but the castle had never been taken. As Cypriot troops under King Henry began marching north from Acre to join the Ibelin forces from Beirut, the Imperial troops surprised them in camp at Casal Imbert, almost due west of Montfort on the coast, only 15 kilometers north of Acre.[107] Imperial troops from Tyre supported by ships along the coast inflicted a serious defeat on Henry and his men, on 3 May 1232. The Ibelin supporters lost substantial numbers of horses and arms, and much equipment, which Filangieri used to supply his army. Complete disaster was averted only when John of Ibelin, who had been in Acre discussing proposals for mediation put forth by Filangieri in the person of the patriarch of Antioch, was able to march quickly to aid Henry and his army and save his sons.[108]

From the mainland, the field of battle then moved to Cyprus, which the Ibelins had left undefended during their recent activities in the Latin Kingdom. Filangieri having returned to Tyre with considerable booty, saw the opportunity to seize all of Cyprus in the king's absence, by sending his army to the island under the imperial *bailli*, Amaury Barlais. He sailed immediately and made an easy conquest in May before the Ibelins could regroup. After they had found new recruits for their army and raised money to pay for the campaign, the Ibelins sailed to Famagusta, arriving a month later on 6 June 1232. With a surprise attack at night, the Ibelins captured Famagusta, forcing Filangieri to fall back to Nicosia. The Ibelins followed, slowed by lack of food caused by the scorched-earth policy of the imperial army, which burned all the newly harvested grain as they retreated. Filangieri decided not to try to hold Nicosia, and evacuated the city to take up a position guarding the main pass north to Kyrenia. The Ibelins on entering the capital city found food stores inadvertently overlooked during the hasty departure of the imperial troops, enabling them to press their pursuit. On 15 June the two armies met at Agridi, just south of the pass, where the outnumbered Ibelins managed to defeat the imperial troops through superior discipline in the ranks.[109] Edbury describes this battle as fought by much larger numbers than Nicosia in 1229, or Casal Imbert earlier in 1232; it was "probably the biggest clash of arms between Christians in the Latin East at any time in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries."[110]

Despite Philip of Novare's polemics against the imperial party, Filangieri's policy on Cyprus in 1232 is puzzling. The "Lombard" or "Longobard" army, meaning imperial troops from southern Italy, apparently deliberately treated the people in a brutal way, in effect taking hostages and forcing women and children to hide out of fear, while wreaking destruction in their path.

> The Longobards came hastily to Nicosia and there they committed all the abominations and outrages and villainies of which they knew and were capable. They broke into the churches and the Temple and the house of the Hospital and all the religious houses, and they dragged out the ladies and the children who clung to the altars and to the priests who chanted the Masses. Wherefore it happened that in one place they scattered from the hand of the priest the body of Our Lord and threw the Sacrament on the ground. They

> put the ladies and children into carts and on donkeys most shamefully and sent them to Cerines [Kyrenia] to prison, and they pricked with goads those who refused to go at once.[111]

Later in this campaign,

> The host of the Longobards, when it left Famagusta, fired the granges and the entire plain and this caused great damage, for most of the grain was already in the granges. They broke all the mills of La Quetrie [Kythria near Nicosia], even the hand mills they broke at Nicosia in so far as they were able.[112]

Clearly the imperialists were attempting to capture the families of their Ibelin opponents, to deny supplies to the Ibelin army, and apparently to punish the secular Latin church for supporting the Ibelins. However, their campaign seems particularly heavy-handed. We do not know, of course, whether, when Ibelin forces were looking for imperialist sympathizers, they also broke into the churches, but it is less likely they would have engaged in tactics that might do damage to their own people. Edbury cautions us about Philip of Novare's exaggerations, but even he admits it is difficult to know how much allowance to make. Certainly Philip of Novare does conveniently omit the most egregious wrong done to Greek Orthodox monks during the civil war by Latin clergy, the infamous martyrdom of thirteen monks from Kantariotissa in 1231,[113] but it must be said that this outrageous act had nothing obviously or directly to do with the combatants in the Lombard War. Nonetheless, the imperialist policies certainly did create fear among the people and serious financial strains on the king, and it further embittered the Latin population against the imperialist party, ultimately contributing to its downfall.[114]

Immediately following the Ibelin victory at Agridi, the Castle of St. Hilarion guarding the pass was relieved and its Ibelin defenders liberated, while the main army moved on to attack Kyrenia. Here the siege lasted nearly ten months. The Ibelins sought the aid of a fleet to blockade the port, and finally induced the Genoese to help. The imperialists sought assistance from Armenia and Tyre, without success. The castle of Kyrenia was well defended; many noble Ibelin soldiers were killed or seriously wounded in the attack. The most celebrated victim during this siege was, however, Queen Alice of Montferrat, the woman Frederick II had caused King Henry to marry before he left Cyprus in 1229. Philip of Novara tells the story:

> The wife of the king was within, who was called the Longobard queen because the emperor had given her and she held to the party of the Longobards. She died within. When she was dead those of Cerines [Kyrenia] carried her outside, and it was said that she was the queen and that she was dead. The king and the lord of Beirut received her and made great mourning for her death and had her carried honorably to Nicosia by the hands of knights all on foot. They then ordered a procession and all the people of Nicosia to accompany her within as far as the cathedral church of Nicosia where she was buried.[115]

She had married King Henry by proxy and Runciman observes that it is doubtful she and her husband had ever seen each other alive. No doubt it was a melancholy experience for Henry to oversee the somber march to Nicosia and the obsequies in the Cathedral of Haghia Sophia in Nicosia, presided over by Archbishop Eustorgue for his dead bride.[116]

The siege finally ended in April 1233 when the imperial commander, Philip Chenard, surrendered on honorable terms: the Ibelins allowed the garrison to leave for Tyre, and a prisoner exchange was organized. With the capture of Kyrenia, the civil war on Cyprus was over. In a dramatic *volte face*, the Ibelins, whose leader, John of Ibelin, had been forced out of Cyprus by Frederick in 1228, were now victorious. Their ally, King Henry I had now come of age in 1232, eliminating the need for Frederick II's intervention as suzerain in the affairs of the kingdom of Cyprus. Steps were taken to minimize the presence of imperial power. The *baillis* who had been appointed by Frederick and who had fought against the king were relieved of their fiefs and expelled from Cyprus, including Amaury Barlais and Philip Chenard. Chenard returned to the West to serve the emperor with distinction in Italy into the 1250s. Barlais and a number of other disinherited Cypriots fled to Tripoli, but unlike Chenard, he died shortly thereafter, in 1236.[117] Edbury points out that in most cases, the families of the defeated on Cyprus were disinherited, whether they left the island or not.[118]

If the Ibelins had won on Cyprus, however, the situation was far from resolved in the Latin Kingdom and elsewhere on the mainland. In March 1233, Bohemond IV died in Tripoli, and Tripoli and Antioch passed to his son, Bohemond V. Bohemond IV had proved to be an able ruler and a good legal scholar, who had maneuvered independently – first siding with the emperor, later with the Ibelins – and on the whole successfully, during the difficult days of the civil war. Despite Bohemond IV's changing stance vis-à-vis the Ibelins and the emperor, his problematic dealings with the Hospitallers and the Templars, and his troubles with the pope, Tripoli was in 1233 prosperous somewhat in contrast to Antioch, which was comparatively impoverished and isolated. Under his son, Bohemond V, the situation only worsened in the north: commerce continued to fall off, he was not popular with the commune of Antioch, which governed the city, the two major military orders mostly operated independently of his control, the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia was basically unfriendly, and the Muslim enclave of Lattakia cut the principality of Antioch off from the County of Tripoli to the south. By 1244 these ongoing problems were exacerbated by the great military disaster of La Forbie in which the knights of Tripoli and Antioch were heavily involved.[119]

In regard to the Latin Kingdom itself, when Frederick II heard what had happened to the imperial forces on Cyprus at the battle of Agridi and while the siege of Kyrenia was still in progress, he sent letters by the hand of the bishop of Sidon,[120] who had been in Rome at that time, presumably late 1232 or early 1233. Frederick proposed to restrict his *bailli*, Richard Filangieri, only to Tyre, because of his failure in carrying out the emperor's policies in the Latin Kingdom and on Cyprus. He further proposed to appoint Philip of Maugastel as his *bailli* to Acre, apparently as a gesture to the local barons. This proposition was initially accepted by Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard, who had been appointed *bailli* and constable, respectively, by Frederick before he sailed home in 1229, and then joint *baillis* in Acre in 1231.[121] However, when a meeting of the nobles of the high court was convened early in 1233 in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross for the barons to take their oaths to the newly proposed bailiff, John of Caesarea, nephew of John of Ibelin, who was currently at Kyrenia, vigorously opposed this action. John of Caesarea declared – on dubious grounds – that such a proceeding was illegal because the king of Jerusalem – or presumably the emperor as regent – needed to appear in person before the court to effect such a change. When a dispute arose over this issue, he caused the commune's emergency bell to be rung so that its members rushed into the church, illegally disrupting this meeting. The bishop of Sidon, Balian of Sidon, and Odo of Montbéliard were forced to flee to the residence of the bishop of Acre, where John of Caesarea was able to protect them. Philip of Maugastel fled to Tyre.[122]

This is a strange story in many ways, but the result of this incident was that Philip of Maugastel was repudiated as the imperial bailiff of Acre, Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard were reaffirmed in their lawfully appointed positions, and when John of Ibelin returned to Acre from Kyrenia, he was voted to be the mayor of the commune of Acre for a second year. The fact is, that if Frederick II was attempting to curry favor with the barons by his choice of Philip of Maugastel, he was ill-advised. Local barons no doubt knew that Philip was Richard Filangieri's lover – as Philip de Novare bluntly pointed out[123] – and having him as *bailli* in Acre with Filangieri in Tyre would change little in the eyes of the anti-imperialist/pro-Ibelin barons.

Philip de Novare follows this episode with another strange story, that of the meeting of John of Ibelin with the bishop of Sidon. When the bishop attempted to induce John of Ibelin to reconcile himself with Frederick II and to place himself at the mercy of the emperor as his lord, John is reported to tell the bishop the story of the lion and the stag, "a story which is written in the book of the fables of Renard." Once upon a time an old lion was told that he needed fresh food or he would die. The lion in a ruse invited a handsome stag to his cave, but when the stag entered the cave, the sickly melancholy lion attempted to capture and eat the stag, who was young and strong. The stag escaped with his head badly wounded, but he soon recovered. Much time passed, the lion apologized and excused his unseemly action, while inviting the stag once again to come and visit him. This time the lion came out to meet the stag, and again he tried to attack the stag, grabbing him with his claws and wounding him seriously on his back. Again the stag escaped. The third time, the lion sent his companions to persuade the stag to return, and when he did they set upon him and killed him. The lion then gave the stag to Renard to prepare it, and Renard ate the heart. When the lion came to eat, there was no heart. When he was accused of eating it, Renard denied it saying, "the stag came once to court and went away with a bloody head; another time it came back and left with two gouges in its back; the third time it came to die as meekly as those who have no heart, for if it had a heart it would not have come back the third time; and a proverb says, 'That which is not cannot be found.'"[124]

John of Ibelin likened the emperor to the lion and himself to the stag, saying that two times the emperor had deceived him. If, he said, he placed himself for a third time at his mercy, he would surely be slain and judged to have no heart. "Wherefore I say to you, Sir Bishop, and I wish that he should know well, that he will never have me in his power."[125]

Following the tumultuous events in Acre over the *bailliage*, the pope himself made an attempt, on behalf of Frederick II, to restore the emperor's authority in the Crusader East.[126] Eventually, in August 1234 he sent the archbishop of Ravenna as a papal legate to the Latin Kingdom, in an effort to enforce compliance with the arrangements previously proposed. When the archbishop had no success, he briefly excommunicated the emperor's leading opponents, and placed the city of Acre under an interdict. By September 1235 these harsh measures were, however, rescinded and a second attempt was made by sending two knights, Henry of Nazareth and Philip of Troyes, with the terms of a new settlement.[127] When these envoys arrived in Acre in the spring of 1236, the proposal foundered on two key issues: first, the pardon for John of Ibelin and his immediate relatives was not universal, and therefore not adequate, and second, the people of Acre were unwilling to dissolve their commune.[128] In response to the pope's proposed settlement, the barons sent another envoy, Geoffrey Le Tor, to Rome to explain their position to Gregory IX.

The Paris Eracles makes a big point of stressing the fact that Geoffrey Le Tor was a Cypriot knight born in Syria, who represented the views of both the king of Cyprus and the people of the Latin Kingdom. He sails in a Genoese ship bearing "beaus presens et riches" for the pope and the cardinals, whom he finds in Viterbo. When Geoffrey made his points about why the proposed settlement terms were unacceptable and, no doubt, about the fact that some months before Jean d'Ibelin and Walter of Brienne had led a Crusader army of knights and soldiers from Cyprus, the kingdom of Jerusalem and the County of Tripoli, from the castle of Crac des Chevaliers against the Muslims of Hama – an expedition in which imperial troops were conspicuously lacking – the pope received him well. The pope reportedly accepted his explanation, and promised the aid of the church for the king of Cyprus and the kingdom of Jerusalem. He is also said to have urged the military orders and the Italian maritime powers to aid them as well.[129]

It was at this point, in late February or early March 1236,[130] that John of Ibelin died of wounds suffered in a chevauchée when his horse fell on him. Whereas the Paris Eracles very curiously fails even to mention his passing,[131] Philip de Novare gives a moving account of his final days:

> In this year [1236] my lord John of Ibelin, the good lord of Beirut, who was well mindful of the great privileges and honours that Our Lord had done him, was mortally wounded when he was crushed in a riding accident.[132] He made his will in so orderly a fashion that everyone was amazed at his prodigious memory. He put right the wrongs he had done including many things that lesser men would not have regarded as wrongs, and he paid his debts, for he had at that time many possessions and much property, not to mention his fiefs. He gave away everything by his own hand for the sake of God and the salvation of his soul as a lasting memorial. He gave many fiefs to his children and ordered that they should hold them of their eldest brother and be his vassals. After that he became a brother of the Temple, just as he had vowed. His children put up much opposition, and all the people of the land were very sad because of it, but it made no difference. Despite their wishes and totally of his own volition he entered the Temple and had himself brought to Acre. He did not live long as a brother of the Order. He made a very good end at this death, and, so that the truth of it may be wondered at, it shall be told in full. When he had to yield up his soul, he asked that a crucifix be brought. Philip of Novara brought it before him, and he took it in his hands and kissed the feet of Our Lord Jesus Christ and said as best he could, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." And so he rendered up his soul to God. His body remained unchanged at death, and, if it is to be believed that the good soul goes into the presence of God, then we may be certain that his soul has gone there in Paradise. Now his son, my lord Balian, remains lord of Beirut

> in his place. He conducts himself well and vigorously, and he has fine brothers and cousins and good friends who give him the best of support.[133]

John of Ibelin, known among his contemporaries as "The Old Lord of Beirut," had been a dominant figure in the Frankish East. John La Monte comments:

> although the sphere of his influence may be said to have been limited to a small and unimportant state, it was something to have so lived that his contemporaries and successors looked up to him as the model of knightly chivalry, the true Christian knight, "sans peur et sans reproche." In an age of broken oaths and bad faith, of violence and force, John d'Ibelin stands out as an honest and honorable Christian "preudhom," worthy to rank with Saladin and St Louis as an examplar of chivalry.[134]

Edbury reminds us, however, that an important part of what we know about Jean d'Ibelin we know from the hands of his publicist, Philip de Novare. John of Ibelin may have been a noble character striving for right, honor, and chivalry – he was described by Wilbrand of Oldenburg in 1212 as "an exceedingly Christian and energetic man" – but behind it all he was also clearly a shrewd and able politician and warrior who knew how to play the high stakes game of power politics. "John of Ibelin's chief claim to fame lies in the fact that he successfully defied the might of the western empire and emerged from the struggle strengthened as a result."[135]

The fact that the death of John of Ibelin is not even mentioned in the Paris Eracles is an indication of the scarcity of information about the middle years of the 1230s in the Latin Kingdom for the anonymous author of this chronicle. In fact, there is another important Crusader who dies in 1236 who is also unrecorded in the Paris Eracles. Philip d'Aubigny was a prominent knight, a former tutor and councillor of King Henry III, whose father, Ralph, had died in the East on the Third Crusade.[136] Philip d'Aubigny was already important enough in 1215 to be mentioned in the preamble to *Magna Carta*.[137] Philip himself arrived in the East, at Damietta, on 5 September 1221 just as the Fifth Crusade was ending. In 1228 he took the Cross again and sailed for Jerusalem in 1235. Although he died in Jerusalem in 1236, he had the good fortune of being buried just in front of the south transept portal of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[138]

His tomb slab, which bears his coat of arms and an inscription in beautifully carved Gothic letters, can still be seen there today, under a protective wooden covering (Fig. 83). The simple inscription reads:

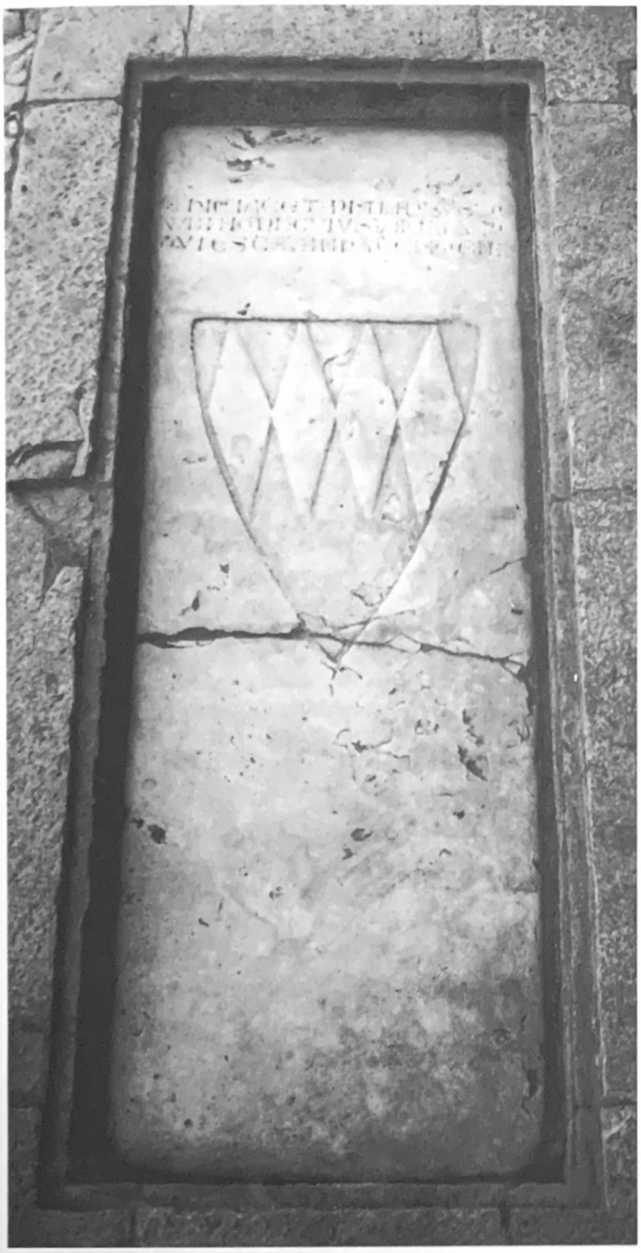
> + hic iacet Philippus de Aubingni cuius anima requiescat in pace Amen.[139]

One imagines how and why his tomb was placed here in this particularly auspicious location.[140] One wonders how he arranged for a burial in this place, when Jerusalem was accessible to Christian pilgrims under the special provisions of the Treaty of 1229, between 1229 and 1239, but where so few Crusader burials are known and so little artistic activity was apparently undertaken here during this period. However modest it is, the elegant simplicity of the tomb plaque of Philip d'Aubigny seems to demonstrate that Crusader artistic work was carried out in Jerusalem at this time.[141] Indeed Philip d'Aubigny achieved something here – the grace of a Christian burial at the very doorstep of the sepulcher of the Lord – quite different from John of Ibelin, who was buried as a Templar.[142] Nevertheless, the two of them are examples of personal characteristics of many Crusaders that are sometimes lost in the modern study of medieval history. Just as John of Ibelin represents a stellar example of the best Crusader chivalry had to offer, Philip d'Aubigny reflects the genuine idealism and true religious fervor associated with the Crusades, even in these troubled times when a certain cynical medieval "realpolitik" was practiced by many Crusade leaders, laymen, and clergy alike.

In the wake of John of Ibelin's death, the lords of the Latin Kingdom were left without a dominant ruling personality. An uneasy truce was observed between Filangieri, who continued as *bailli* at Tyre, and Odo of Montbéliard and the somewhat discredited Balian of Sidon, who retained their appointments as co-*baillis* at Acre with the support of the High Court and the commune. Fortunately the numerous members of the extended Ibelin family occupied important positions in the kingdom and they were able to work together harmoniously. These family members included a number of figures who would play major roles in the history of the kingdom, the most famous of whom is John of Ibelin's nephew, also named John. This John later became the count of Jaffa and, as the premier Crusader lawyer, wrote the *Livre des Assises de Jerusalem*.[143] In the meantime Emperor Frederick II was too busy with his own affairs in the West to pay much attention to the Latin Kingdom at this point, and the Ayyubids continued to fight among themselves.[144] Indeed, by 1238, both al-Ashraf and al-Kamil had died, and the latter's death especially had loosed civil war on Muslim lands from Cairo to Aleppo.[145]

In the fall of 1236 and the spring of 1237 a new Crusader army was forming in the West in anticipation of the expiration of the truce concluded by Frederick II and al-Kamil. In fact, the situation was complicated because Pope Gregory had issued a call for an expedition to go to Constantinople to aid Baldwin II,[146] and a separate call for an army to go to Palestine. Not only that, but when the Crusaders sought to arrange for their departure to the Holy Land, Frederick II initially refused all aid, because he did not want the truce broken in Syria-Palestine until it expired in August 1239. His refusal to cooperate effectively blocked their departure since the Crusaders needed passage through lands in his control, in order to access shipping and supplies. Gregory dealt with the situation by rescheduling the departure for Constantinople to August 1238, and to the Latin Kingdom to August 1239.[147]

Participants in the expedition to Constantinople gradually diminished to the point where only two important nobles finally set out in the late summer or early fall of 1239, Humbert of Beaujeu and Thomas of Marly. As for the Crusade to Palestine, an impressive number of figures gathered in Lyon in July of 1239, including Thibaut IV of Navarre, Hugh IV of Burgundy, two important officers of the kingdom of France, and Peter of Dreux, a battle proven warrior who was probably the best soldier of this group.[148] In England there were prominent nobles who took the Cross as early as 1236 as well, including Richard, earl of Cornwall and brother of King Henry III; Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke; and William Longsword, earl of Salisbury. These English Crusaders were also delayed,



83. Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulcher: Tomb Plaque of Philippe d'Aubigny.

and they did not leave England until June 1240, well after the French contingent.[149]

Once again the figure of Frederick II cast a shadow over the Crusade. Despite what the Rothelin Continuation suggests, that Frederick had asked the Crusaders to delay their departure until he could join them, there was probably no expectation that Frederick would actually take the Cross again. Nonetheless, he was still the regent and guardian for Conrad, king of Jerusalem, and the Crusaders would need to pass through territory under his control to the usual Italian ports of embarkation for the Holy Land; therefore his cooperation was indeed essential. However, Frederick's status was again compromised. He sought to control Italy. The pope supported Frederick's enemies in northern Italy. Things came to a climax when, the papal and imperial "reconciliation" in 1230 having completely unravelled, on 20 March 1239, Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick II for a second time.[150]

The ban against Frederick persuaded most of the Crusaders to leave by ports not under imperial control. The Rothelin Continuation says simply, "they all assembled at Marseilles. Some, but not many, went through Lombardy into Apulia."[151] The French Crusaders set off on the August *passagium*, and despite a serious storm at sea, they arrived at Acre in September 1239. The new Crusaders were met by the great barons and major prelates of the Latin Kingdom. The barons included Odo of Montbéliard and Balian of Sidon, co-*baillis*, Balian of Beirut and John of Arsuf, two important members of the Ibelins, and Walter of Brienne, the new count of Jaffa. The clergy was led by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold; the new archbishop of Tyre, Peter of Sargines; and the bishop of Acre, Ralph of Tournai.[152] A council of war was held to assess the situation and consider strategy. The truce of 1229 had expired in late August, and the Muslims had apparently already raided Jerusalem before the Crusaders had arrived in the Holy Land, exposing its vulnerability to attack.[153]

The first problem for the new Crusaders was to appoint a commander; it was at this point that Thibaut was apparently elected.[154] Secondly they needed to figure out who and where the enemy was, before military operations could proceed.[155] After the death of al-Kamil in 1238, his son, al-Adil II, had established himself as sultan in Cairo and attempted to assert his control over Damascus. Damascus, however, was newly in the hands of a nephew, al-Jawwad Yunus (Muzaffar-al-Din Yunus), who had allied himself with al-Salih Ayyub (al-Salih Najm-al-Din), al-Adil II's brother, in the Jazirah and exchanged rights to Damascus for Jazirah territory. Ayyub had designs on Damascus, but also had greater ambitions, namely to rule Cairo as well. In the spring of 1239, Ayyub's army was camped at Nablus awaiting new developments while conducting raids on the Crusaders. Meanwhile another nephew, al-Nasir Daud (al-Nasir Dawud), nominally controlled Kerak, his residence, and Nablus. Finally, Ayyub's uncle, al-Salih Ismail (al-Salih Ismail of Busra), who was al-Kamil's brother, was positioned in the Bekaa Valley, at Baalbek, where he was attempting to prepare himself for an attack on Damascus. Other, more distant relatives held Homs and Hama east of Crac des Chevaliers. As members of the Ayyubid family maneuvered to gain power, it was confusing for the Crusaders attempting to establish their objectives.[156]

During the council at Acre, the Crusaders observed important developments among the Ayyubids, which they responded to accordingly. Al-Salih Ismail successfully took Damascus in late September, and surprisingly a month later, Ayyub was "taken into custody" by al-Nasir Daud after he had been deserted by his troops and captured by some Bedouin. He was then taken to Kerak under arrest and put in prison there. Al-Maqrizi completes this extraordinary story of Ayyubid struggles for power by mentioning that in prison Ayyub was accompanied only by a Mamluk named Rukn-al-Din Baybars and a slave girl named Shajar al-Durr.[157] With the removal of Ayyub as a threat both to al-Adil II and to the Crusaders, al-Adil II could now move to strengthen his position in the south. As the result, the council at Acre decided at the start of November 1239 to march first to secure the Crusader positions at Ascalon and Gaza, in order to neutralize al-Adil II.[158] This strategy made good sense in light of the Ayyubid developments, and no doubt was supported by Walter of Brienne, count of Jaffa, because of the security it would offer his territory.[159] Following the first operation to the south, the plan was that the Crusaders would turn northeast and attack Damascus, in order to regain the territory lost to Saladin in 1187, liberating Jerusalem from threat of Muslim attack and securing the lands of the Latin Kingdom not returned under the treaty of 1229 arranged by Frederick II.

As the Crusaders marched southward, Peter of Brittany learned of a Muslim caravan en route to Damascus, which he attacked and captured after hard fighting.[160] His independent raid provided some useful provisions for the Crusaders, but unfortunately a number of other knights sought to emulate his success at the expense of discipline and the military integrity of the army. A second raiding party led by Henry of Bar le Duc with a surprising number of prominent knights[161] formed a detachment to attack what was reported to be a small Egyptian force at Gaza. Thibaut, the masters of the three military orders, and Peter of Brittany jointly tried unsuccessfully to deter the soldiers from this risky maneuver, and Thibaut as commander ordered them to stay with the main army. They rode off nonetheless toward Gaza, pointing up once again the serious chain of command problem seen so frequently in Crusader armies.

When Henry of Bar and his men arrived near Gaza on 13 November, the Egyptian army they encountered was much more powerful than they had realized. Furthermore, in an effort to rest his men after a long ride from Jaffa, Henry had unwittingly placed his troops in a vulnerable position. While the men and horses ate and rested at dawn in a sandy depression ringed by high dunes, the commander of the Muslim forces, Rukn al-Din, encircled the Crusaders and attacked. The battle was short, the Rothelin Continuation says simply, "They were all killed or taken."[162] The Paris Eracles says that Henry of Bar le Duc was killed and Amaury of Montfort was captured.[163]

Meanwhile, Thibaut and the main army had marched to Ascalon to camp, where they could support this errant detachment if need be. Before everyone was installed, however, word of the Crusader battle near Gaza reached them. The Teutonic Knights rushed to aid those Crusaders attempting to flee the ambush. They were able to help these men and some seriously wounded soldiers they found on the battlefield, but they could not save the prisoners the Muslims had taken. The main army could not pursue the Muslims for fear they would kill their prisoners. They had no choice but to retreat, back to Jaffa and eventually to Acre.

One of the prisoners, Philip of Nanteuil, who survived his captivity and was later released, wrote a lament that he sent to the Crusader army.

> In song I'll mourn
> to ease my grief
> for Montfort, noble count, who bore his fame so well. . . .
> Ah France, admired and loved,
> now all your joy is turned
> to endless tears. . . .
> Ah count of Bar, your loss
> strikes cruelly at France.
> When Frenchmen hear the news
> How they will grieve! . . .
> If the Hospitallers,
> Templars and brother knights
> had shown our men the way,
> had ridden as they should,
> then all our chivalry
> would not in prison lie,
> nor Saracens still live. . . .[164]

His message that the military orders were somehow to blame seems to represent the view of the French soldiers who rode off on the ill-fated raid, but it obviously simultaneously deflects blame from Thibaut, the French commander, who actually gave the order to Henry of Bar le Duc not to go.[165]

Shortly after this abortive Crusader expedition, an-Nasir Daud, Muslim emir of Kerak, saw his opportunity to attack Jerusalem with the Crusaders in disarray following their defeat near Gaza, and he led a more serious assault on the Holy City, on 7 December 1239.[166] The Rothelin Continuation says:

> The Christians had begun to fortify the city near the St Stephen gate, using the alms they received for this purpose, and had repaired a short stretch of the ramparts and a few turrets, but the moment the Saracens got there, they demolished all this and pulled it down. They laid siege to the tower of David and attacked its tiny garrison from every side. . . . Once the Saracens got possession of the tower of David, they immediately put their miners into it and had the whole fortress taken down and razed to the ground. The size of the enormous stones astonished everyone. The masonry was so strongly mortared with lime, sand and cement, and the stones so firmly bound with the lead and huge bands of cramp-iron which fastened the sections together, that tearing it down was very difficult and needed great force.[167]

G. J. Wightman expresses the opinion that before Frederick II had left Jerusalem in 1229, he had installed members of the Teutonic Knights in the Tower of David and the Citadel complex, and it was they who had initiated repairs between 1229–39. He also suggests that the reference to the St. Stephen's gate (the Damascus Gate today) and repairs to the walls "near the St. Stephen gate,"[168] indicates that the patriarch (=the Latin Church) had attempted to rebuild the city walls around the Christian quarter, where the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was located along with the residence of the patriarch. It was these refortifications that formed the pretext for an-Nasir's attack in December 1239, according to one version of the story, on the dubious basis that they violated the terms of the treaty of 1229.[169] However, it seems more likely that what really concerned an-Nasir was the possibility that Thibaut's Crusaders would try to occupy Jerusalem and attempt to extend the ten-year truce of 1229 beyond 1239.[170]

Following the disaster at Gaza, this attack on Jerusalem returned the Holy City into the hands of the Muslims and put pressure on the Crusaders in Acre to plan their next move carefully. Meanwhile the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold of Lausanne, who had returned from his four-year-long visit to Rome in 1237, died. At his death he deposited the generous sum of 16,000 besants with the Templars for the defense of the Holy Land, attesting to his skills in administering this see.[171] His demise left the position vacant until his successor could be named. This time the pope acted quickly, naming Robert, bishop of Nantes, to succeed him. Robert had been expelled from his see in Apulia and translated to Nantes because of his opposition to Frederick II, and was now therefore a perfect choice as Gregory IX saw it. Until Robert could come to

Acre, he appointed Peter of Sargines, archbishop of Tyre, as his vicar.[172]

Given the failure of his Crusade to accomplish the first goal decided on at the council in Acre in October of 1239, Thibaut understandably acted with caution. In the face of the loss of Jerusalem in December 1239, it would have been foolhardy to attempt to attack Damascus according to the original plan, that is, with no Ayyubid ally. However, a possible new opportunity presented itself. Thibaut had been in contact with the emir of Hama, al-Muzaffar, during the fall of 1239. Just as the new year, 1240, began, al-Muzaffar, a loyal supporter of the imprisoned Ayyub, requested the aid of the Crusaders against the princes of Homs and Aleppo. He reportedly also dangled the idea that he was interested in learning about the Christian religion as part of his request. Thibaut thought this overture serious enough to warrant moving the Crusader army north to Tripoli at the start of 1240. However, when the army was established in Tripoli, its presence was impressive enough to deter al-Muzaffar's rivals. Without the political and military pressure on the emir, his talks with Thibaut collapsed and nothing came of this potential collaboration, much to Thibaut's disappointment.[173] His army returned to Acre by May 1240.[174] Thibaut was beginning to see firsthand the complexities of dealing with his Muslim adversaries.

All was not lost for Thibaut, however, thanks to the seething rivalries among the Ayyubid princes. In the spring of 1240, al-Adil, sultan of Egypt, while rejoicing that his brother had been incarcerated at Kerak and therefore removed from the power struggle, attempted to persuade al-Nasir Daud to send Ayyub in an iron cage to Cairo by offering him 400,000 golden *dinars* and control of the city of Damascus. Al-Nasir Daud replied coolly that when al-Adil had taken Damascus from its current lord (al-Salih Ismail) and delivered it to him, along with the money, he would deliver his brother in the iron cage. When al-Adil could not turn control of Damascus over to al-Nasir Daud, however, the latter turned around and made an arrangement with his prisoner, Ayyub, to liberate him and assist him in his quest to conquer Egypt. Al-Nasir Daud and Ayyub journeyed to Jerusalem where they formed an alliance and planned their attack on Cairo.[175] In the face of this threat, Al-Adil sent for al-Salih Ismail in Damascus to bring his army to the defense of Cairo, but during this activity al-Adil was deposed by a conspiracy of Ashrafi emirs and Mamluks. In the wake of this upheaval, during late May 1239, letters were sent to Ayyub, inviting him to come to Cairo and assume the sultanate of Egypt.[176] Ayyub arrived in Cairo in mid-June 1240. Ayyub then took the throne in the citadel, installed al-Nasir Daud as his vizier, and confined al-Adil to house arrest. It was a remarkable bloodless coup, but it would not remain bloodless for long.[177]

Meanwhile Ayyub's triumphal entry into Cairo and his promise to install al-Nasir Daud in Damascus clearly caused alarm among the Ayyubid princes, especially al-Salih Ismail in Damascus and the new emir of Homs, al-Mansur Ibrahim. As viewed by al-Salih Ismail, the emir he had driven from Damascus was now the sultan of Egypt; it was clearly a dangerous situation! It is in this context that al-Salih Ismail contacted Thibaut of Champagne requesting aid. The Paris Eracles says he sent a messenger to Thibaut, who was now at Sephoris, seeking a defensive alliance; this occurred in June 1240.[178] As Jackson points out, this was probably not the first contact between these two leaders, but it was a major new opportunity for Thibaut to win territorial gains for the Crusaders by treaty that military action had failed to accomplish.[179]

Both Thibaut and al-Salih Ismail pledged to defend each other's land against Ayyub, and both agreed to make peace with him jointly, not alone. Specifically, the Crusaders agreed to secure the southern frontier against Ayyub by camping at Gaza in order to prevent an Egyptian army from entering Syria. As territorial concessions, al-Salih Ismail effectively ceded the land of the Latin Kingdom west of the Jordan River as it existed before Saladin's conquest. This included Jerusalem, Jericho, Nablus and Gaza, land claimed by al-Nasir Daud. Jackson argues that in fact Thibaut reached a separate accord with an-Nasir Daud over these holdings, when the latter left Egypt in July 1240 having realized that Ayyub had no intention of installing him in Damascus.[180] Al-Salih Ismail also surrendered some of his own important possessions, including the castles of Beaufort and Safed, Tiberias, the castles of Toron and Hunin, and those parts of Sidon still in Muslim hands. Some of these holdings had been included in the treaty of 1229, but the Crusaders had not been able to take control of them.[181]

The terms of these treaties, both of which were concluded in July 1240, have, according to Jackson, been conflated into one, in the name of al-Salih Ismail and characterized as "one of the most humiliating offers which any Ayyubid prince had yet been forced to make to the Franks."[182] In fact, the terms caused outcries and consternation on both sides. Muslim imams denounced al-Salih Ismail – but not an-Nasir Daud – from the pulpit of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, just as al-Kamil had been denounced before him, no doubt again, as with the treaty of 1229, because of the loss of Jerusalem. The Muslim commander of Beaufort even refused to surrender his fortress, and al-Salih Ismail had to go personally and force him out before it could be handed over to Balian of Sidon.[183] Dissension was brewing in the Crusader army as well, but Thibaut moved quickly hoping to avoid controversy. Taking his army into the territory south of Jaffa, where they may have been joined by troops of al-Salih Ismail's army, Thibaut and his men began the refortification of Ascalon as a base of operations for the defense of the kingdom against attack from Egypt.[184]

> When the king of Navarre [Thibaut] and the army of Christendom had secured this truce, they all went together to Ascalon. Here they found ample supplies of stone and building material, for the noble city of Ascalon had been a very great place. They began to repair one of its castles and to build good towers and dig good ditches. Each individual was glad to help in the work, and all could see that it was well done and very strong.[185]

The Rothelin Continuation continues:

> Then they began to talk and say that it would be a good thing if some plan could be made for setting free the Christians captured at Gaza.[186]

At this point in the contemporary written accounts it must be said that the chronology and sequence of events is exceedingly confused in both the Crusader and Muslim sources. Between the beginning of July and the end of September a number of unlikely developments altered the Crusader situation, at the end of which, and apparently as a result of which, Thibaut of

Champagne decided to return home. First, in relation to the treaties of July 1240, many Christian soldiers were upset that there were no provisions for the return of the prisoners taken at the battle near Gaza, an opinion strongly reflected in the text of the Rothelin Continuation. Second, Runciman claims, apparently mainly on the basis of the Paris Eracles, that the Templars had financial connections with Damascus at this time, and they had conducted the negotiations on the Crusader side leading to the treaty with al-Salih Ismail in July 1240, which the Hospitallers had not fully agreed to.[187] As a result of this treaty the Templars apparently took possession of the ruined Castle of Safed and rebuilt it, which upset the Hospitallers.[188] This rebuilding, which went on for several years, even apparently occasioned a bloody massacre of Muslim prisoners working on the refortification of the castle by the Templars, according to Muslim sources.[189] Third, Jackson claims that Thibaut was in contact with both Ayyub in Cairo and an-Nasir Daud, who had now been restored by al-Salih Ismail to his claim over Nablus.[190] Fourth, the Paris Eracles, in contrast to the Rothelin Continuation, indicates that there was a serious split in the Crusader army at this point, dividing Hospitallers and Templars.

The split seems to have developed over the issue of freeing the Gaza prisoners. While the Crusader army was in the south, some of the soldiers of al-Salih Ismail had deserted to the Egyptian side, not wishing to work with Christians. That was seen perhaps as a betrayal of the terms of the July 1240 treaty of mutual defense against Egyptian forces, and led to discussions with the sultan of Egypt whose army held those prisoners. The Paris Eracles says the Master of the Hospitallers pursued and arranged a new treaty with Sultan Ayyub of Egypt without speaking to al-Salih Ismail of Damascus, or for that matter, paying attention to an-Nasir Daud, neither of whom could arrange for the release of the prisoners. Ayyub promised to return all of the Crusader prisoners in exchange for Crusader neutrality on the battlefield. For their part, however, the Templars and their supporters were not willing to break the accords of July 1240, known mainly under the rubric of the treaty with the sultan of Damascus, al-Salih Ismail.

Whatever Thibaut of Champagne may have thought about the terms of the July 1240 treaties, he apparently welcomed the new treaty with Sultan Ayyub of Egypt in September. This enabled him to free his comrades-in-arms, especially Amaury of Montfort, Philip of Nanteuil, and other French soldiers.[191] Arguably he could have seen this last treaty as but one in a series that enabled him to move toward the goals he sought, namely, the control of Jerusalem and the lands of the Latin Kingdom, and the integrity of the Crusader army. However, he was apparently unprepared for the negative outcry over what was seen by others as his shifting position. At this point, Thibaut may well have pondered the idea that what was called for in the Latin Kingdom as commander of the Crusader army was a professional diplomat rather than a soldier, neither of which was necessarily his forte.[192] In any case, even though the terms of the new treaty were arranged to be completed within forty days, he decided he had fulfilled the responsibilities associated with his vow of taking the Cross.[193] Accordingly, after he and Peter of Dreux made a personal pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they boarded a ship for the West on the fall *passagium* in late-September 1240.[194] Some of his comrades remained in the Holy Land. Indeed Hugh of Burgundy, Guigues, count of Nevers, and some of Thibaut's followers stayed at Ascalon to complete work they had begun there.[195]

Fortunately for the Crusader army and the Latin Kingdom, a new leader arrived shortly after Thibaut of Champagne departed. He was Richard, earl of Cornwall, a wealthy and powerful English knight. He was not only the brother of Henry III, but also, his sister, Princess Isabel of England, was the new – third – wife of Frederick II following their marriage on 20 July 1235 in Worms.[196] As the brother-in-law of the emperor, he also came with Frederick II's full support; Frederick had delegated to him power to do what was best for the Latin Kingdom.[197] Richard arrived in Acre in early October 1240.

Upon arrival he found the situation in the Latin Kingdom in disarray. Quite apart from the lingering presence of the imperial standoff with the Ibelin supporters, the Templars and the Hospitallers were in open conflict over the successive treaties. The Teutonic Knights were meanwhile carefully avoiding involvement in this dispute, maintaining their garrisons in Syrian castles and carrying on an active presence in Cilicia with the support of the Armenian king. The Templars, who favored the treaty with al-Salih Ismail of Damascus, had the support of most of the resident Crusader lords; the Templar knights were mostly camped at Jaffa at this point. The Hospitallers, who favored the treaty with the sultan of Cairo, were mostly camped in Acre. As the Paris Eracles remarks, "thus the Christians' affairs were full of discord and dissension, as one party adhered to one truce and the others to the other."[198]

Both the Paris Eracles and the Rothelin Continuation devote only one brief chapter to Richard's activities in the Holy Land, but the former is much more informative.[199] Clearly while Richard was in Acre, the Hospitallers advocated the merits of the Crusader alliance with Sultan Ayyub of Egypt, whereas when he went to Jaffa, the Templars put forth the advantages of the treaty with al-Salih Ismail of Damascus. Neither the Paris Eracles nor the Rothelin Continuation mentions an-Nasir Daud at this point, however, nor, so far as we know, did the emir make any attempt to negotiate a new agreement with Richard of Cornwall.[200]

In his own account of the developments, Richard says in fact that it was the Sultan Ayyub of Cairo who initiated contact by sending an envoy, Kamal ad-Din ibn al-Shaykh, to propose terms of an agreement with him while he was in Jaffa. Eventually, by November 1240, Richard was persuaded to accept his terms.[201] Neither the Paris Eracles nor the Rothelin Continuation refers to a separate treaty between Richard and Ayyub at this point, only the fact that Richard did not wish to break the terms of the previous accords.[202] Unfortunately for Richard of Cornwall, no text of the treaty he concluded with Ayyub is extant, only the text of Richard's letter to his friends.[203] Apparently the only clear gain that it provided was the actual release of the prisoners negotiated earlier by Thibaut of Champagne. All of the territorial concessions listed by secondary sources indicate, according to Jackson, that "the 1241 treaty merely recognized the Franks' rule over territories which they had acquired from Ayyub's enemies – though by virtue of truces that were no longer operative."[204]

What the Paris Eracles and the Rothelin Continuation do describe as Richard's primary activities during his time in the Holy Land include the completion of the refortification of Ascalon.

The Paris Eracles says that the castle was rebuilt in the manner of King Richard "The Lionheart," Richard of Cornwall's uncle, who personally worked at Ascalon during the Third Crusade.[205] As the *bailli* of Ascalon, Richard installed Walter Pennenpié, who had previously been the imperial *bailli* at Jerusalem. The Rothelin Continuation then provides a succinct account of the rest of Richard's time in the Holy Land:

> He and the duke of Burgundy stayed there until the castle was finished, made secure, and well provided with everything needed to endure a siege, men-at-arms, engines, food and other things. After that they made their pilgrimage to the holy city of Jerusalem and to all the other holy places in the land of Outremer that they could go to.[206] Then they left to go safely back to their own lands and their own countries. Thus all these many men did almost nothing in the Holy Land that was of any use, and yet when they first set out to go there, everyone said they would bring great gain and great honour to God and to Christendom.[207]

In hindsight, the Crusades of Thibaut and Richard have been regarded very differently, the former quite negatively and the latter quite positively. In fact, however, Thibaut's Crusade, though it achieved little by military action, had accomplished more than Frederick II did by diplomatic maneuvering. Jackson's arguments clearly make a strong case for Thibaut's treaties being more important than that of Richard.[208] Whether this occurred by careful calculation and diplomatic skill on the part of Thibaut of Champagne, or by good luck and sheer opportunism, cannot be fully determined. However, as we have seen, these accomplishments took place despite the fact – or perhaps because of the fact – that when Thibaut arrived in the Latin Kingdom, the nobles of Outremer and the Ayyubid princes were involved each in their own separate civil wars. One way or other he succeeded in initiating major Crusader gains where there was, on the face of it in the fall of 1239, little hope for success.

Richard, of course, gets the credit for following through with the terms of the treaties that Thibaut had entered into, but whose provisions had not been fully completed. Richard was also by far the more celebrated knight. However, what he accomplished in the Latin Kingdom had more to do with public relations, putting on a good show. Tyerman states it succinctly: "Richard's crusade flattered to deceive; its achievements were minimal."[209] Nonetheless, when viewed together, there can be no doubt that Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall would be the last major Crusader commanders who led armies into the land of *Outremer* during the thirteenth century and who successfully accomplished significant territorial gains in the Holy Land.[210]

When Richard of Cornwall left the Holy Land on 3 May 1241 and others from this Crusade sailed later on the fall *passagium*,[211] there were significant dark clouds on the horizon in the Latin Kingdom. Even though we do not know exactly what the effect of Thibaut's and Richard's successive Crusades had been on the feud between the imperialists and the Ibelins, the standoff had not been resolved. "The crusades may have had the effect of tilting the balance of power somewhat in Filangieri's favour, but it is difficult to be sure."[212] On top of this there continued to be open hostility between the Templars and the Hospitallers, which led to divisive alignments and entanglements with the Muslims, the Templars favoring an alliance with Damascus, the Hospitallers one with Cairo. Finally, two of the major maritime powers tended to line up with one or other of these factions, the Venetians with the Templars, the Genoese with the Hospitallers, with the others, including the Pisans, the Provençals, and the Catalans, taking their own independent positions. Furthermore, a serious new threat had appeared in the northeast. A force of Khwarismian Turks crossed the Euphrates and raided Aleppo in early November 1240. In January of 1241 they again marched into Syria, getting as far as Shayzar. Al-Mansur Ibrahim was able to repel them in battles at Raqqa and Edessa in February and April 1241, respectively.[213] However, the appearance of the Khwarismians together with threats posed by the Seljuks and the Mongols, along with the Ayyubids warring among themselves, created a dangerous situation for the Crusader States. The Latin Kingdom in particular was still struggling with the divisive legacy of the civil war and the lack of a resident ruler.

At this point, in June of 1241, the idea that some kind of compromise seemed possible between the imperialists and the Ibelins inserted a brief ray of hope into the situation in the Latin Kingdom. After Richard of Cornwall's departure, a group of the most prominent Ibelin nobles prepared a petition to send to Frederick II seeking peace.[214] After requesting pardon for the wrongs that had occurred during their dispute, they asked the emperor to appoint Simon de Montfort, the celebrated earl of Leicester and cousin of Philip of Montfort, as his *bailli*. The barons asked for Simon de Montfort to serve until Frederick's son, Conrad, king of Jerusalem, entered his majority and would come to the Holy Land to rule, or until the king would send someone else to rule on his behalf. For their part, the local barons proposed to obey the *bailli* and dismantle the commune of Acre. Simon de Montfort would be expected to take an oath to uphold the rights of Frederick II and Conrad, and to govern by the customs and the laws of the Latin Kingdom.[215]

The document is dated 7 June 1241,[216] and therefore must have been taken West by someone after Richard of Cornwall had left. Edbury agrees with Prawer that the author of the document, "John of Ibelin," was probably the count of Jaffa, not the count of Arsur.[217] It was guaranteed by four lords: Balian of Beirut, Philip of Montfort, lord of Toron, John, lord of Arsur, and Geoffrey of Estreing, lord of Haifa, who attached their seals to the document.[218] Mayer and Runciman do not seem to doubt that this petition was sent to Frederick and that he received it, but Edbury wonders whether, in fact, it ever reached him.[219] In any case, Frederick II never replied to it and a golden opportunity for ending the civil war and achieving political peace in the Latin Kingdom, on what seem to be mutually beneficial terms, was lost.

Neither the Paris Eracles nor the Rothelin Continuation mentions this document. Following their account of the departure of Richard of Cornwall, both texts offer differing narratives. The Rothelin Continuation mostly discusses the conflict between Frederick II and the popes in the years 1241–4.[220] This was a difficult period for the papacy, from the death of Gregory IX on 22 August, to Celestine IV, who only reigned for two weeks, from 25 October to 10 November 1241, and finally to Innocent IV, who did not come to office until 25 June 1243, after an interregnum of nineteen months. The Paris Eracles by contrast deals with certain events in the Latin Kingdom, along with mention of the papal developments. Nonetheless the information about the period between 1241 and 1244 is very brief and focuses mostly on Filangieri, Ralph of Soissons, and his wife, Alice, at Tyre, before discussing the invasion of the Khwarismian Turks.[221] Thus we must reconstruct the events in the Latin Kingdom between the summer of 1241 and the fall of 1243 from a collection of various sources.

While the Ibelins waited for their petition to gain the attention of Emperor Frederick II, the barons were forced to deal with the unwelcome attempt of Richard Filangieri to gain control of Acre. Shortly after the fall *passagium*, when the remaining members of Thibaut's and Richard's Crusades had left for the West, Richard Filangieri observed a strategic moment when only one important Ibelin lord, Philip de Montfort, was residing in Acre, and Odo of Montbéliard, constable of the kingdom, was away at Caesarea.[222] Philip de Novare tells the story in detail.[223] Acting with the assistance of two accomplices, William of Conches and John Vaalin, who were burgesses of Acre, and with the Hospitallers in the city, Filangieri came to Acre secretly at night and stayed in the Hospital of the Knights of St. John. When Filangieri and his accomplices attempted to gather supporters to their cause, Philip de Montfort found out about the plot and raised the alarm. The Genoese and the Venetians armed their people and closed their quarters immediately. Philip had William of Conches and John Vaalin captured and imprisoned, while he sent for Balian at Beirut. Hearing that his accomplices had been captured, Filangieri, in hiding in the hospital, escaped from Acre under cover of darkness. Balian came quickly and took command of the city, where he besieged the hospital relentlessly for no less than six months. He was presumably hoping to capture Filangieri, but the imperial *bailli* had already fled. In any case, the Hospitaller Master and most of his men were at Margat north of Tortosa at this time, doing battle with the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo, and could not return to Acre right away. When they did return in April 1242, Balian, finally realizing that Filangieri had left, raised his siege and he and the Hospitallers were reconciled.

This abortive attempt by Filangieri to take control of the capital city was an important development in the Latin Kingdom for several reasons. It demonstrated that reconciliation between the Ibelins and the imperialists, as envisioned in the peace proposal of June 1241, was unrealistic. It further showed that despite Philip de Novare's characterization, that because things were "settled to the satisfaction of both parties [Balian and the Hospitallers], these things which are past should be entirely forgotten,"[224] the Hospitallers were sympathetic to the imperialists. Furthermore, the Hospitallers would remain aligned along imperialist lines in the Latin Kingdom and Cyprus and with Hohenstaufen interests in the Near East, including Egypt, until Frederick's power in the Levant collapsed in 1242, and even later.[225] Finally, whereas this episode did not result in open warfare between the Hospitallers and the Templars, their part in the simmering civil war continued on into 1242.

The events of 1242 and 1243 in the Latin Kingdom have posed extraordinary problems in terms of chronology, mainly caused by the issue of determining the pivotal date when King Conrad reached his majority,[226] and the confused sequences of events as reconstructed from certain sources. Recent scholarship has more or less reached a consensus on the fact that Conrad's coming of age was announced early in his fifteenth year, that is, 26 April 1242–26 April 1243, counted from his birthday on 26 April 1228, not on the occasion of his fifteenth birthday.[227] By moving this pivotal date up to the spring of 1242, the sequence of events reported by Philip de Novare, John of Jaffa, and others, leading to the critical appointment of Queen Alice as regent for the king of Jerusalem, and the Ibelin capture of Tyre, is located between April and July 1242, not 1243 as interpreted by earlier scholars.

Shortly after the siege of the hospital in Acre by Balian had ended in April, and Conrad's declaration of his majority had been received, that is, in May 1242, Venice sent Marsilio Zorzi to Acre. Marsilio's mission as *bailo* was to restore the Venetian position in the Latin Kingdom, especially in the ports such as Acre and Tyre. Marsilio's report on his activities is important, as David Jacoby has argued, as a source for the correct dating and sequence of events between May and July 1242.[228] When Marsilio arrived in Acre in May, he worked hard to reestablish Venetian rights and property in the Latin Kingdom. He found Filangieri unwilling to restore Venetian income and property in Tyre, however; indeed, the imperial *bailli* even refused to receive the Venetian envoys. Partly for this reason Marsilio approached Philip de Montfort and other barons to discuss means by which Tyre could be wrested from imperial control.

Marsilio Zorzi's activity was one factor along with several others that led to two major events in June 1242. Conrad's letter to the liegemen of the Latin Kingdom announcing his coming of age and his appointment of Thomas of Acerra as his *bailli*, along with Frederick's letter recalling Richard Filangieri, the latter which must have become known in late May, led Balian of Beirut to call a meeting of the baronial council. As Jacoby described the situation, "they recognized Conrad as the lawful ruler of the kingdom and vowed to safeguard his royal rights, according to custom, pending his arrival in his realm. Until then, however, they would not be bound toward him by his letters or his messengers, according to the usage of the kingdom."[229] To fill what the barons saw as a constitutional void until such time as Conrad would come to be duly crowned and receive the homage of his vassals in the Latin Kingdom, they hastened to select a new regent. Odo of Montbéliard was elected, but he opposed any Ibelin attempt to capture Tyre, much to the consternation of the assembly.[230]

The two main accounts, by Philip de Novare and John of Jaffa, differ somewhat about what happened next, but they are not necessarily contradictory.[231] John of Jaffa's version is quite short, but it mentions at least two meetings of the council, the first where Odo of Montbéliard is made *bailli*, and the second where Alice is elected in his stead.[232] Philip de Novare only mentions one meeting, but he goes into considerable detail, and credits himself for identifying the legal basis of Alice's claim both to be regent and to hold the city of Tyre.[233] Alice of Champagne was the mother of King Henry I and widow of King Hugh I of Cyprus, and she was the lawful heir of the Latin Kingdom because she was the daughter of Queen Isabel I, who herself was the daughter of King Amalric I of Jerusalem. Only Conrad, who was descended from an older sister of the royal blood had a stronger claim as heir, but Alice, who was Conrad's great aunt, was the most lawful heir apparent, until he should come.[234]

Accordingly, on 5 June, Balian of Beirut and Philip of Montfort called a meeting of the liegemen of Acre in the residence of the patriarch of Jerusalem. The new patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, had not yet arrived in the East, but he had appointed as his vicar Peter, archbishop of Tyre, who was present with the bishops of the kingdom. The Crusader lords were there, along with representatives of the Templars, the Genoese, the Venetians, and the Pisans, and all the confraternities of the city. The masters of the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights are not mentioned, and were no doubt absent given their pro-imperial stance, but representatives must have been present.[235] In the presence of the assembly, Queen Alice was elected regent of the Latin Kingdom for Conrad. At the climactic moment, the "first of them all did homage to the lord of Beirut and next the lord of Toron and afterwards all the other knights of Acre. And this was in the year 1242."[236]

Acting quickly following this meeting, the new regent, Alice, made a formal request that the city of Tyre be turned over to her. When Lotario Filangieri refused to relinquish control of the city, Alice ordered her commanders to organize their troops and attack immediately. Her husband, Ralph of Soissons, along with Balian of Beirut, Philip de Montfort, and Philip de Novare serving as her royal *bailli*, assembled their army, moved to Tyre, attacked on 9 June, and took possession of the city on 12 June. Lotario Filangieri was able to hold out inside the citadel for another month. On 10 July the citadel surrendered as well when Richard Filangieri, who had been captured on his return from an attempt to sail to the West, was threatened with hanging in view of his brother, Lotario, inside the citadel. Lotario sued for peace to save Richard.[237] The imperialists were given generous terms and allowed to depart under safe conduct with their men. Lotario joined Thomas Acerra in Tripoli where they were received by Bohemond V. Richard Filangieri returned to Apulia as ordered, where Frederick II, angered by his failure to take control of Acre or maintain imperial power in Tyre, had him imprisoned. Philip de Novare ends his account of the siege of Tyre as follows:

> Thus was rooted out and cast away the evil nest of the Langobards so that never after did they have any power in Syria or in Cyprus. Thus was taken the city of Tyre and the castle in the year 1242.[238]

The loss of Tyre and the departure of the Filangieri meant that the imperial presence in the Latin Kingdom was gone; Hohenstaufen power had collapsed in the Holy Land. Jerusalem and Ascalon officially passed into the control of the regent of the kingdom. Some years later, in 1247, Pope Innocent IV would absolve King Henry of Cyprus of his oath to the emperor and place the kingdom of Cyprus under papal protection, thus completing the eradication of imperial jurisdictional presence in the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem. The barons, and especially the Ibelins, had, by supreme effort and perseverance, finally eliminated active imperial intervention in the Latin Kingdom. The civil war was over and the political and territorial divisions that had caused so much pain and hardship for so many years were substantially ended. That is not to say that pro-imperialist sympathizers, such as the Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights, and the Pisans, disappeared. However, there was a new order in the Latin Kingdom, where the commune of Acre was finally gone and the high court of the kingdom had reappeared.[239]

Part of the new order was revealed at once when Alice's husband, Ralph of Soissons requested that Tyre be given over to them as their holding. Balian of Beirut and Philip of Toron, who now controlled the military power, refused. As reported in the Paris Eracles, it became apparent immediately to Ralph of Soissons "that he would have no power or authority, but that he would be no more than a shadow. So shamed and deceived, he abandoned everything, left the queen his wife and returned to his own land."[240] This event among others demonstrated clearly that the new order focused power ever more firmly in the hands of the Crusader lords, and that the monarchy had been severely weakened. Although one can point to developments in the West that also reflect changes in the balance of power between the crown and the feudal lords, as seen in England with the Magna Carta, for example, nothing can compare with what happened in the Latin Kingdom by 1242, in the thirteenth century. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was now a kind of feudal republic, with its own sophisticated legal codes and courts, but it had no clear leader and lacked any real unity. Without a strong ruler, how would the Crusader Kingdom establish a united front among its many factions to meet the challenges that lay ahead?

Two immediate questions now loomed for the Crusader lords. Could they translate their hard-won victory over the imperial forces into consolidating their territorial gains from the treaties of Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall? Could they strengthen the military power of the kingdom against outside attack? For the latter, they would be put to a severe test in only two years' time. For the first year, 1242–3, they seemed to hold their own in the face of mounting danger, led by the Templars.

The Templars had been active and would continue to go on the offensive in both diplomatic and military matters when necessary. They had been instrumental in arranging the Frankish–Damascene treaty in the summer of 1240 during the latter part of Thibaut's Crusade. Now that the imperialists had been overcome in the kingdom during the summer of 1242, leaving the Hospitallers in eclipse, the continuing Templar interests in Damascus led to the reopening of negotiations with al-Salih Ismail. Militarily, they had attacked Hebron in the spring of 1242, then in May they joined forces with al-Nasir Daud in a battle against Egyptian troops between Gaza and Jerusalem, and finally they attacked Nablus in the fall. The Nablus raid was particularly bloody, a three-day affair that started on 30 October 1242 in which the mosque was burned with the people inside it.[241] Christians living in the city were said to be victims along with the Muslims. Many women and children were carried off to be sold on the slave market. Barber points out that however savage this operation was, it was conducted "apparently in revenge for a previous massacre of Christian pilgrims by al-Nasir [Daud], an expedition of which the Order was sufficiently proud to commemorate in a striking fresco in its church at Perugia."[242]

The Templars were even prouder of their success in regaining access to the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem. They were able to negotiate the return of the Haram, including their former headquarters in Jerusalem, to Christian control by the end of 1243.[243] This came about partly because the situation in Muslim territory to the north and east was extremely volatile. To some extent the then-current Mongol and Khwarismian threats can be said to have made the Crusader repossession of the Haram possible, along with the struggle for power among the major Ayyubid rulers.

On 2 July 1243, the Mongols inflicted a crushing defeat on the Seljuks and their Ayyubid and Khwarismian allies led by Sultan Kai-Khusrau II, at Köse Dagh in the rugged territory of what is today northeastern Turkey. As a result of this loss, the death-knell of the Seljuk state in Asia Minor was sounded, and a Mongol presence was established in Mesopotamia that the Mamluk successors to Sultan Ayyub would have to confront later.[244] It was, however, the Khwarismian Turks, not the Mongols, who presented an immediate threat to the Muslim emirs in Syria, not to mention the Crusader States along the coast. Pushed eastward in front of the advancing Mongols, these Turkoman peoples from Transoxonia occupied parts of Armenia and Azerbaijan at the start of the thirteenth century. Having suffered a disastrous defeat in 1230, however, they had become fragmented into bands of mercenary raiders who served whoever would give them refuge. Championed at first especially by Sultan Ayyub in Egypt, in the early 1240s they had fought for a whole succession of rulers including the caliph at Baghdad, the emir of Mosul, al-Muzaffar Ghazi of Mayyafariqin,[245] the Seljuks, and al-Salih Ayyub himself, against a variety of Ayyubid foes in Syria. At the time of the Mongol victory at Köse Dagh in July 1243, the Khwarismians were located in Kharput, northeast of Melitene, uncomfortably close to the new Mongol presence. Following this momentous battle they would be forced to move again into the Jazirah and they were available to strike.[246]

Meanwhile, in the late spring of 1243 the Franks had joined al-Salih Ismail's new attempt to attack Egypt, along with al-Mansur Ibrahim of Homs, by marching on Gaza. An-Nasir Daud of Kerak, who had oscillated in his alliances between al-Salih Ismail in Damascus and al-Salih Ayyub in Cairo, was currently also attacking the Egyptian-held castle of Shaubak (Montréal) north of Petra. All of this came to nothing, however, when, in the wake of the Seljuk loss at Köse Dagh in July, the invading Ayyubid troops withdrew from the Egyptian frontier. Diplomatic relations were then opened between Damascus and Cairo and a new agreement emerged. By the provisions of this agreement, on 11 September 1243 al-Salih Ismail removed Kai-Khusru's name from the *khutba*[247] in the great mosque of Damascus and replaced it with that of his former protagonist, al-Salih Ayyub in Cairo. He also prepared to release Ayyub's son from the jail in which he had been held for the previous four years. Al-Mansur Ibrahim recognized the sovereignty of Sultan Ayyub in Aleppo, as was also done in Homs. Ayyub reciprocated by finally acknowledging the authority of al-Salih Ismail in Damascus in place of Ayyub's son. As a result of these developments the alliance against Ayyub was eliminated, and the principals in this new group, Ayyub, Ismail, and al-Mansur, now turned their attention to attack al-Nasir Daud. Al-Nasir was, of course, the very Ayyubid prince who had most recently captured Jerusalem in 1239, but there was no denying that he was also a threat to them all. Indeed he was also the Muslim ruler who held the territory that interested the Crusaders the most, which Ayyub had relentlessly sought to control. At this moment, however, the new alliance foundered on the discovery that Ayyub had secretly contacted the Khwarismians, requesting that they join him in an attack on Syria after his son was safely out of al-Salih Ismail's hands. The new coalition fell apart on this news and the old alliance was reborn.[248]

It was at this opportune moment that the Templars succeeded in negotiating a new treaty with al-Salih Ismail in which the earlier provisions agreed on by Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall were reconfirmed, but Jerusalem was given over to the Crusaders in its entirety.

The Ayyubid coalition apparently decided that in seeking support against Egypt, the Franks were more to be relied on than the emir of Aleppo, whose territory was currently at risk in the face of the Khwarismian threat. Al-Maqrizi describes what happened as follows:

> Al-Nasir Dawud and al-Salih Ismail then sent ambassadors to the Franks, and compacted [sic] that the Franks should aid them against al-Malik al-Salih Najm-al-Din [Ayyub] while they in return surrendered Jerusalem. They (also) surrendered Tiberias and Ascalon, the citadels of which two cities the Franks restored. The Franks gained possession of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and set wine bottles on the Rock and hung bells in the al-Aqsa Mosque.[249]

The *Annales de Terre Sainte* reports laconically that Jerusalem and the *Templum Domini* was returned by truce with al-Salih Ibrahim and an-Nasir Daud.[250]

The date of this treaty is not known but it must have been completed and signed in late 1243. Shortly thereafter the Grand Master of the Templars, Armand de Périgord, wrote a long letter to Robert of Sandford, a Templar preceptor in England, explaining what had happened and trumpeting his success:

> there should be rejoicing among angels and men, that the holy city of Jerusalem is now inhabited exclusively by Christians, all the Saracens having been expelled, and that in all the holy places, restored and cleansed by the prelates of the church, where for fifty-six years the name of God had not been invoked, now, God be praised, the divine mysteries are celebrated daily.[251]

By "all the holy places," of course Armand meant especially the sites of the *Templum Domini* and the *Templum Salomonis*, the latter which had been, up until the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, the headquarters of the Knights Templar. The occupation of the Haram al-Sharif was symbolic not only of the current Templar ascendency in affairs of the Latin Kingdom, but also of the elimination of imperial policy.[252] It was a notable diplomatic achievement.[253] It was also one of the briefest in duration, lasting from December 1243 to August 1244, a total of only nine months.

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO THE KHWARISMIAN TURKS (AUGUST 1244) AND THE BATTLE OF LA FORBIE (OCTOBER 1244)

On the whole, the Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom had been able to deal successfully with the volatile situation around them between July 1242 and December 1243 as we have seen. A few months after Pope Innocent IV took office in June 1243, he received the good news that Jerusalem was back in Crusader hands. It was also in the early spring of 1244 that Robert of Nantes, the new patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in the Holy Land to occupy his see, at which time he made his pilgrimage to the Holy City when it was in Crusader hands.[254] However, the euphoria was short-lived; no one could have foreseen the disasters looming ahead.

In 1244, following the rainy season, the attack on Syria that Sultan Ayyub had urged the Khwarismians to make began. Just before the Mongols launched an assault on Aleppo in May/June, the Khwarismians crossed the Euphrates and rode ahead of them into Syria, dividing their forces. One army entered the County of Tripoli, the other, the land around Damascus. Al-Salih Ismail consolidated his forces at Damascus to resist their invasion, but an-Nasir Daud retreated to the safety of Kerak, leaving Palestine to be defended alone by the Crusaders. When the Khwarismians entered Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea they began attacking the cities, starting with Tiberias and Nablus. On 11 July they arrived at Jerusalem, which had almost no fortifications. The Crusaders had been surprised by their onslaught, making it difficult to organize a solid defense. There had only been time for the patriarch, Robert of Nantes, who had recently arrived in the Latin Kingdom, and the masters of the Templars and the Hospitallers, Armand de Périgord and William de Châteauneuf, respectively, to hasten to the Holy City to reinforce the garrison in the citadel.[255]

It is at this point, with the advent of the Khwarismians, that the Paris Eracles and the Rothelin Continuation resume their narratives. The latter gives the most detail on the Khwarismian sack of the Holy City. Christians in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were disemboweled or decapitated. The marble framework of the aedicule of the Holy Sepulcher was destroyed and some of the columns were sent to Mecca as trophies. The tombs of the Crusader kings were turned over [effondrerent les sepolturez] and the bones of the kings were scattered.[256] Other Christians attempting to flee to safety were massacred. According to the Paris Eracles, the Khwarismians took no prisoners; more than thirty thousand men, women, and children were killed.[257]

Remarkably, similar reports are given in Muslim sources with very few differences. One of the most detailed is found by Ibn al-Furat:

> The Khwarizmians then attacked Jerusalem and put the Christians there to the sword, may God curse them. Not a man was spared and women and children were taken as captives. They entered the chief Christian church known as Qumama (Holy Sepulchre) and destroyed the tomb which the Christians believe to be that of the Messiah, and they ransacked its Christian and Frankish graves, and the royal graves that it contains, burning the bones of the dead.[258]

Meanwhile the Crusader garrison in the citadel fought on, but they could only hold out until 23 August. When it was all over, remnants of the garrison made their way to Jaffa; the Holy City was desolate.

The differing points of view over what happened are tersely summarized in the following two comments: Ibn al-Furat says,

> Thus they [the Khwarismians] brought healing relief to the hearts of a believing people, may God Almighty give them the best of rewards on behalf of Islam and of its people.[259]

The Rothelin Continuation declares matter-of-factly:

> they [the Khwarismians] committed far more acts of shame, filth and destruction against Jesus Christ and the holy places and Christendom than all the unbelievers who had been in the land had ever done in peace or war.[260]

Jerusalem was now in the hands of the Muslims, and it would never again be controlled by the Crusaders. The city remained without walls, the Christian holy sites were in shambles; whatever repairs that could be made were done by Eastern Christians who were allowed to remain. Christian pilgrims would continue to visit the Holy City between 1244 and 1291, and later with varying degrees of difficulty. The Franciscans would officially arrive in the fourteenth century to administer the Christian holy sites, but no victorious Christian army would enter its gates again until 1917. Ironically, the Khwarismians themselves, who conquered the Holy City, made no claim to possess it but rather rode on immediately after their victory to join Ayyub's Egyptian army at Gaza. Here the next catastrophe for the Crusaders in 1244 would unfold in the dark days of October.

Following the Khwarismian depredations, in September 1244, the Crusaders organized a new army at Acre, enlisting every possible soldier to serve in the current emergency.[261] There they were joined by troops from Damascus and Homs under the command of al-Mansur Ibrahim and a separate force under an-Nasir Daud. It was the largest Frankish army in the field since the battle of Hattin. The allies began their march south on 4 October and made first contact with the Egyptian army thirteen days later at La Forbie, a few miles northeast of Gaza along the coast. The opposing army was powerful and dangerous; the great majority of its troops were Khwarismian cavalry, and it had a solid division of elite Egyptians led by an emir with the name of Rukn ad-Din Baibars.[262]

In order to plan their strategy, the Crusaders held a council of war. The shrewd al-Mansur Ibrahim argued that the army should take a strong position, but delay engagement in order to frustrate the impatient Khwarismians and put serious pressure on their meagre supply lines. Walter of Brienne, count of Jaffa, however, impetuously urged an immediate attack. The Frankish army overall was strong and the Crusaders no doubt sought revenge for their terrible losses at Jerusalem. The Paris Eracles explains what happens next as follows:

> Through hatred and envy amongst the Christians, through sin and misfortune, the worse plan prevailed, and so they set out from Ascalon at dawn on a Tuesday morning and rode to Gaza.[263]

It must have been a remarkable sight when the two armies drew up in ranks across from each other. Many Muslim accounts describe the unique scene. Ibn al-Furat writes:

> The two armies met outside Gaza. Ibrahim and the troops of Damascus rode under the banners of the Franks with crosses at their head and priests amongst the squadrons, making the sign of the Cross over the Muslims and blessing them, with cups of wine and goblets in their hands from which they gave them to drink.[264]

In the ensuing battle at La Forbie on 18 October 1244, the Khwarismians routed part of the Muslim forces and decimated the Crusaders. Thousands were killed, including Peter, archbishop of Tyre, and the bishop of Ramla and Lydda. Some eight hundred men were said to have been taken prisoner by the Egyptians. Armand of Périgord, master of the Templars, was captured and eventually apparently died in prison. William of Châteauneuf, master of the Hospitallers, was captured and only released in 1250.[265] The Khwarismians captured Walter of Jaffa, and tried to use him to induce the garrison there to surrender, unsuccessfully. He was later sent along with the others to Egypt. Among those Crusaders who managed to escape with their lives were Robert, patriarch of Jerusalem, who with the others went to Ascalon, where the Hospitallers held the fortifications.[266] Al-Mansur Ibrahim is reported in Muslim sources as saying, with tears in his eyes, "I realized when we were marching under the banners marked with the Cross, our undertaking could not succeed."[267]

Among Crusader defeats, the catastrophe at La Forbie is outranked only by that at Hattin in 1187. In both cases the Crusader army was destroyed, and in both cases had wiser, cooler Crusader heads prevailed, the results of the battle might well have been quite different. As it was, at La Forbie it is the greatest irony that even with an allied Muslim commander's insightful evaluation of the opposing Muslim forces, the Crusaders would not listen to military reason, but yet once again insisted on rushing headlong into battle. Fortunately for the Crusaders, Sultan Ayyub was not as formidable a commander as Saladin had been. Not only was Ayyub unable to follow up the victory of La Forbie by wiping out the Crusader military presence with an immediate and sustained attack, but also in any case his priority was focused on Damascus, not on the Crusaders, and besides he already held Jerusalem. As Runciman observes, "Ayub of Egypt still had to overcome his rival of Damascus before he could venture to finish with the Christians. This delay saved Outremer."[268]

In the years immediately following the loss of Jerusalem and the defeat of the Crusader army at La Forbie in October 1244, there were many important developments as the Latin Kingdom struggled to regroup and defend itself. Again, almost immediately, a new Crusade was proclaimed by the pope, Innocent IV, who would die in 1247, however, long before the expedition got underway in 1248. As fate would have it, when the call for a new Crusade was issued, Louis IX was seriously ill in December 1244. He vowed that if God would spare him, he would lead a new expedition. When his health returned, he began to make careful arrangements for the new Crusade.[269]

Meanwhile, there were important problems to deal with in the Latin Kingdom. The Crusaders had to worry about how they could defend themselves in the months ahead now that the flower of their fighting forces had been annihilated, both from the Latin Kingdom and from Tripoli and Antioch. The holy places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem were now definitively lost, and in disarray. Only Nazareth remained in Crusader control, however tenuously. The church would need to reassess its situation and reorganize to meet the new needs.

Sultan Ayyub organized an assault on Damascus in the spring of 1245, thus giving the Crusader States room to regroup their defenses. After a six-month siege, from April to October, al-Salih Ismail was forced to surrender the city and accept lesser holdings of Baalbek in the Bekaa Valley and the territory of the Hauran. When Ismail tried to mount a new attempt to take back Damascus early in 1246 with the help of the still unsettled Khwarismians, Ayyub repulsed him. Relieving armies sent from Homs and Aleppo inflicted a serious defeat on Ismail in May 1246, thereby ending his threat, and forcing the Khwarismians to leave Syria.[270] Unfortunately for the Crusaders, Ayyub could now focus his attention on the Latin Kingdom.

Ayyub's campaign started ominously with the successful capture of Tiberias, recently refortified by Odo of Montbéliard, of Mount Tabor, and of Belvoir, all strategic sites in the Galilee. The sultan then moved his army to Ascalon, whose walls were newly rebuilt under the direction of Hugh IV of Burgundy, before he left to return home, and whose strong garrison was manned by the Hospitallers. Despite support from the king of Cyprus and ships sent from Acre, the Muslim army succeeded in mining and battering their way into the fortress citadel, on 15 October 1247. Many Crusader defenders were killed; the rest were taken prisoner. Ayyub ordered the fortifications at this important site to be dismantled once again, for the third time since 1188.[271]

At this point, the Latin Kingdom was vulnerable and lay open to attack. Its territory was at its most reduced level since the time of Saladin. However, Ayyub was not interested to press his advantage. He had contented himself by returning to Jerusalem, where he apparently ordered work on reconstructing the walls to be commenced.[272] After a visit to the reclaimed holy sites of Islam, the Dome of the Rock and the mosque al-Aqsa, he returned to Damascus, his preferred residence by the river Barada. He received his subjects there between the fall of 1248 and the summer of 1249.

The Latin Kingdom was therefore given a much-needed reprieve. The military orders sought to recruit new members in the West. The Italian communes endeavored to strengthen themselves and the barons sought to find new settlers to fill their seriously depleted ranks. Fortunately for the Crusader States, there was very little internal dissension during these difficult years, from 1244 to 1248. Although the intense rivalries among the military orders and the Italian maritime powers did not diminish, there were no open hostilities.[273]

The new patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, who had survived the great defeat at La Forbie, immediately exercised his leadership in attempting to seek aid and reorganize his clergy. A letter was sent from him and his clergy imploring the rulers of the West for their aid and assistance.[274] Robert himself went West and was present at the Council of Lyon, called by Innocent IV, in June 1245.[275] Meanwhile he and the pope were forced to deal with episcopal dioceses whose lands within the see of Jerusalem had been lost as the result of the recent Muslim victories.[276] The bishop-elect of Bethlehem, John, lost possession of his see because of the Khwarismian capture of Jerusalem in August 1244. In the absence of land to support him, he attempted to raise money by selling off property belonging to his church. The pope eventually transferred him to Paphos on Cyprus in 1245, and when Godfrey de' Prefetti, former cantor of the church in Tripoli, was nominated to be the new bishop of Bethlehem, he sought to recover this property and initiated a series of lawsuits to this end.[277] The pope had succeeded in recruiting Louis IX for the upcoming Crusade, but Robert of Nantes also attempted to persuade Henry III to take the Cross. In 1247 he brought to London a vial of the Holy Blood – Matthew Paris describes it as in a "vase cristallino venustissimo" – as a gift to the king. Henry caused the sacred relic to be translated from St. Paul's to Westminster in a solemn ceremony, but he would not be persuaded to take the Cross, at least not yet.[278]

Besides the patriarch in the Latin Kingdom, the mendicant orders were also becoming more active. Shortly after the Dominicans and the Franciscans had been established as orders,[279] they appeared in the Latin East, and as we have seen, no less a figure than Francis of Assisi himself had come to the Holy Land at the time of the Fifth Crusade. Later on, in an effort to stimulate greater religious unity in the East, Innocent IV had, shortly after his election in 1243, directed members of the Dominican order to do this work in the territory of the Holy Land. In 1246, however, Lorenzo of Orte, a Franciscan, was appointed as his papal "legate in Armenia, Turkey, Egypt, Cyprus, Greece, and to all the Greeks living in the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch, as well as to Jacobites, Maronites and Nestorians." His special instructions for the Orthodox of Jerusalem and Antioch were " 'that the Greeks of those regions, by whatever name they are known, be protected by papal authority, and that you do not allow them to be treated with violence, and that you do full justice to them in cases of injury caused to them by Latins.' "[280]

The powers of this legate were breathtakingly comprehensive, and his mandate brought him into conflict with the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, where Lorenzo clearly interfered with Robert's ability to exercise jurisdiction over the Orthodox members of his see.[281] By August of 1247, the pope was forced to limit his legate's powers, stating that he had no intention of diminishing the authority of the Latin patriarch in any way. In Antioch, however, the legate's activities were more successful. The Orthodox patriarch, David, expressed a personal willingness to be reconciled to the pope. Although the pope had in mind setting up a Uniate Orthodox church in Antioch, such a plan was vigorously opposed by the local clergy on both sides. Therefore the pope let it be known that any Orthodox clergy who wished to be in communion with the Roman church could do so under certain conditions.[282] Innocent IV even went so far as to offer to pay the transportation expenses of such clergy in order that they might come to Rome for this purpose.[283]

In Tripoli and Antioch, Bohemond V continued to rule in these years, and this meant that the friction between him and the patriarch of Antioch remained, until Albert of Rizzato died in 1245 while attending the council of Lyon. It was two years until a successor was named, Opizon Fieschi, and then another year until he arrived in the East, in 1248. In the meantime, Bohemond's quarrels with his Armenian neighbors also continued, but, encouraged by the pope, he followed a policy of minding his own business. Nor did his differences with the Hospitallers and the Templars subside, but the orders essentially acted autonomously and on the whole they were quite cautious during this period. Finally, Bohemond managed to maintain very cordial relations with the pope, but Innocent IV was annoyed that he had given refuge to imperial fugitives from the Latin Kingdom, namely Lothair Filangieri and Thomas of Acerra. As a result of his rule, Antioch continued to decline in power and influence, but Tripoli, which was Bohemond's favored residence, remained relatively prosperous. Tripoli was saved from harm largely through the internal fighting among the Ayyubids.[284] It remains to be seen to what extent either Antioch or Tripoli were important factors in the artistic activities of the Crusader States between 1225 and the 1240s.

Finally, these years, 1225 to 1244, are remarkable in the history of the Crusader East because during this time we have three Crusades, each led by a very different personage, a full-scale civil war in the Latin Kingdom, the appearance of the Mongols and the Khwarismian Turks on the scene along with the Ayyubids and the Seljuks as Crusader adversaries, and the most intensive diplomatic interactions between the Crusaders and the Ayyubids during the existence of the Crusader States, leading to major truces with important territorial settlements involved.

In the case of the treaty discussions, it is also worth remembering that this signaled some major changes in regard to the way affairs were carried out in the Latin East, and especially in the Latin Kingdom. The Crusade movement had originally championed the cause of liberating the holy places and freeing the Christians in the East from Muslim oppression by force of arms. This the Crusaders had failed to do in 1227–9 and 1239–41, not to mention 1243–4. However, the Franks had managed to enter serious diplomatic negotiations with the Muslims over the disposition of Jerusalem and territory formerly part of the Latin Kingdom, repeatedly, much to the consternation of many in the West, most conspicuously the pope. Furthermore, the Crusaders had managed to win back control of the Holy City by this means, twice, in 1229 and in 1243. Moreover, whereas for the Third Crusade, the Fifth Crusade, or the Crusades of Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, the Christian armies in the field exclusively consisted of Frankish soldiers, it was remarkable that at La Forbie for the first time, a substantial part of the Crusader army was Muslim, marching under Crusader banners.[285] Apart from the consistently individualistic and often unpredictable views of Frederick II, these new developments represent a major shift in position and outlook by the resident Franks vis-à-vis the Muslims in the Latin East. When we examine the artistic activity in the Crusader States, we shall look with interest to see to what extent we can see any evidence for this shift in viewpoint reflected in the art produced for the resident and transient Crusaders during this period.

THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS, 1225–1244

This long narrative of the complicated history of the Latin Kingdom between 1225 and 1244 raises a number of issues related to the arts, including the following points:

1. There was an enormous amount of architectural work done in this period, but, as with the period of the Third Crusade and the following years, much of it involved the rebuilding of fortifications dismantled by the Muslims or as the result of treaties with the Muslims. How much Crusader architecture can be identified today as belonging to the work of this specific period as opposed to an earlier or later period? How can these identifications be made?

2. Members of the Ibelin family, especially Jean d'Ibelin, and the prominent imperial figures, including of course, Emperor Frederick II himself, are major players in the dramatic political and military events in the Crusader East during these years. To what extent can we identify these figures as patrons of the arts in the midst of their involvement with the turbulent events of these years in the Latin Kingdom?
3. Acre undergoes an important political change with the introduction of the commune in 1231 as a means by which the capital of the Latin Kingdom could maintain its independence, no matter who the *bailli* might turn out to be. What impact did the existence of the commune have on artistic activity in the capital city? Was the role of the confraternities enhanced as a potential patron for the arts at this time?
4. The Latin church struggled to deal with a number of challenges in this period. For example, there was its changing bases of economic support because the territorial configuration of the Latin Kingdom was altered constantly as a result of treaty after treaty in these years. There was also a number of conspicuous vacancies or, as with Gerold, patriarch of Jerusalem, absences, in major positions in the hierarchy when important decisions had to be made. There were in addition new developments that were changing the nature of the church in the Latin East. These included increased direct papal involvement with affairs in the Crusader church, the growth of the presence and activity of the new mendicant orders, and changing relationships with the Orthodox and other separated Christian churches in the Near East, that is, those who were inside jurisdictions of the Latin hierarchy. All of these aspects are relevant to the nature of artistic activity we find in the Crusader States at this time. What evidence do we see that artistic activity was affected by these changes?
5. It is evident that during this period the affairs of the Latin Kingdom were very closely intertwined politically, economically, ecclesiastically, militarily not only with the other Crusader States, but also especially with the kingdom of Cyprus. What impact does this new interaction with Cyprus have on the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, if any, as compared with that of the Latin Empire in Constantinople and Frankish Greece?
6. Finally, we see a dramatic increase in diplomatic activity between the Crusaders and the Muslims in this period. Do we also see evidence of greater awareness and influence of Muslim art and architecture as part of the results of these interactions?

We will find that in attempting to address these and other questions, compared to earlier periods, either 1210–25 or 1192–1210, there is, surprisingly perhaps, in some cases more evidence for artistic activity in this period, 1225–44, but there are nonetheless also some conspicuous gaps, strange voids in our knowledge. Once again in addition to the extant works themselves, we find that the written sources yield important information for our inquiry. Although it is true that the political unrest characterizing the years of the civil war in the Latin Kingdom cannot be seen to be particularly conducive for sustained artistic activity, we should not assume that artistic commissions were neither given nor carried out.

ARCHITECTURE: PILGRIMAGE SITES, PILGRIMS, CHURCHES, AND MILITARY FORTIFICATIONS

Compared to the period, 1210–25, it is odd that we have no detailed pilgrims' accounts for the Holy Land or the Holy City of Jerusalem for the years 1225–44, with perhaps one exception. This is a major lacuna in the written evidence we have for the period. Nonetheless, we know of a large number of prominent persons who went to the holy sites as pilgrims, many of them stimulated by the provisions of the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229, which opened the holy sites to Christian access. Also, we know from the written sources that there were major changes in the architectural fabric of the city of Jerusalem. The problem is that these changes do not receive any systematic discussion in the extant texts.

Jerusalem is, of course, the major site, and the text known as "L'Estat de la cité de Jerusalem" continues to be the focal descriptive text in this period. As we have seen,[286] the "Estat" exists as both a separate text and one imbedded in several historical accounts, including, for example, the text known now as "Ernoul-Bernard," written between 1229 and 1232 in the Latin East,[287] and the Rothelin Continuation, written in 1261 in France.[288] The introduction to the basic text of the "Estat" says:

> As most good Christians are glad to talk and hear about the holy city of Jerusalem and the holy places where Our Lord died and lived, we will tell you what it was like on the day Saladin and the Saracens took it from the Christians.[289]

Despite the fact that this introduction to the text is essentially the same in all the extant versions, placing the description of Jerusalem in 1187 before it was captured by Saladin, the later chronicles in which it is included were written when the situation of the Holy City was quite different. Thus it appears that the original text was prepared as a separate unit.[290] When this text is placed in a narrative chronicle, however, its location in the sequence of events is different in each case. For example, when the "Ernoul-Bernard" text was written between 1229 and 1232, the "Estat" portion was placed in the narrative sequence pertaining to the year 1187, that is, in its appropriate original chronological setting.[291]

When the Rothelin Continuation was written later in 1261, the location of the "Estat" text is changed to a narrative placement in the year 1229.[292] We can recall, of course, that the circumstances of the city in 1229–32 were quite distinct from those of 1187. For one thing, the walls of Jerusalem had been dismantled in 1219 by al-Mu'azzam, and secondly, access to the holy sites there had been newly arranged under the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229. So, in order to contextualize the "Estat" with regard to the current conditions of that year, 1229, an introductory chapter or "proto-preface," Chapter 1, is added. The "proto-preface" describes the setting:

> Great was the danger in which Frederick left the Christians of the Holy Land in Jerusalem, for the city was completely open and unprotected. The Saracens had demolished all the

> fortifications, except the Tower of David, while the Christians were besieging Damietta as we told you earlier.[293] Neither the emperor Frederick nor his deputy did anything to repair the city's defences. The Saracens in neighbouring towns saw this clearly, and one morning crowds of villanous Saracens gathered and entered Jerusalem, intending to kill the Christians.[294] The Christians defended themselves vigorously, killing more than 500 and losing only one man, an Englishman.[295]

The text of the "Estat de la cité de Jérusalem" then follows essentially unchanged from earlier versions in any significant content. As we noted in Chapter 2, there was only one instance where the basic description of the city before the conquest by Saladin had been revised in light of later developments, that is, the information about the accommodation of pilgrims during the time the Muslims controlled the city, after October 1187. This revision appears in all the extant versions of the "Estat," and it must have been done after 1187, but it could not have been done much later, probably in the 1190s. That insertion must have been the first revision to the "Estat" as it was used repeatedly for these continuations.

After the main text of the "Estat," the author of the Rothelin Continuation adds two further chapters: Chapter 10 addresses "Dou Pelerinaige de la Terre,"[296] and Chapter 11 "... des sainz Leuz de la Sainte Terre de Jerusalem." The content of Chapter 10 does not effectively introduce any new material, but rather presents an updated summary of interest to the pilgrim to the holy places in Jerusalem, focusing on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the *Templum Domini*, and the *Templum Salomonis*. In Chapter 11, there is a summary of the holy sites to be visited in the vicinity of Jerusalem, including Mount Sion, Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives, then Bethany, the Quarantaine, and Jericho to the east, and Bethlehem to the south.[297]

These two added chapters as found in the Rothelin Continuation (Paris, B.N. MS fr. 9083) are, however, not the same in content in all manuscripts. In the two additional chapters found in a series of manuscripts including, among others, Paris, B.N. MS fr. 24209, and Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MSS 41, 113, 115,[298] the text of the two additional chapters is more comprehensive, directed at sites elsewhere in the Holy Land rather than just in the Jerusalem area.[299] Although the preface to this part again suggests that the main focus is on the pilgrimages in the Holy Land in 1187, in fact the following text includes content that indicates revisions done much later.

Rothelin Chapter 10 now appears as "Des Pelerinages de la Sainte Terre, I," and Chapter 11 as "II" and "III" in these codices. In "I" there is a discussion of sites from Acre to Jerusalem, starting around, at, and near to Mount Carmel, then mention of sites at Chastel Pelerin, Caesarea, Arsur, Jaffa, Ascalon, Ramla, Betnuba, and Montjoie, or Neby Samwil. The second part of this text is a summary description of sites at Jerusalem and its environs, which is quite comparable in content to Rothelin Chapter 10, although the wording varies. In "II" we find descriptions of the sites in the general region around Acre, including Nazareth, Mount Tabor, Tiberias, Capharnaum, Safed,[300] and the Benedictine monastery of St. George between Safed and Acre. Finally there is an interesting section "III," which describes visits to Saidnaya, near Damascus, with its miraculous panel painting of the Virgin Mary, to Tortosa, where one can see "the first church erected in honor of the Mother of God," to Beirut with a miraculous image of Christ, and to Cairo, with its fountain of the Virgin Mary and the palm tree that bowed to her so she could pick one of its dates.[301]

It is evident from the content in these additional sections that the text was revised after 1187. Not only is the Templar castle at 'Atlit referred to, which dates from 1217–18, but also the relics of St. Euphemia, which, as we mentioned earlier, were displayed in the castle chapel sometime after 1218, but before 1231.[302] Based on this certain evidence, clearly the author of this additional material appears to have written it after *c.*1220. However, taking into consideration the numerous variations of this text, it is likely there were several revisions and more than one author involved; thus it is probable that the latest author(s) wrote after the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229, given the range of sites mentioned and the fresh summary dealing with the sites in and around Jerusalem.[303] It is unfortunate, however, that none of these accounts reflect the *realia* of Jerusalem's situation following the treaty of 1229 in any detail.

The one possible exception to the lack of a pilgrim's account of the Holy Land during this period is the curious verse text of Philippe Mousket,[304] a contemporary Flemish chronicler. His "Description des Saints-Lieux" is unusual for several reasons.[305] Written in the early 1240s, it is presented in verse, as part of a larger chronicle about the Near East. The sequence of his text is unusual, starting out with Old Testament biblical references that lead into a discussion of a chronological, that is, historically sequenced, presentation of holy events more than holy sites. The text starts with the house of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, the house of the Annunciation, and the place of the marriage of the Virgin to Joseph. The problem is, however, that some of these sites are completely fantastic. For example, he claims the Virgin Mary was born in Egypt, without saying exactly where, and despite the extended discussion about the marriage, Nazareth is never mentioned by name.[306] This part is followed by a long discussion of Bethlehem, which actually refers to the Church of the Nativity briefly, but focuses on the story of Christ's birth and the visit of the three kings. Continuing on to Jerusalem, the sites are mentioned in the following order: the *Templum Domini*, and the piscina probatica on the north side of the Haram, then Bethphage, Bethany and the upper room of the Last Supper. Obviously this begins a sequence pertaining to the Passion of Christ, followed by Gethsemane, the house of Pilate, the house of Caiphas, the hill of Calvary, and the Holy Sepulcher. From there, the sequence moves to the Church of St. Mary Latin, the Mount of Olives, and the Valley of Jehosaphat, then on to Jericho and the Jordan River. The description concludes with reference to Sinai, Mount Tabor, Lake Galilee, the miraculous icon at Saidnaya, then finally back to Mount Sion, Hebron, and St. Abraham.

It is evident when reading this description that the text deals overwhelmingly with the literary stories of what happened at these sites, the lore of these places for a Christian visitor, much more than with details of the physical reality of what could be seen. Not only the locations referred to, but also sometimes the sequence and content of the descriptions are often quite unpredictable. Therefore, we must conclude that in contrast to the author of the text of "L'Estat de la Cité de Jérusalem," Philippe Mousket's rhymed verses do not seem to reflect a personal knowledge of the Holy Land based on a firsthand visit. The existence of a literary confection like this, however, is perhaps a strong indication of both the still strong desire many people had to make a pilgrimage to the holy places and the difficulty that pilgrims had to face when attempting such travel, even in times of truce between the Latin Kingdom and the Muslims.

One final aspect of this text that is noteworthy pertains to the major sites besides Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. We have noted earlier in our discussion that when these primary holy sites were removed from direct access to Christian pilgrims in 1187, other holy places began to become important in the thirteenth century. It is interesting to see that in Philippe Mousket's text, neither Tortosa nor Chastel Pelerin at 'Atlit are mentioned inside the Crusader States, but both St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai and the miraculous image of the Virgin at Saidnaya, north of Damascus, are included. These references accord with what we found in the earlier texts of Wilbrand of Oldenburg and Magister Thietmar.[307] They indicate that these sites were very much part of the major agenda for a Christian pilgrim to the Holy Land during this period, even though they were far outside the borders of the Latin Kingdom.

Despite the lack of pilgrims' accounts in this period, however, there certainly were a number of important pilgrims to Jerusalem, whom we know by name. This indicates that during the major Crusades of 1228–9 and 1239–41, and in periods after the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 up to the fall of Jerusalem in August of 1244, there were times when numerous pilgrims came to the holy places. This occurred despite the continuing dangers along the routes in and out of the interior of the country. Among the most important pilgrims whom we can identify are the following. In March 1229, Frederick II was accompanied by certain Sicilian bishops, members of the Teutonic Order, and two prominent English bishops, Peter of Winchester and William of Exeter. As we know, Frederick went to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and wore his crown there as Holy Roman Emperor on 18 March 1229. His visit also included a tour of the Haram al-Sharif, during which time he made various peculiar comments about Christianity, treated certain Christians he met strangely, and expressed open admiration for Islam, all of which was duly recorded in the Muslim chronicles.[308]

As for the two English bishops, William of Exeter made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem to fulfill a personal vow, one that his uncle, William Brewer, had left unfulfilled in 1189.[309] He had also been authorized to spend 4,000 silver marks, which the Templars had on account for his uncle in Acre. Peter des Roches was an even more important figure who, as bishop of Winchester, had personally crowned Henry III king of England and served as the guardian of his person from 1216 to 27. It was also he who had organized the preaching of the Crusade in England as directed by the pope.[310] He was extremely powerful and wealthy and used his resources for the benefit of the Crusades. Tyerman comments, "the bishops' money was their chief service."[311] Unfortunately, however, we know virtually nothing specific about their pilgrimages to Jerusalem in terms of any details about their activities or any account they wrote of their visit.

Both bishops arrived back home, however, far from empty-handed. Besides his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, William of Exeter is said to have been involved in the negotiations between Frederick II and al-Kamil, and to have visited Damascus and Baghdad. When he came home to England in 1229, he is said to have brought costly embroideries.[312] It is not known what, if anything, he brought from the Holy City. Peter des Roches, meanwhile, also returned with precious objects. He is reported to have brought back a manuscript of an apparently now lost work of William of Tyre, his *Historia Orientalium Principum*, as a gift to Matthew Paris.[313] He also is said to have had a cross from the Valley of Jehosaphat and a relic of the foot of St. Philip, the latter which he gave to the monks of St. Swithun's, Winchester.[314] Again it is not certain whether any of these objects might have originated in Jerusalem.

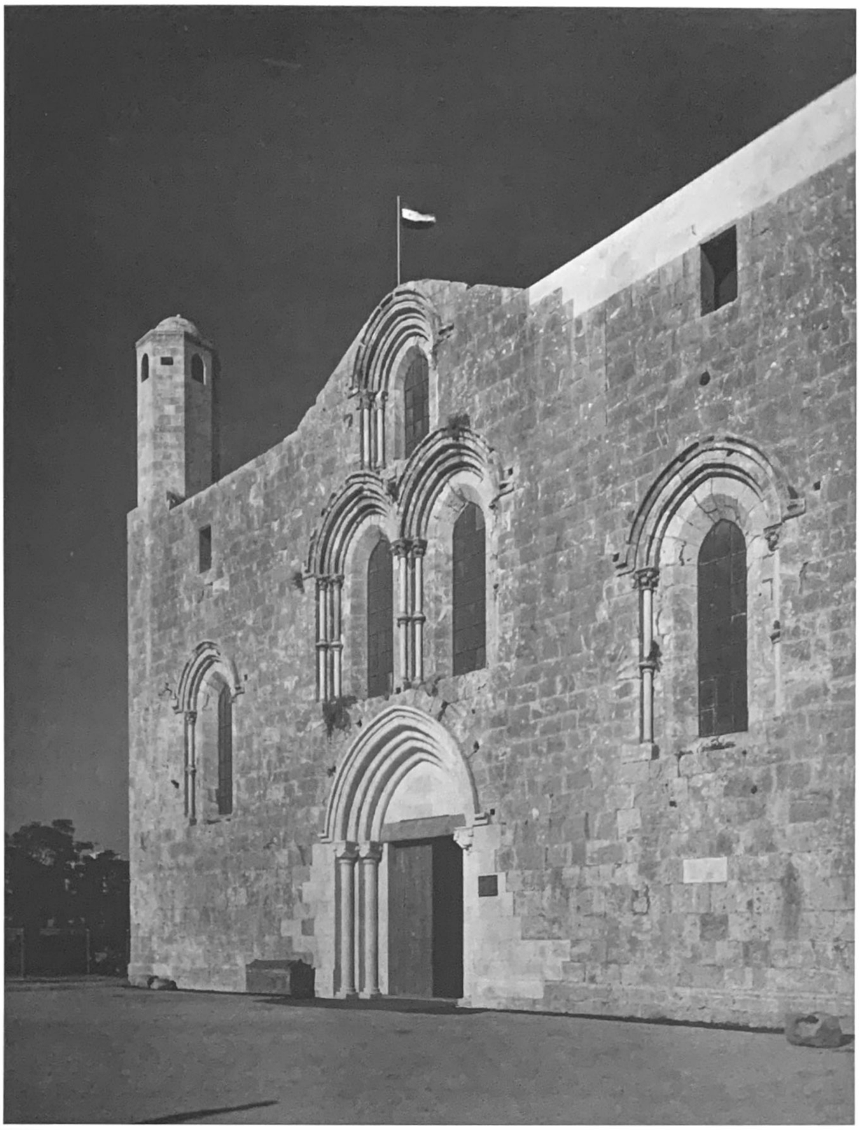
Among the later-known prominent figures who made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, we have Thibaut de Champagne and Pierre de Dreux in 1240. The Rothelin Continuation reports that at the end of his Crusade, after he had made a treaty with the sultan of Egypt, about the beginning of September 1240, "[Thibaut] the king of Navarre went off with many of his people to Jerusalem, to Our Lord's Holy Sepulcher and the other holy places there."[315] On the same Crusade was the bishop of Marseilles, Benedict of Alignan, who persuaded the Templars to build Safed in 1240, and then returned to the Holy Land in 1260 to see the results of their labors. He also went on pilgrimage during his visit, again after the treaty mentioned earlier, but the surprising thing is where he went. The treatise, *De constructione castri saphet*, written about the castle and Benedict's role in the project, records the following information:

> When a truce was made with the Sultan of Damascus, the king [Thibaut de Champagne] and the great army returned to their country. The bishop of Marseilles, in fact and in name Benedictus, went to St. Mary of Saidnaya on pilgrimage with the Sultan's permission.[316]

This text does not state whether Bishop Benedict made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with Thibaut and the others of his army. We may imagine that in all probability he did, despite the omission. However, it is again notable, but not surprising, that the bishop took this opportunity to go on pilgrimage to worship the miraculous icon of the Virgin at Saidnaya. It is another affirmation of the importance of this site for Christian pilgrims in the thirteenth century. It is also an indication that travel into Muslim territory in Syria was possible, that it may indeed have been no more dangerous than the trip from Jaffa via Ramla and Lydda across the shephela and up into the hills to Jerusalem, and that the sultan of Damascus was willing and able to have Christian visitors. Based on the text of the *De constructione castri Saphet*, it appears that, for one thing, the permission was simply a mechanism that had come into being during the time the holy sites of Jerusalem and Bethlehem had been under Muslim control, that is, 1187–1229, and for another, having Christian pilgrims was a source of information for the Muslims about what the Crusaders were doing. What we do not find in the text is any direct reference to the evident fact that the pilgrimage was also a source of revenue to the Muslims from the fees paid to gain access.

We read in the text:

> While he [Bishop Benedict] was waiting for some days in Damascus as commanded by the Sultan, many people frequently inquired of him if Saphet was to be rebuilt. When he



84. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: west façade with Gothic windows. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

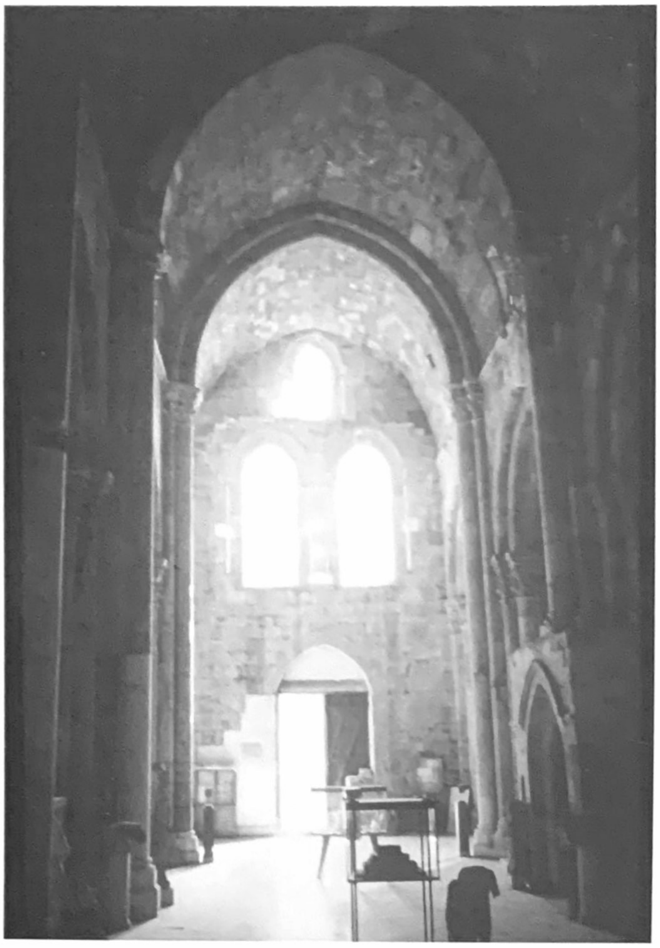
> asked them why they inquired so insistently, they answered that with the building of the castle of Saphet, the gates of Damascus would be closed.[317]

Richard, earl of Cornwall, was the brother of King Henry III, and he was reputed to be the wealthiest man in England. When he arrived in the Holy Land following the departure of Thibaut de Champagne, he put his financial resources at the service of the Crusade, by taking any Crusader in need into his pay, and by completing the rebuilding of Ascalon.[318] Then, "after that they made their pilgrimage to the holy city of Jerusalem and to all the other holy places in the land of Outremer that they could go."[319] We do not know the details, but the pattern of these prominent figures going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and other holy sites had clearly been reestablished as an essential part of every Crusader's visit to the Holy Land, not only in principle but also now in reality. Obviously, Richard may also have acquired relics and precious objects during his pilgrimage to take back to England with him.[320]

One of the last major figures to visit Jerusalem before the Khwarismian attack in August was the new patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes. When he arrived in the Latin Kingdom to take up his new position, Robert went first on pilgrimage to Jerusalem as stated in a letter of William of Chateauneuf, grand master of the Hospitallers:

> [When] the patriarch of Jerusalem landed from the transmarine provinces; and, after taking some slight bodily rest, he was inspired with a longing to visit the sepulchre of our Lord, and set out on that pilgrimage, in which we also accompanied him.[321]

This pilgrimage also turned into a war council with the masters of the Hospitallers and the Templars to plan the defense of Jerusalem in the face of the Khwarismian invasion, which had begun in the north. Although he had intended to reestablish his residence as patriarch in the Holy City, after the planning session, Robert was forced to seek safety in Acre in the face of the military danger looming on the horizon. Before he left the Holy Land, however, he apparently did have time to acquire certain relics – most likely in Acre – which he took to England in 1246 in order to attempt to recruit King Henry III to take the Cross.[322]



85. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: nave view, looking west. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

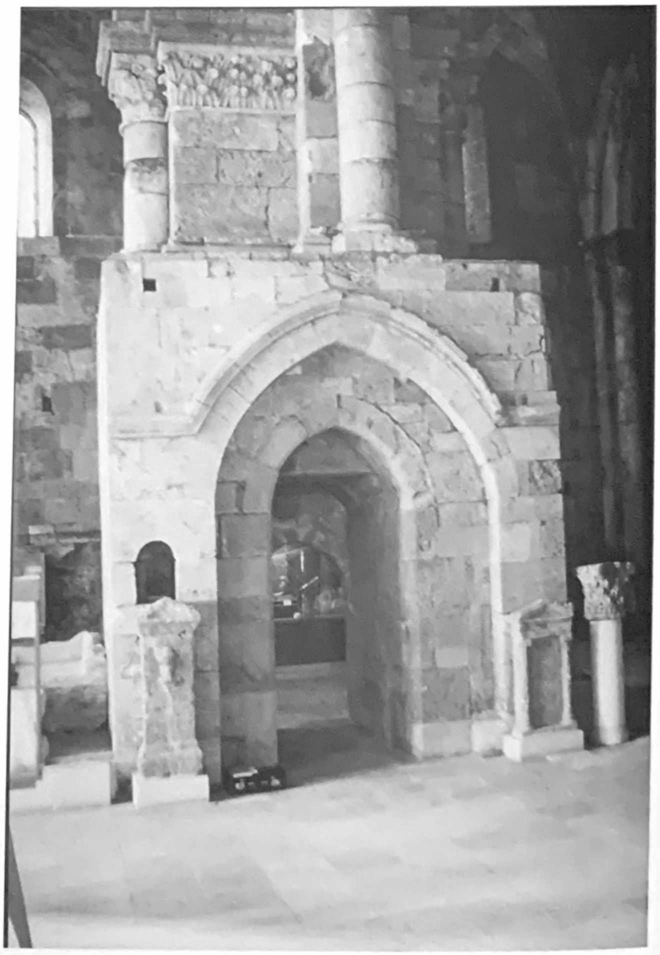
When Jerusalem fell in August of 1244, this again put a major obstacle in the way of access for Christian pilgrims. Also the Holy Sepulcher had been damaged during the sack of the Holy City. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the thirteenth century was clearly most important between 1229 and 1244, that is, during the time the Crusaders held Jerusalem by treaty, either in part from 1229 to 1243, or, as in 1243–4, as a whole. It is all the more curious in light of this fact and in view of the numerous prominent pilgrims who came to Jerusalem that we have no major new pilgrim's accounts from this time, except for the examples discussed.

What written evidence we have, in the "Estat de la cité de Jérusalem," in the chronicles, or otherwise, makes clear that very little architectural work was carried out on the holy sites of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. No major work is known from any of these sites between 1225 and 1244. Although we can probably assume routine maintenance for these sites during the time there was Christian access to the holy sites by treaty, 1229–44, important new ecclesiastical construction was underway elsewhere inside the current borders of the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli. We find new church construction at Tortosa and at Chastel Pelerin, or in castle chapels as part of major new fortifications such as at Montfort and Safed. Furthermore, a serious question arises in regard to regular repair and maintenance of the holy sites in Jerusalem following the depredations of the Khwarismians in 1244 as reported in the texts.

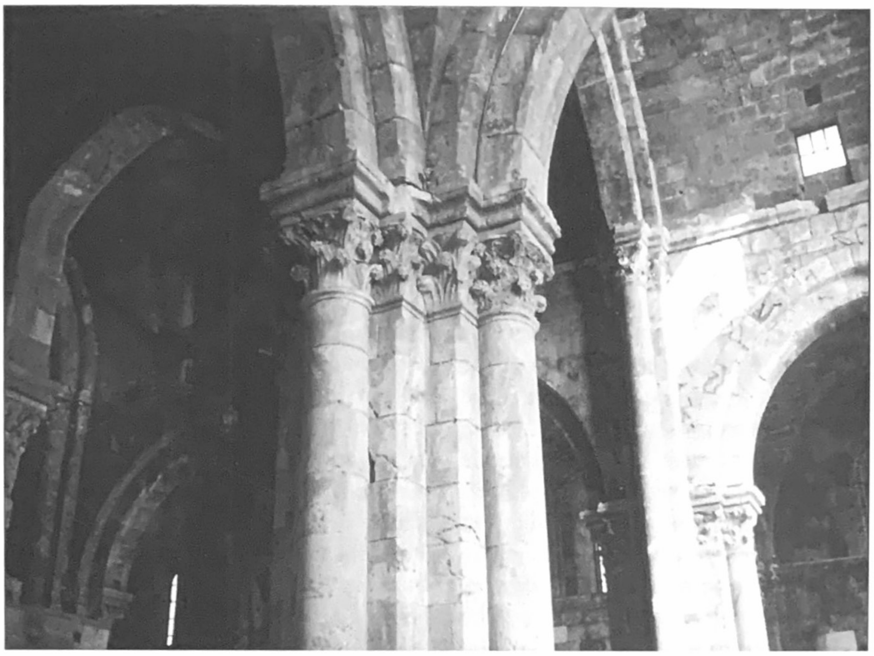
The Cathedral Church of Notre Dame of Tortosa (Figs. 84–87)

The Cathedral Church of Notre Dame at Tortosa was the largest and most important extant ecclesiastical project underway in the first half of the thirteenth century not related to a castle project or a new town.[323] There are no precise documents to date the completion of the church, which had been damaged by the earthquake of 1202 and then repaired immediately. Received opinion states that whereas certain work was done about 1200, the western end of the building was only completed in the mid-thirteenth century.[324] It appears that Deschamps, in expressing that opinion, is, like Enlart, thinking of the period when Louis IX was resident in the Holy Land, that is, 1250–4, for the completion of work on this important monument.[325] We must, however, question this hypothesis based on the historical and art historical evidence.

In Joinville's biography of St. Louis, he does not mention that the king made a visit to Tartus. Although it is true that Joinville himself, Louis's chronicler, does make a pilgrimage there, he has nothing to say about the state of the church at that time, which, in our view, must have been excellent and complete. Much of our historical interpretation is therefore based on the financial condition of the episcopal see of Tartus. In the



86. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: shrine of the Virgin. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)



87. Tartus/Tortosa, Cathedral of Notre Dame: foliate capital, developed Gothic phase.

first place, we know that the bishop of Tartus had arranged tithes for his church from the Templars of the city since the twelfth century and payments from the Hospitallers by 1215. Secondly, the shrine of the Holy Virgin, as a major holy site in the Crusader States, attracted gifts and contributions from its visitors, the more so in the thirteenth century because of its newly important status.[326] Because of this steady income and the sound management that the bishops of Tortosa were able to exercise all through the thirteenth century, it seems probable that construction on the church would have most likely been carried on gradually and more or less continuously until it was finished.

Given the fact that the church was basically in good condition for all we know by *c.*1210, after repairs following the earthquake of 1202, it was basically only the west end that required new construction to finish the structure. Furthermore, the major work to be done was essentially routine, matters of completing the western bays and the west façade with its portal, lancet windows, and towers. One observes nothing particularly innovative in design or structure. Therefore I see no reason to imagine that the completion of the construction would have been delayed forty-some years until Louis IX arrived. Certainly we have no explicit indication that Louis IX played any specific role as a patron of construction at Tortosa, in contrast to his known activities at Acre, Jaffa, Caesarea, or Sidon. Furthermore, Tortosa Cathedral enjoyed a lively new importance in the Crusader States due to its venerable pilgrimage site following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, long before Louis IX arrived in the Holy Land. The growing numbers of pilgrims who included the shrine of the Holy Virgin at Tortosa in their agenda of holy sites in the first half of the thirteenth century indicate this newly enhanced status, as we have seen with Wilbrand of Oldenburg, among others.[327] Finally, Tortosa was basically open and easily accessible to Christian pilgrims in a coastal site controlled by the Crusaders, whereas Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were much more difficult to visit inland in the years before 1229, as the accounts of both Wilbrand and Thietmar indicate.[328] Therefore, it seems likely that the cathedral church would have been completed with all deliberate speed, political, military, economic, and ecclesiastical conditions permitting. In light of these considerations, I propose that the church was indeed essentially finished by the late 1220s with exception of its fortifications, which came later. Consider the following particulars.

As both Enlart and Deschamps have indicated, there is nothing particularly progressive about the basic architectural characteristics of the cathedral church of Tortosa outside of the shrine pier complex.[329] The base mouldings and the vaulting are the same throughout the church, demonstrating a fundamental unity of design and a conservatism that gives the interior a striking harmony,[330] although it is a church started in the mid-twelfth century (1152–87) and probably completed by the late 1220s. The major indications of the new Gothic style are to be found in the carving of the latest architectural sculpture or the shapes of certain architectural forms. We see these in foliate capitals, in the design of the arched openings of the west end of the church, and in the details of the figural and nonfigural decoration. Enlart proposes that we can find only in the architectural sculpture a clear development that permits us to date different parts of the building.[331] This statement reveals that whereas the church in design and structure is basically a sophisticated example of the Crusader levantine Romanesque, its three phases of construction are most clearly indicated by the architectural sculpture seen primarily in the foliate decorations of capitals and bosses. The question is, "what dates are to be assigned to these three phases?"

We have argued previously that Crusader church building, as with all Crusader architecture, must be seen as an independent development to be analyzed and evaluated on its own terms. The record shows in the twelfth century that most of the churches erected in the Crusader States had little direct connection with the European West, in terms of precise dating or specific design.[332] In the thirteenth century, the political, economic, ecclesiastical, and cultural situation obviously changes dramatically, so we must reconsider our hypothesis under these new conditions.

In order to assess the dates of the architectural sculpture on the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame at Tortosa, we must challenge a heretofore fundamental but largely unspoken concept in regard to Crusader architecture in the Latin Kingdom during the thirteenth century. The idea of waiting for Louis IX to arrive as an impulse for restarting the construction of Crusader architecture, whether considered specifically for the case at Tortosa, or more generally in the Crusader States, is to assume, first, a false premise that Crusader architectural activity had tailed off, or even stopped somehow between the time of the Third Crusade and the arrival of King Louis. Nothing could be further from the truth. The extent of Crusader building activity in the period 1225–44, as previously – as we have seen – was extensive. This is true even if the visible results of this construction are known primarily to have been carried out in military fortification, and despite the fact that very little of the work done in this precise period is accessible to us today because it has been incorporated into other work, rebuilt later by the Crusaders or even the Muslims, or destroyed!

Second, simply stated, this unspoken notion basically attributes the advent of any form of refined Gothic style in the Crusader States to the period in which King Louis IX of France was resident in the Holy Land, in 1250–4. Although it is true that Louis IX was extremely active in the Latin Kingdom during his residence, as we shall see, sponsoring the rebuilding of many important fortifications at Acre, Jaffa, Caesarea, and Sidon, some of which include extant architectural sculpture, he is not associated with the important Gothic developments at Crac des Chevaliers, and he is not particularly associated with the architecture of any major churches in the Latin East at this time. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that Louis was not exceptional in what he did in terms of his patronage. Other Crusade leaders had, after all, preceded him in rebuilding the old or building new fortifications – men such as Richard I, Leopold of Austria, Walter of Avesnes, Thibaut de Champagne, and Richard of Cornwall. What *was* exceptional, of course, was the great length of time Louis spent in the Holy Land, the remarkable energy and dedication he gave to the cause, and the vast resources he expended while he was there.

Furthermore, there is certainly nothing built in the Holy Land by the Crusaders extant today that resembles the court school Gothic in Paris that Louis IX actively commissioned in the 1240s with the erection of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, before he left France to come on Crusade.[333] In fact, although we can find Gothic architecture and Gothic architectural sculpture in the Crusader States, and although these developments represent to some extent an export of Gothic from France to the Holy Land, we do not find anything resembling the phases of Gothic found in France *c.*1190–1250 and transported to the Holy Land. There is no high Gothic phase, no court school, no rayonnant in the Latin Kingdom visible from the extant monuments, only Gothic buildings with reflections of some – really only a few – of the characteristics seen in those developments in France. Moreover, it is evident that those Gothic churches in the Latin East that most closely resemble French Gothic in design, structure, and architectural sculpture, such as the cathedrals of the Holy Wisdom in Nicosia or St. Nicholas in Famagusta, are on Cyprus. The latter was done *c.*1300–*c.*1320 and closely resembles high Gothic work done nearly a hundred years earlier at Reims along with later work at St. Urbain at Troyes.[334] The former was begun in the early thirteenth century, and its main construction, including the choir and transepts, was carried out under Archbishop Eustorgue de Montaigu between 1217 and 1250. That means the basic Gothic design in the Church of the Holy Wisdom was conceived and executed long before Louis IX arrived. Even the nave, which was damaged by an earthquake in 1270, was only completed, along with the west façade, long after Louis had gone home, in the early fourteenth century.[335]

When did Gothic architectural style first enter the Crusader States as a direct import from France? We have already argued, based on the research of N. Kenaan-Kedar, that the first church in the Latin Kingdom to show clear links to early French Gothic was the Cathedral of St. John at Sebaste.[336] Thus we have an example of a Crusader church at Sebaste built between 1168 and 1179 that reflects aspects of the new Gothic architecture from the Cathedral of Sens in the 1140s, thirty-some years earlier. The Sebaste–Sens link is based on explicit documentation that N. Kenaan-Kedar has presented convincingly. This case is a rare example where such a direct connection can be made, but it demonstrates some important points about Gothic in the Crusader East. First, Gothic architecture appeared in the Holy Land in the twelfth century before 1187. Second, although the cathedral at Sebaste is closely linked to Sens, the particulars of its architecture are independent according to the needs of the local holy site, and its date shows a significant gap between the time the original church was begun at Sens and the time that the Cathedral of Sebaste was constructed. Third, even though there may, on occasion, be direct links between Gothic architecture in France and Gothic churches in the Crusader States, every case must be considered on its own merits, in order to assess what the documented linkage may be and how the Crusader church is related to its putative antecedents in the West in both date and style.

Was the Sebaste example a *unicum*, an anomaly in which Gothic architecture appeared in the Holy Land in unique circumstances in the twelfth century? That does not seem to be the case. Two other examples of Gothic exist in the Latin Kingdom. Not only do we have certain new Gothic architectural elements that appear at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in the 1140s and 1150s,[337] but also we find the holy site of the *Coenaculum* in the Church of St. Mary Mount Sion in Jerusalem displays Gothic characteristics in the years prior to 1187.[338] In fact, the early Gothic style found in the Cenacle is quite developed and demonstrates that even if the Holy Land was far from the origins of Gothic architecture in France, the Austin canons were able to commission a structure with quite up-to-date Gothic style for this holy site in Jerusalem before 1187! Just as those examples of Gothic architecture must be analyzed and interpreted individually, so too we must carefully reconsider Tortosa.

What is the situation at Tortosa?[339] Let us review the analysis given to the Cathedral Church of Our Lady at Tortosa by C. Enlart.[340] The church is large, over 45 meters long and 30 meters wide, consisting of a rectangular triapsidal east end with a tiny choir, and four squarish bays to the west. It has two large rectangular towers, unequal in size, on the exterior east end. Pringle identifies these as rectangular tower-like sacristies.

A single polygonal bell tower on the northwest corner of the west façade, apparently built when the west façade was completed. A tower on the southwest corner was apparently intended but never constructed. The church is located near the city walls and its heavy wall appearance is partly due to its defensive function, for which its walls were apparently reinforced in the thirteenth century. Pringle says that these buttresses probably once supported machicolations. To the north side of the church were located a cloister and the episcopal palace.[341]

The masonry of this church is extremely carefully done, with a number of masons marks visible. The stone, called "pierre *maleki*" by Enlart, is analogous to travertine, very hard, but which weathers with deep cavities and ruptures. The stone, quarried from a site northwest of the town, was creamy in color and carefully chosen for the early phase of the church in the second half of the twelfth century. The stone used for the thirteenth-century phases, apparently a similar stone but from a different location, often has a more russet color and a coarser grain.[342]

Enlart mentions in passing that the plan of the church is not without analogies to Early Christian basilicas in this region of Syria, but he attributes its definitive originality to the special enlarged and pierced pier on the north side of the nave, between the second and third bays. This is the place of the pilgrimage shrine to the Virgin. For this he finds earlier parallels in both the Church of St. Maurice in Vienne and a church in Merlande in the Dordogne. The east end has parallels with other Crusader churches, at Gibelet, at Beirut,[343] and with the Armenian Church of St. James in Jerusalem.[344] The west end is the most recent, with the two western bays slightly larger in size and with more light, mainly from the windows in the west façade.[345]

On the exterior, Enlart compares its appearance to the Church of Saint-Victor in Marseilles.[346] There are buttresses along the north and south walls, very thick and projecting. Buttresses for the aisles are horizontal at the top; those for the nave have taluses, as found at the Church of St. John in Beirut. The west façade wall is planar, without buttresses, as is found at the Church of St. John in Sebaste and on the Church of St. André in Acre.[347]

The nave has a pointed-arch barrel vault, with heavy transverse arches of double voussoirs. The aisles are groin-vaulted, with similar double transverse arches. The groin vaults rise to the level of the imposts for the springing of the transverse arches of the nave. All of the arches and windows are constructed with Gothic "arc brisé" design, except the small rectangular windows in the clerestory of the nave mentioned later. The piers of the nave are cruciform, with engaged columns on wall reveals. The pilasters that receive the vaults of the aisles are composed of a dosseret with an engaged column. In the third bay of the north aisle, the column and dosseret are corbeled at the bottom.[348]

The windows of the apses are larger than those in the aisles, and placed without an ornamental border. The aisle windows have a handsome ornamental frame. The nave has no windows in its eastern part. In the later thirteenth-century bays at the west end, the nave has rectangular windows that directly pierce the vault in the first and second bays. There are also small side portals: in the first bay on the north side and in the second bay on the south side. These portals have undecorated exposed masonry tympana; on the north the tympanum sits on a pedimental lintel with corbels above the jambs, and on the south the lintel is more or less rectangular without corbels above the jambs.[349]

The groin vaults of the western bays, on the north and on the south, all date to the thirteenth century. We recognize this from the use of the carved bosses that decorate their keystones. The procedure seems to have been that when the nave was extended by two bays in the thirteenth century, the groin vaults were added in the aisles. The Romanesque program of the architecture was thereby maintained, but capitals were added in the new Gothic, thirteenth-century style.[350] On the exterior, the walls of the last bay on the south and the last two bays on the north also date to the thirteenth century.

For the all-important architectural sculpture, there are primarily the capitals, which are found on every pier, the bosses in the western aisle bays, and the few bits of figural decoration: on the northeast apse interior and on the west facade. The capitals in principle are contemporary with the piers, except for the triumphal arch over the altar, which has ancient Roman capitals. The molding profiles are the same for the abaci, the framing components, and the string courses in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century phases of the church.

The pierced shrine pier has the most varied capital sculpture (Fig. 86). For this pivotal work in the nave, Enlart proposes a date in the early thirteenth century, presumably rebuilt after the earthquake of 1202.[351] Enlart identifes the earliest work on this pier on a capital with geometrically conceived foliate carving.[352] He calls this work "une oeuvre de transition," executed in a "style gothique primitif," which he compares with capitals on the south wall of the nave at Noyon Cathedral.[353] This section of the nave at Noyon is dated to the period *c.*1170–85 for the first double bay, and to *c.*1185–1205, for the rest of the nave.[354] We can also see the same simplicity in the somewhat different nave capitals of Laon Cathedral. In contrast to this capital, he proposes a varied series of capitals in the eastern bays of the nave and north aisle, which he calls Romanesque in style.[355] These he compares with capital sculpture from the nave of the cathedral at Le Mans (*c.*1145–58).[356] This sculpture obviously belongs with the earliest phase of the cathedral at Tortosa, that is, 1152–87.

The more fully developed Gothic sculpture at Tortosa Cathedral is found on the upper part of the pierced shrine pier and in the western bays of the nave and side aisles (Figs. 86, 87). Enlart sees these Gothic capitals fully as varied and diverse as the earlier Romanesque examples. The problem is he interprets these capitals as datable to the early thirteenth century on the one hand, and to the mid- or later thirteenth century on the other.[357] If we look at the Gothic capitals from the upper level of the pierced shrine pier,[358] these carvings appear to reflect a slightly more developed version of the early Gothic capital, as seen in the nave of Noyon (1170–85), cited earlier, or the capitals on the entrance to the south transept chapel at Soissons (1177–80).[359] The later versions of this capital type from the western bays of the Tortosa Cathedral are clearly even more developed, with more plastically modeled leaves, more naturalistically rendered floral buds, and more nuanced leafy foliage.[360] They might be compared in their development to the capitals on the piers in the main nave of Chartres Cathedral done after the fire of 1194.[361] More to the point in the Latin Kingdom, however, they can be compared to the slightly earlier capitals found in the *Coenaculum* from the years just before 1187.[362] They are in any case, I submit, developmentally continuous with, and chronologically close to, the earlier versions found in Tortosa, not separated by a gap of over forty years. They are arguably datable in the Cathedral of Tortosa to the period of construction after 1202, following the rebuilding of the shrine of the Virgin and the repair of the church. I am proposing that the final phase of work, during which Tortosa Cathedral was completed, took place in the late teens and the 1220s.

Enlart, of course, dates what he takes to be the latest work in the decorative architectural sculpture to the 1250s or the second half of the thirteenth century, the period during or after the residency of Louis IX in the Holy Land. He finds the latest capitals at Tortosa comparable to those in Reims Cathedral.[363] The fact is, however, that there is nothing at Tortosa that approaches the remarkable naturalism, the extraordinary complexity, or the lush density of even the earlier foliate work in the nave at Reims (1211–41). Nor is there anything at Tortosa comparable to the similarly impressive naturalistic foliate capital carving at the Sainte Chapelle,[364] which conceiveably should be even more relevant, if Tortosa was completed in the 1250s, nearly ten years after Louis commissioned his palatine chapel.

The other decorative sculpture on the church at Tortosa, namely, the carved bosses on the keystones in the western bays of the side aisles, or the few examples of figural sculpture offer no evidence that would change this proposed dating. The floral boss motifs are nicely done, but they are very controlled and geometric in style. They would certainly not seem to be as late as the more complex and elaborate examples executed for the castle at Montfort between 1229 and *c.*1240.[365] The scarce and fragmentary figural sculpture is found on the interior, on fragments from the north apse *cul-du-four* wall, and some tiny heads – now defaced by the Muslims – remain above the foliage of certain capitals. On the exterior, there is an animal adjoining one of the colonnettes by the windows. The fragment of a dove is the best-preserved interior fragment. Although decapitated now, his wings are displayed: it is perhaps a dove of the Holy Spirit. Other fragments of this group include a winged figure that suggests possibly a group of the four Evangelist symbols, with the dove. Enlart also reports on part of a lamb, but it is not illustrated. The animal on the exterior façade is a tiny jackal, quite handsomely rendered,[366] the kind that, as Boase remarked, on "an evening come close to the towns and villages of Syria."[367]

The west façade of the church (Fig. 84) was done entirely in the thirteenth century in a harmonious design with triple fenestration over the main portal announcing and lighting the nave, single windows at an intermediate level indicating and lighting the side aisles. On the exterior, the hood moldings of the central windows have splayed voussoirs with six *bandeaux*; those of the side windows have four, all done in the same stone as the wall. The main portal, clearly restored in the twentieth century,[368] has – in its current configuration – a hood molding, with plain splayed voussoirs and jambs with two colonnettes on each side.[369] On the interior, the voussoirs and moldings of the windows were done in marble, now mostly robbed out. Enlart compares the design and materials to the Crusader churches at Gaza and Ramla, as well as the now destroyed Church of St. André in Acre.[370] He also presumes that although there is no cornice for the façade extant, there was originally a *chaperon* or hood molding over the central bay, perhaps surmounted with a crucifix.

In sum, there can be no doubt that the thirteenth-century Crusader foliate and figural sculpture at the Cathedral of Tortosa is handsomely done by well-trained masons. The fact is, however, there is no sculpture unmistakably mid-thirteenth century in style by French or Crusader criteria that indicates a date in the 1250s rather than the 1220s. Whereas there are carvings of floral, foliate, or animal designs of striking naturalism on the bosses of the vaults,[371] certain capitals,[372] and on one window colonnette capital of the west façade,[373] none of this requires a date so late as the 1250s. The varieties of Gothic style employed at Tortosa on the cathedral church are unconnected in any rational way with the advent of King Louis IX. We see no parallels with work he sponsored elsewhere in the Holy Land; the fleshy foliate sculpture in the gatehouse work at Caesarea has little to do with the more refined work at Tortosa.[374] Nor do we see any links at Tortosa with the more refined Gothic style from the court school in Paris, seen in the work he commissioned for the Sainte Chapelle. Finally, in terms of Gothic architectural sculpture in the Latin Kingdom, the work at Tortosa seems clearly to post-date the precocious work at the *Coenaculum* by 1187 in Jerusalem and to precede the important Gothic sculpture in the loggia and great hall at the Hospitaller Castle of Crac des Chevaliers *c.*1250.[375]

Methodologically also, it is problematic to base an interpretation of the dating of a work of architecture solely on the basis of the decorative sculpture on the building, without some kind of corroborative evidence. We know that there were major interruptions at Tortosa when Saladin invaded the Holy Land in 1187–8, and when the serious earthquake of 1202 hit Syria-Palestine. Enlart offers no archeological or historical evidence to document that there was a major interruption in the construction during the years after 1202. Given the prosperous circumstances of this episcopal see, given the increasing flow of pilgrims coming to this holy site in the early thirteenth century, given the evidence of the architectural sculpture itself, seen not only in terms of its own internal development, but also in relation to stylistic developments in France, with a certain time lag that tends to diminish as work goes on into the second and third decades of the thirteenth century, I propose that we should regard the Cathedral of Tortosa as the foremost Crusader church to be essentially completed in the 1220s, with the exception of its unusual fortification.

The final phase of construction on this church basically had nothing to do with the Gothic character of the building. When the church was effectively done it appears that somewhat later, perhaps in the 1260s when this region was repeatedly threatened by Mamluk incursions, major efforts were made to strengthen its walls and towers. R. D. Pringle comments on this as follows: "a pair of rectangular tower-like sacristies which project from the north-east and south-east corners of the building were evidently intended to provide flanking cover, and the buttresses attached to the north and south walls probably once supported machicolations serving the same purpose (as on the late thirteenth-century church of Saintes Maries-de-la-Mer in the Camargue). Camille Enlart also found evidence for a pair of towers over the western aisle bays. This transformation of the church into a small castle appears to date to the 1260s."[376]

Churches in the City of Acre (Map 8A)

Other churches in the Latin Kingdom raise similar issues because of similar circumstances, as we shall see. One of our biggest problems in dealing with Crusader ecclesiastical architecture in the first half of the thirteenth century, however, is caused by the enormous destruction in Acre in 1291 and later. That is to say, we have lost an enormous corpus of *comparanda* and are forced constantly to be looking at artificially isolated examples among the extant monuments. Consider the following list of churches mentioned by Enlart and known to have existed in Acre during the thirteenth century based on historical maps and references in the written sources.[377] This list, of course, is a point of departure for modern scholarship, which has been subject to change as our knowledge of Crusader Acre grows. Vigorous archaeological work in recent years has yielded valuable information, and it goes without saying that this census of known churches and convents in Acre will be completely revised when the current research of R. D. Pringle is published, in – we hope – the very near future.[378] Until that time we follow Enlart's published presentation here as a means of beginning the discussion:

1. The Cathedral of the Holy Cross, probably built in the twelfth century; the confraternity of St. Andrew in Acre probably met in a chapel of the cathedral.[379]
2. The patriarchal church of St. Mary Latin was built after 1191; it was adjacent to the patriarchal residence.[380]
3. The parish church of St. Andrew, which was the largest church in Acre, was also a major landmark because it was located along the seawalls between the Templar headquarters and the harbor. It probably belonged to the confraternity of St. Andrew, and may have been built in the 1240s at the time that the commune ceased to exist. Enlart calls it a very large and beautiful church from the time of St. Louis,[381] but like the cathedral in Tortosa, it may very well predate Louis's coming.
4. The parish church of St. Michael, mentioned in 1200 as a parish, was located in the northwest part of the city near the *Bouverel* and the sea gate of St. Michael.[382]
5. The Templar church was located in the Templar headquarters on the southwest point of the city, along the seawalls.[383]
6. The church of St. John was the conventual church located adjacent to the Hospitaller headquarters. It is shown as south of the headquarters in the maps of Marino Sanudo and Paolinus of Pozzuoli.[384] See now the location of this church as confirmed by recent (2003) excavations (Map 8B).
7. The Church of the Teutonic Knights was located in the northeast section of the city, near the Tower of the Germans.[385] We can recall that the Teutonic Order was founded here in Acre following the Third Crusade.

There were a large number of religious orders with churches in the main part of the city of Acre.

8. The Benedictines had a monastery named St. Mary of Jehosaphat, in honor of their house in Jerusalem.[386]
9. The regular canons of St. Augustine were installed in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross when they transferred from Jerusalem, but they apparently also had a church of their own, named Holy Savior.[387]
10. The Premonstratensians had a church in Acre named St. Samuel, the same name as their church outside Jerusalem.[388]
11. The Dominicans had their church and house along the seawall between St. Michael's and the Templar headquarters.[389]

The Franciscan church in Acre was located in Montmusard, for which see the list of churches in Montmusard that follows.

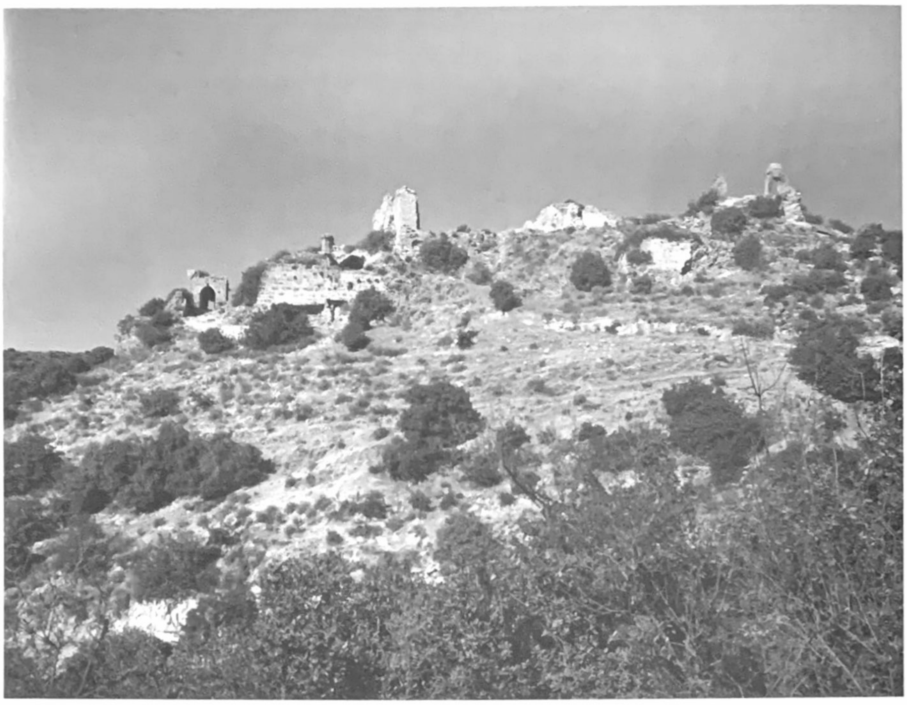
Each of the quarters controlled by one of the maritime powers had its own church in the city.

12. The Pisan Church of St. Peter was located near the southern tip of the city near the harbor.[390]
13. The Genoese Church of St. Lawrence, which has a modern church built on its medieval foundations, is located in the Genoese quarter south of the *Bouverel*.[391]
14. The Venetian Church of St. Mark was apparently located along the harbor, east of the Venetian fondaco.[392]
15. The Church and Convent of St. Sabas was located on a small rise in the town, between the Genoese and the Venetian quarters.[393]

There were also churches built for the Amalfitani, the Provençals, and the Anconitans in the thirteenth century, but the location of these churches is not known for certain. In addition there were convents for many orders of nuns: Augustinian nuns, nuns of the Magdalene who followed the Cistercian rule, the Franciscan Poor Clares, sisters of St. John, the nuns of St. Lazare, the nuns of St. Anne, the Convent of St. Brigitte, and the Convent of Notre Dame of Tyre, among others, most of which were inside the old city walls.[394] Quite possibly there was a convent of the sisters of the Knights of St. John of the Hospital of Jerusalem in Acre, although Enlart does not discuss this.[395]

The growing suburb of Montmusard had a large number of churches including some connected with religious orders, and some belonging to the hospitals of various special orders.

16. The Franciscans had their house in the southeast corner of Montmusard, near the Gate of St. Anthony; the house was said to have been founded by St. Francis himself.[396]
17. The Hospital of the Knights of St. Thomas, martyr of Canterbury, was located in Montmusard, on the Street of the English.[397]
18. The Hospital of the Knights of St. Lazarus for lepers was located in the northwest corner of Montmusard along the seawall.[398]
19. The Trinitarian order had a house in the southwest corner of Montmusard along the seawall.[399]
20. The Hospital of St. Catherine, apparently a possession of the monastery at Mount Sinai, was located in the southwest section of Montmusard along the seawall.[400] In this connection it is worth mentioning that there were a number of other Orthodox or Eastern Rite churches in the city, including the Monastery of St. Marina [Margaret] and St. Sabas (mentioned earlier). There was also an Orthodox cathedral, and the Syrian Jacobites had a cathedral as well, named in honor of St. Mary Magdalene.[401]



88. Montfort Castle: view. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

Finally, Enlart cites a list of other churches whose names we know, and in some cases, whose locations are known but about which otherwise we know very little. Other churches include St. Denis, St. Lawrence of the Knights, St. Leonard, St. Mary of the Knights, St. Nicholas, St. Roman of the Gardens, as well as St. Agnes, St. Bartholomew, St. George, St. Stephen, Notre Dame de la Place, and St. Demetrius.[402]

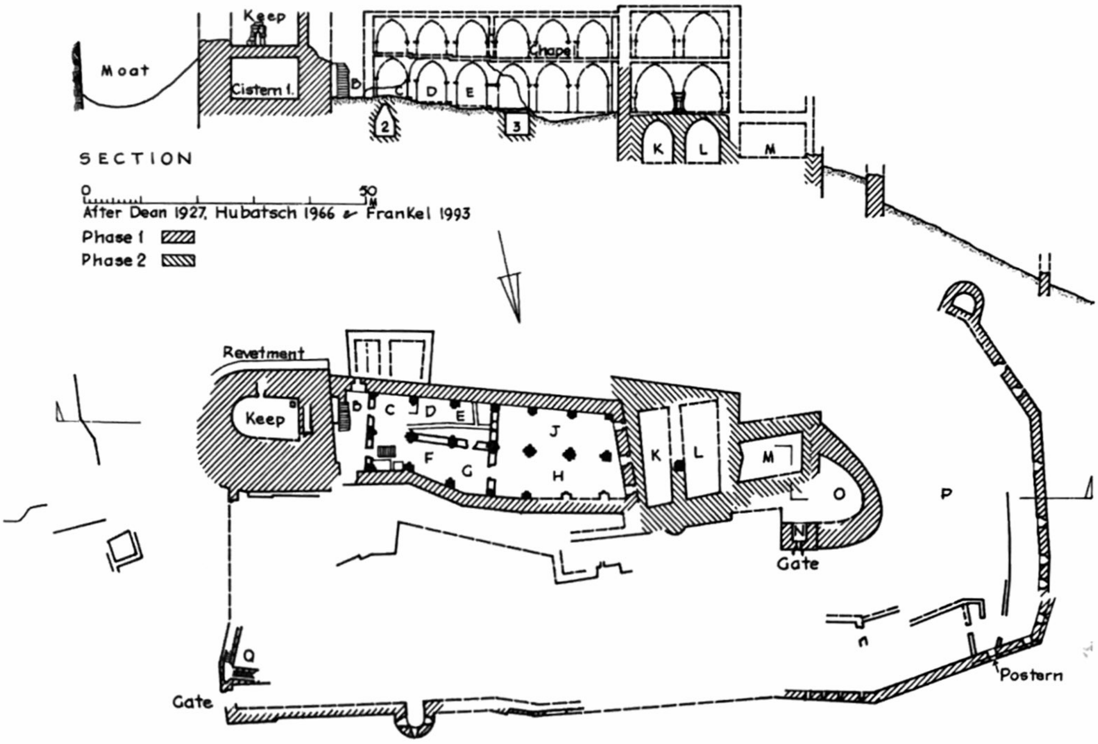
Hamilton in 1980 counted a total of fifty-nine churches and chapels known to exist in Acre in the thirteenth century, of which Enlart's list above is only a partial accounting.[403] In 2003 Pringle identified seventy-one churches and religious houses documented in Acre,[404] which was not an excessive number of religious institutions for a city of the size of Acre; however, the ecclesiastical problem was that many, if not most of these churches, were not subject to the bishop of Acre. In any case, whereas a few of these churches exist today albeit fragmentarily, including especially the substantial remains of the Church of St. John to the level of the first storey, the overwhelming majority are gone, and the largest and most important, like the cathedral and St. André's, are apparently completely destroyed. In these specific cases, the traditional view has been that the first could be identified as the foundations under what was the Arab school east of the Acre Museum, the cathedral was thought to have been razed so the current Djazzer Pasha mosque could be built on the site, and the last was completely obliterated. Recent excavations have clearly identified the Church of St. John in the site indicated; the location of the cathedral is as yet unknown, but it must be farther to the east than heretofore considered; and there is debate about where the Church of St. André may have been, with two possible locations under discussion being near what was the former site of the Templar headquarters.

It is evident from even a cursory consideration of this list of churches in Acre that many must have been built, rebuilt, repaired, or renovated in the first half of the thirteenth century. A certain number may have been constructed after the earthquake of 1202, a number were erected in the new suburb of Montmusard, some belonged to the new religious orders, and some went up or were rebuilt during the lively years of the commune, that is, 1231 to 1243. It is truly unfortunate that so much is gone today, but given the activity in Acre that we are hypothesizing, it is not surprising to find church building in other locations as well, particularly in certain Crusader fortifications.

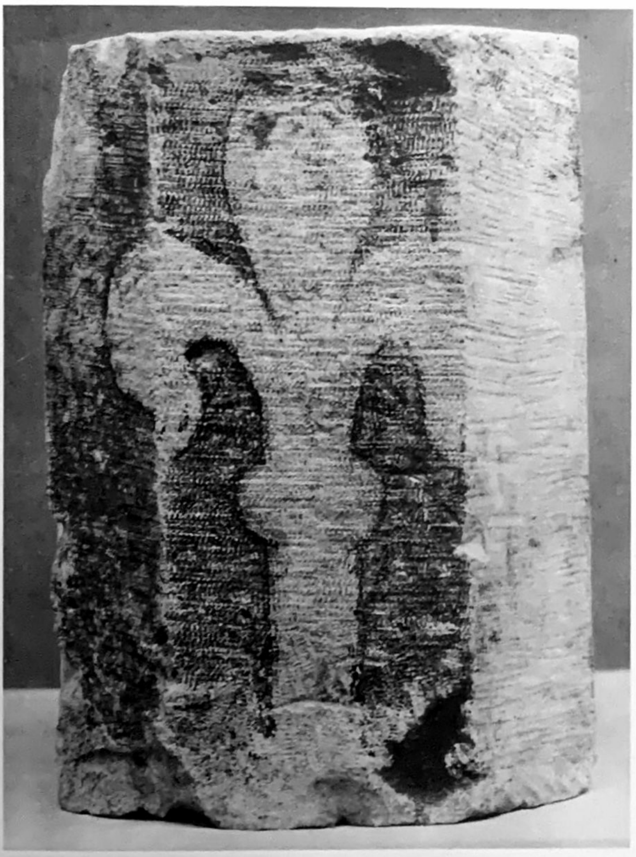
The Castle of Montfort (Figs. 88–93)

The most important castles with new chapels documented in the period, 1225–44, are those of Montfort and Safed. Montfort was built from the late 1220s to *c.*1240 to be the headquarters of the Teutonic Knights in the Latin Kingdom. Safed was built in the 1240s by the Templars at the instigation of Benedict of Alignan, bishop of Marseilles, for which there is a detailed text written between 1260 and 1267, probably about 1264. Although both castles lie in ruins today and Safed is especially devastated, both of them offer important evidence about the Crusaders and the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land.

The Castle of Montfort is located in the hills, only 16 kilometers northeast of Acre (Fig. 88).[405] In 1226 the Teutonic Knights acquired a lordship in this region and in 1227 they decided to move the center of the lordship from Chastiau dou Rei (Mi'iliya)[406] to the isolated and defensible position of Montfort (Qal'al-Qurain, or Starkenberg), just north of Mi'iliya and Judin.[407] The Teutonic Order apparently chose this site because it was remote, outside the city of Acre, in order to build a strong and secure new castle. Compared to the huge fortresses of the Templars at 'Atlit, or the Hospitallers at Crac des Chevaliers, this castle was rather modest in size and compact in its arrangement, and it was built on



89. Montfort Castle: plan and elevation.

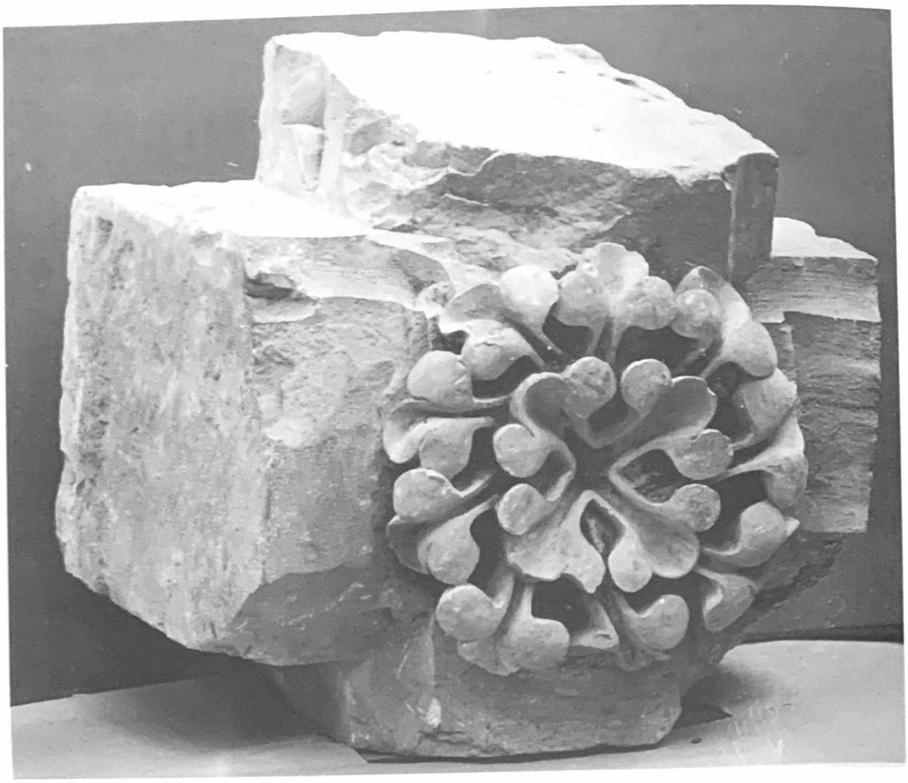


90. Montfort Castle: rib of groined ceiling, painted fleur de lys (area 'J'). (photo: Metropolitan Museum, New York, gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. P. Pell and Bashford Dean, 1928)

a site where no castle had existed previously. Work on the fortress apparently began in 1227 with the arrival of the first German Crusaders in the Crusade of Frederick II. Bohemond IV of Antioch and Tripoli pledged 100 bezants a year to aid in the construction, and in 1229, Hermann von Salza, the redoubtable master of the Teutonic Knights, wrote to Gregory IX for his financial support, despite the pope's continuing problems with the emperor.[408] Although the dating of Montfort is not precise – we can identify work between 1226 when the site was acquired, 1227/8, when construction work was begun, and *c.*1240, when the castle was fully functioning as the headquarters of the Teutonic Knights – it is nonetheless extremely important for our knowledge of Crusader artistic activity.[409]

The castle itself is a type of spur castle with heavy walls running along a ridgeline (Fig. 89).[410] It includes a D-shaped keep at the east end protected by a moat, to defend it from attack along the ridge. A system of double outer walls protected by round towers ran around the castle on the north and west sides. The south side was protected by the steepness of the drop-off. The entry gate was located at the northeast corner of the outer wall enclosure. West of the keep, the inner ward consisted of vaulted halls two-storeys high in the central section, and even possibly three-storeys high at the west end. To the north of the castle, down the hill in the Wadi Qurain, there was a fortified mill and what appears to be a guest house of the castle, with rib-vaulted halls.[411]

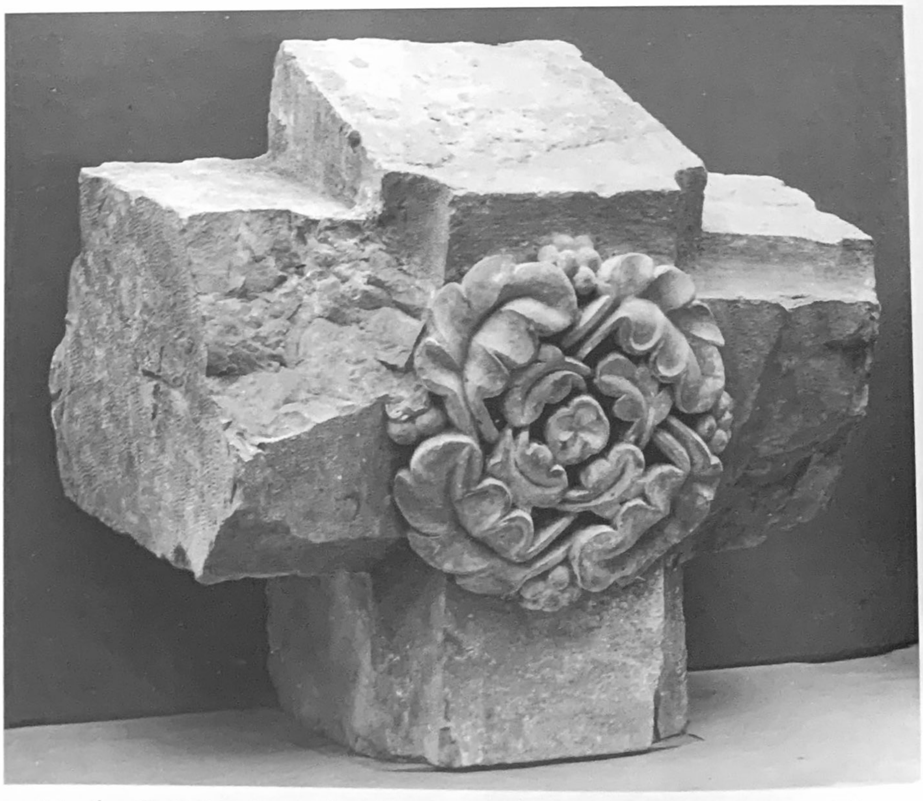
In his survey of the main part of the castle on the site, Pringle reconstructs a system of six groin-vaulted double bays on the first level. Fallen architectural debris indicates that the second-storey consisted of six rib-vaulted double bays. To the west of these halls, dating about the same time as the rib vaults in the second story, we find evidence for a large hall with rib vaults carried on an octagonal central pier on the first storey. This



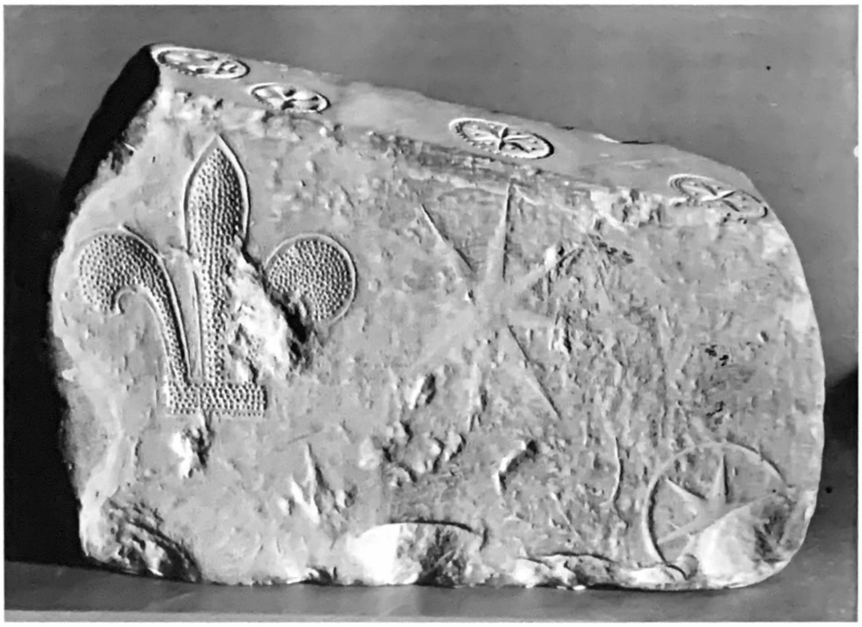
91. Montfort Castle: boss (area 'E'). (photo: Metropolitan Museum, New York, gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. P. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928)

hall was built on a basement with two massive pointed barrel vaults. It remains to be fully determined whether this latest part of the castle also had a second storey over the large chamber with the centralized vaulting system.

Although it is difficult to determine the exact functional arrangement of the interior of the castle because of subsequent destruction and neglect, the dilapidated condition of the site when Dean cleared it, and the methods used for clearing the



92. Montfort Castle: boss (area 'D'). (photo: Metropolitan Museum, New York, gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. P. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928)



93. Montfort Castle: stone mold (area 'K'), plaster cast of the original now in the Rockefeller Museum. (photo: Metropolitan Museum, New York, gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. P. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928)

site, Pringle makes the following reasonable and persuasive interpretative proposals. The grand master's lodging and the treasury of the Order were in all likelihood located in the keep. The dormitory, refectory, and the chapel of the knights would have been on the second storey of the inner ward. The groin-vaulted service basement was below. The chapter hall was the large room with the rib vaults arranged around the central octagonal pier to the west, built over a basement of two pointed barrel vaults.[412] It is unclear to me whether the chapter hall was located at the first or second storey above this basement.

In the architectural forms and their construction, E. G. Rey was the first to comment on what he saw to be the German characteristics of the work.[413] His comments are rather general, however, based on what he saw to be the massing of the defensive construction, the recent arrival of the Teutonic Order in the Holy Land, and the lack of time for the architectural developments of either the Hospitallers or the Templars to have had much effect on them. Pringle, in his collaborative work on the castle of Judin, and Kennedy have more to say on specific parallels with German fortifications.[414] There is the idea of the free-standing keep at Montfort, which resembles a German *Bergfried*. The notion of a tower, or towers – the latter as seen at Judin – surrounded by a curtain wall, is parallel to thirteenth-century German design, for example, at Munzenburg. The design of several storeys of buildings compactly inserted inside the enclosure of the main fortification walls, which included a chapel and a great hall on one level, all of which completely filled the available space, was also typical. The choice of site is striking, completely different from an urban setting or the enclosure castle like Mi'iliya, the Teutonic Knights choosing instead the remote, isolated, and secluded wilderness. In any case, it is notable also that although we can see these German aspects in the siting and design of this castle – rather different from other Crusader castles in design especially – there are other, Gothic importations as well. These importations, whether French or possibly German, in their own way reflect a phenomenon similar to what we have found in the French Gothic features of the cathedral at Tortosa.

It is the chapel at Montfort that is one important point of focus for artistic developments. The chapel is located by Pringle to area "J" in the plan first drawn by Dean, then enlarged and elaborated successively by Hubatsch, Frankel, and Pringle. Pringle interprets the chapel to be at the second-storey level, however, not on the first storey, which Dean cleared and assumed to be the only level of the inner ward, except for the basement chambers, "K" and "L." Pringle interprets Dean's finds in the chapel to include a large set of fragments of stained glass, most of which are "green, blue, horn coloured and colourless; but no red pieces were found. Some pieces were painted in the French thirteenth-century manner *en grisaille*, with bands, interlaced foliation and on one, a human head depicted against plain or reticulated backgrounds."[415] Other important finds in the "J" zone include figural sculpture, such as a small helmeted head, apparently used on a corbel;[416] a rib voussoir with rare polychromed ornament (Fig. 90), in this case a yellow fleur de lys set against a black background; and foliate crockets from window enclosures.[417]

Other interesting finds come from the residential part of the inner ward, that is, the vaulted chambers east of the chapel, or the basement chamber, "K" under the chapter hall. In the residential bays, additional fragments of stained glass were found, along with a tiny grotesque head fragment from a capital, a capital with a crawling figure and foliate designs, and three handsome carved bosses from the rib vaults on the second storey (Figs. 91, 92).[418] Two such bosses were also found in chamber "K," one of the basement rooms under the chapter hall with the extant octagonal pier, along with other bits of glass and two stone molds for leatherwork (Fig. 93).[419] It seems clear that these finds in the chamber "K" area must have fallen there from above, since this chamber was barrel-vaulted, not rib-vaulted, and since we would not expect glazed windows in this basement chamber. It seems likely therefore that the glass and the bosses may have been part of the chapter hall above as originally configured. Also from chamber "K," one of the most mysterious finds was the bottom portion of an icon containing the feet of two standing figures, one wearing sandals, the other imperial buskins decorated with pearls.[420]

These important finds at Montfort are sometimes difficult to interpret in the framework of Dean's work of clearing the castle, and the subsequent studies that have been done have attempted to reconstruct the original configuration of the castle at the time of its completion. First there is the problem of dating these finds, for which we must differentiate between the architectural material, such as the works of architectural sculpture, and the objects and more specialized material, some of which was portable, such as the stained glass, and the polychromy on the voussoir, or the icon fragment, and the stone matrices. Everyone agrees that work began, as we have indicated above, in 1227/8. By the 1240s, Montfort was fully functioning as the headquarters of the Teutonic Knights.[421] As the power and prosperity of the Latin Kingdom declined rapidly in the 1260s, so too the circumstances of the Teutonic Knights at Montfort became increasingly precarious. Finally the castle was captured by the Mamluks in 1271, and destroyed.

Within this framework, I interpret the architectural work to have been substantially completed by *c.*1240. This corresponds to the period when the Order had the maximum resources at its disposal for this project and would have placed maximum emphasis on establishing its new headquarters here. I do not see any evidence to suggest that the architectural work would have dragged on into the later 1240s, the 1250s, or the 1260s. Therefore, it seems that the rectangular and octagonal rib vaults, the voussoirs of the ribs, and the figural and foliate architectural sculpture must have been done between 1228 and *c.*1240. This positions the work at Montfort, however different it may be in specifics, slightly later than the completion of the church at Tortosa in general. Certainly the helmeted head accords comfortably with such a dating, compared generally not so much with sculpture from Reims,[422] but rather with selected work on the transept portals of Chartres Cathedral in nature and design, if indeed such a claim is necessary. Certainly the handsome crockets and foliate bosses also compare favorably in design with those at Tortosa, if slightly more developed, especially the bosses. On the other hand the rather abstract foliate decoration on the capital with the crawling figure would seem to be earlier, that is, in the late 1220s, rather than later in the 1230s or early 1240s, like the carved bosses.

It is much more difficult to date the painted decoration, the stained glass, or the icon fragment, because of the independent character of that work and the lack of *comparanda*, and the fact that a special case must be made for each work separate from, but as related to, the architecture. Therefore, on the face of it we can only say that these important finds may date between 1227/8 and the 1260s. For the polychromy, there is no way to give a precise date in this period in the absence of other evidence at this moment. Although we do not have contemporary *comparanda* in the Crusader castles, it is interesting to see the use of painted ribs in the vaults of this castle chapel whenever it was done, comparable to what we see in France with, for example, the Sainte Chapelle in Paris in the 1240s. Obviously the polychromy may date originally to the 1230s, when the chapel was being completed, but careful examination of the surviving voussoir will be necessary to ascertain whether the surviving decoration is the original layer, or the product of later work in the period 1240s–60s. The only *comparanda* for the stained glass is found at the town church in 'Atlit, to which we shall turn later. It would seem likely, however, that the glass at Montfort would belong to the period when the chapel was being completed, that is, *c.*1240, rather than much later. Finally, the icon fragment raises important problems, which we shall discuss separately later as well.

The Castle of Montfort is overall an important example of several phenomena that characterize Crusader artistic developments in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. It is a work for a corporate patron relatively newly arrived in the Holy Land, and which retains significant ties to its European place of origin, namely Germany, ties reinforced by the appearance of Emperor Frederick II in 1228. It is a work that utilizes a mixture of local and imported resources in terms of manpower and materials, and architectural and artistic design, characteristics that we have found in the art of the Crusaders in other periods and in other sites. Montfort Castle exemplifies the lively activity that we find throughout the Latin Kingdom and also in Tripoli when it comes to understanding the artistic developments during the troubled years between 1225 and 1244. Finally, Montfort by its finds provides eloquent testimony that these new castles were centers for a surprisingly rich array of artistic work, including large scale and miniature sculpture, monumental painting, glassmaking, pottery, and panel painting, among others. Despite the brevity of the archaeological investigation carried out in 1926, Montfort demonstrates the value of serious excavation in terms of the richness of the possible finds and the enormous potential for expanding our knowledge of Crusader history, architecture, and art inherent in such a project.

The Castle of Judin

One other castle that deserves mention here because it was also constructed by the Teutonic Knights is the fortress at Judin.[423] Qa'lat Jiddin or Judin is located about 5 miles due south of Montfort. Its recent investigators report the documentary, archaeological, and architectural evidence indicates the castle was built on an abandoned settlement (a *gastina* or a *khirba*) in the thirteenth century by the Teutonic Order. Like the plan of Montfort, discussed previously, which is comparable to German fortifications in the Rhineland between 1100 and 1300, Judin is also unusual among Crusader castles in its design. Judin has an inner ward consisting of a pair of rectangular towers, raised at either end of a ridge and surrounded by a high enclosure wall with several storeys of vaults built against its inner face. Probably there was also an outer wall lower down the slopes. The researchers conclude "the plan type of Qa'lat Jiddin and its general similarity to that of Montfort would thus appear to reinforce the attribution of the castle to the Teutonic Knights, and its dating to after 1220. The fact that it is not mentioned in any of the sources which refer to the building of Montfort itself from 1226/7 onwards could also possibly suggest that it was constructed somewhat later. Unfortunately the castle has not as yet yielded any finer architectural detailing or sculpture that might allow for more precision."[424]

The evidence of Qa'lat Jiddin, which has so far yielded so little artistic material, makes the Castle of Montfort that much more important in assessing the role of the Teutonic Order as patrons of the arts. Always bearing in mind that the later use of both sites may have a significant bearing on what evidence for Crusader artistic activity there may be, this comparison of Jiddin and Montfort also seems to strengthen the idea that, as the headquarters of the Teutonic Knights in the Latin Kingdom, Montfort was the object of important artistic work, just as Crac des Chevaliers was for the Hospitallers and Chastel Pelerin was for the Templars. We might not expect to find at Jiddin some of the refinements that appear at Montfort, such as the polychromy or the stained glass, but it is curious that no decorative sculpture of the Crusader period has been found on the site. Artistic decoration aside, however, the construction of Jiddin so close to Montfort in time and place is clearly a further indication of the intense architectural activity, not only by the Teutonic Knights in the 1220s and 1230s specifically, but also by the Crusaders more generally in this period. Jiddin also is a further indication of the large fortification projects in heavy masonry reflected elsewhere in urban and isolated castle settings during these years.

The Castle of Safed (Figs. 94, 95)

The Castle of Safed 40 kilometers east of Acre and 24 kilometers east southeast of Montfort provides us with additional important insights about Crusader architectural activity.[425] In this case, a detailed text was written *c.*1264 by an anonymous author for Benedict of Alignan, bishop of Marseilles, describing its construction, a text that is, in fact, the fullest account extant for the building of any Crusader castle.[426] Unfortunately, the huge site, now mostly covered by a modern town, including a forest inside a town park, remains largely unexcavated and the exposed physical remains of the castle are scarce and difficult to interpret.

The Castle of Safed is important for several reasons. It was one of the largest Crusader castles built, with its main fortifications surrounding an area 300 by 170 meters.[427] In the size of its garrison, it ranks with Crac des Chevaliers; only Chastel Pelerin at 'Atlit was substantially larger in that regard.[428] It occupied a strategic site by which it defended access to Acre along a route west from Damascus across the Jordan at Jacob's ford. That ford had been defended briefly by the castle called Chastelet, built by King Baldwin IV in 1178, but Saladin had attacked and destroyed this castle in 1179, and it had never been rebuilt.[429] Safed was a castle completely erected by the Templars, like 'Atlit, but significantly different in most specifics as far as we can tell, the results of different sites, different materials, and different circumstances for the construction campaigns. Safed has been a major desideratum for excavation for a long time, and a preliminary dig was carried out in the 1960s. By 2003 an excavation sustained on a modest scale by the Israel Antiquities Authority had commenced. Should expanded excavations be possible at some point in the future, the Crusader castle at Safed would provide not only a remarkable opportunity to pair the detailed account of its construction with the actual physical remains, but also the chance to compare the Templar work there and at 'Atlit.

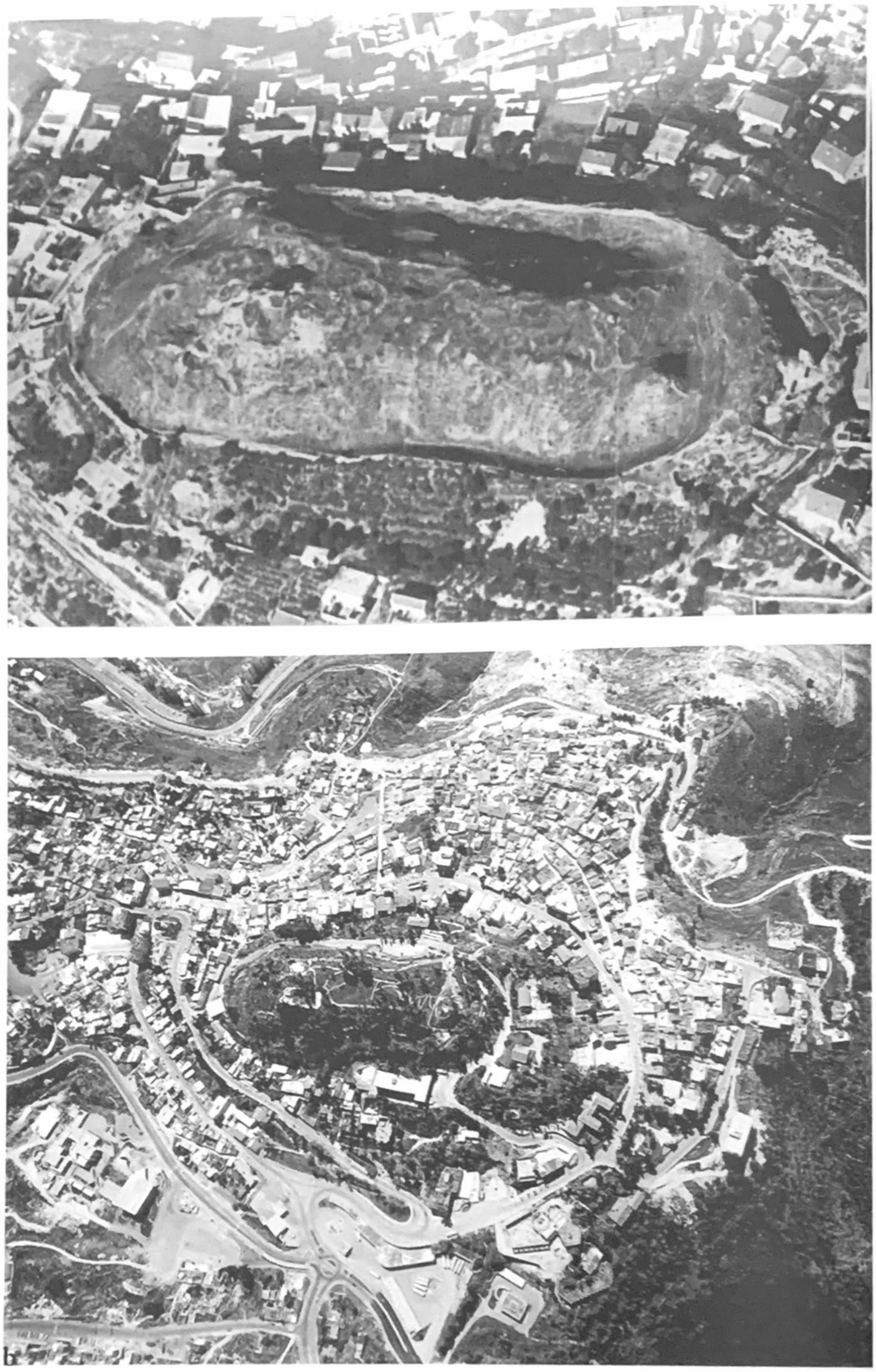
There had been a smaller castle on the site at Safed, which was captured by Saladin in 1188, and it was only in 1240 that Safed was returned to Crusader control according to the terms of the treaty arranged by Thibaut of Champagne. According to the text, it was a visiting pilgrim, the bishop of Marseilles, who persuaded the Templars to undertake the rebuilding of this castle on a large scale, based partly on his grandly stated argument that Safed would form a shield for Acre by closing the gates of Damascus to Muslim invasion of the Latin Kingdom.[430] In fact, as Smail has argued, no castle could block an invading army. Rather what it could and did do was to provide the Templars with a major base of operations to control this region and to respond to any threat of attack from the east.[431]

The Templars began the reconstruction of this castle on 11 December 1240. Benedict of Alignan came to the site on this day to celebrate mass; he laid the first stone, and "on the stone he displayed a silver gilt jar full of money to support subsequent work."[432] Using a large contingent of Muslim prisoners, as we have mentioned previously, work proceeded with all deliberate speed, and by the time that Benedict of Marseille was ready to sail for home in 1242, the Templars were able to garrison the castle and use it as a base of operations. It is said to have been substantially completed in the period of three years.

Bishop Benedict returned to Safed in 1260 and, while revisiting the castle, was able to see it fully operational. The text describes what he saw, why the castle was so strong, and some of its major functions, in words written in the early 1260s, before the castle fell to the Mamluks in 1266:

> It is not easy to convey in writing or speech how many fine buildings there are there: what fine and numerous defences and fortifications with ditches, which measure 7 cannas [15.4 m] in the depth of rock and six [13.2 m] in width: what inner walls, 20 cannas [44 m] high and a canna and a half [3.3 m] thick at the top: what outer walls and trenches, 10 cannas [22 m] in height and 375 cannas (825 m] in circumference: what underground tunnels between the outer wall and the [inner] ditch with underground chambers round the whole castle for 375 cannas [825 m]: what casemates, which are called *fortie cooperte*, which are above the ditches and underneath the outer wall, where there can be crossbowmen with great balistas which defend the ditches and things near and far and cannot be seen by others from outside where they can be safe without any other protection: what towers and battlements where there are seven towers of which everyone is 22 cannas [48.4 m] in height, ten [22 m] in breadth, with walls two cannas [4.4 m] in thickness at the top: how many offices for all necessities: what number, size and variety of construction of crossbows, quarrels, machines and every sort of arms, and what effort and amount of expense in making them: what number of guards every day, what number of the garrison of armed men to guard and defend and repel enemies who were continually required there: how many workmen with different trades, how much and what expenses are made to them daily.[433]

The text goes on to report that "in the first two and a half years, the house of the Temple spent on building the castle of Safed, in addition to the revenues and income of the castle itself, eleven hundred thousand Saracen bezants, and in each following year more or less forty thousand Saracen bezants. Every day victuals are dispensed to 1,700 or more and in time of war, 2,200. For the daily establishment of the castle, 50 knights,

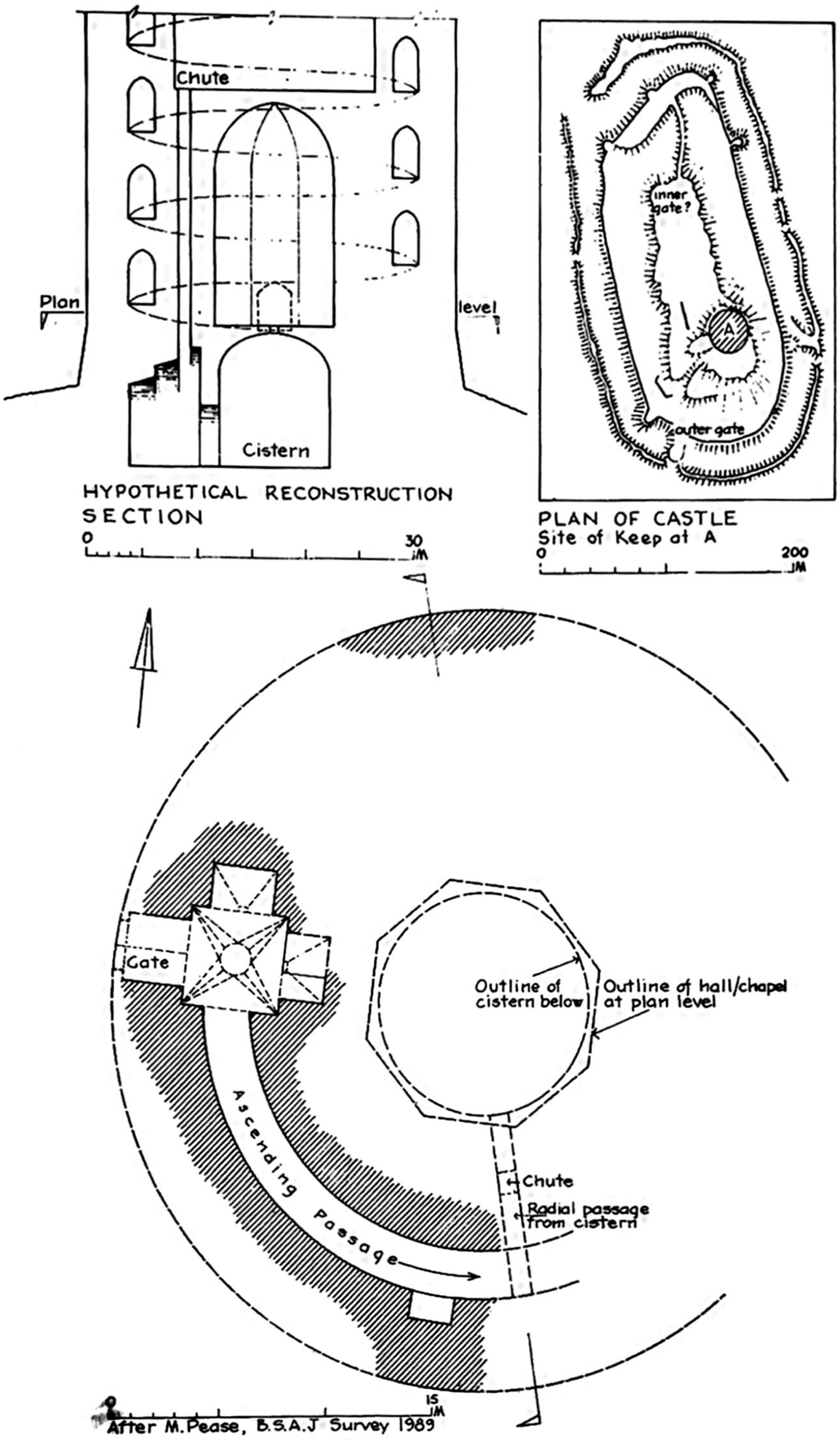


94. The Castle of Safed: **a.** Aerial view, at time of WWI (photo courtesy of the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Munich), **b.** Aerial view, c. 1990 (photo courtesy of Benjamin Z. Kedar).

30 serjeants brothers, and 50 Turcopoles are required with their horses and arms, and 300 crossbowmen, for the works and other offices 820 and 400 slaves."[434]

Finally, the text extols the ways the castle is useful and necessary to the Crusaders. It describes how the raids by Muslims on Acre were now impeded, how the lands to the west between Safed and Acre were protected by the castle for travel, trade, and agriculture, whereas to the east, the Templars were able to win many victories against the Muslims from Damascus. Furthermore, Safed controls in its lordship and district more than 260 *casals* or villages, in which there are over 10,000 men with bows and arrows for defense, as well as serving as a tax base. Finally, it is notable that the Castle of Safed makes possible visits to a whole range of holy sites in the region, including the following:

1. The well of Joseph, where he was sold by his brothers;
2. The city of Capernaum, where Jesus lived and began his preaching and personally perfomed many miracles, etc.;
3. The mount of the Beatitudes, where the miracle of the loaves and fishes took place;


Chute
Plan
level
Cistern
HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION
SECTION
0
30
JM
inner gate?
A
outer gate
PLAN OF CASTLE
Site of Keep at A
0
200
JM
Gate
Outline of cistern below
Outline of hall/chapel at plan level
Chute
Radial passage from cistern
Ascending Passage
0
15
JM
After M.Pease, B.S.A.J Survey 1989

95. The Castle of Safed: Mamluk keep with the Crusader Chapel of St. George on the interior. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

4. The table of the Lord, where Jesus showed himself to his apostles and ate with them, as we read in the Gospel of the fourth Sunday after Easter;
5. The Sea of Galilee, where Peter and Andrew, Philip and James the Less were born and where Christ chose them to be apostles;
6. The place called Magdalon, where St. Mary Magdalen was born;
7. Finally, the places of Nazareth, Mount Tabor, and Cana of Galilee, where Jesus lived, or visited and worked miracles.[435]

Clearly the benefits of Safed's strong, fortified position were great, not only for military, political, and economic reasons, but also for religious pilgrimage activity as well.

It is difficult to relate the text to what we see on the site today, for reasons of subsequent building and destruction from large earthquakes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Because there has been no comprehensive recent investigation of the site, the best plan is still that found in the *Survey of Western Palestine*, reproduced by Pringle.[436] The text raises many problems and there are certain conspicuous discrepancies when it is compared to the extant site and the physical remains of the

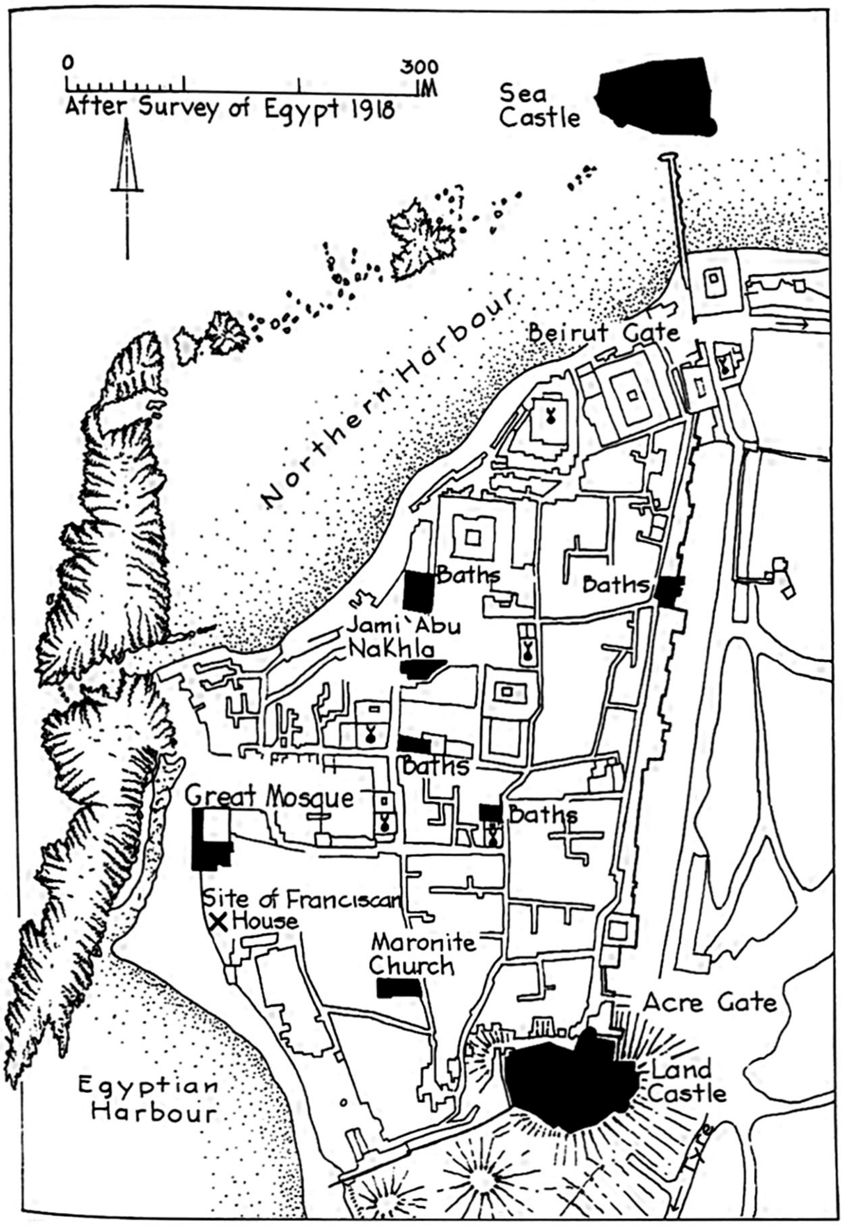
96. The Sea Castle of Sidon: view from the harbor. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

castle. Two examples will suffice. The plan shows all rounded towers on the outer walls, not rectangular ones, which Huygens and others have associated with Templar architecture.[437] When it mentions towers, the text says nothing about their shape. The rounded towers – even if they are sheathed in later masonry – found at Safed on the outer fortification walls seem to be, at the core, the towers constructed in the early 1240s. Therefore they seem to provide clear evidence that there was no formulaic differentiation between Templar castle design with rectangular towers and Hospitaller castle design with round towers, as scholars have attempted to argue in the past.[438] Instead, the use of round and rectangular towers seems to have been, in the first instance, partly a matter of the development of defensive architecture, with round towers developing strongly in the thirteenth century. Secondly, they seem partly to derive from the needs of the site, that is, where in the defensive system the tower was located. Thirdly, the possibility is clearly documented that, as, for example, at Crac des Chevaliers, there could be both rectangular and round towers in simultaneous use for a castle in the thirteenth century – sometimes to be explained by historical accretion – as well as rectangular towers that were later modified to a round tower configuration.

The other problem that Pringle raises of great interest here concerns the *donjon*, which was circular.[439] It is not mentioned in the text of the "De constructione casti Saphet," unless, as he points out, it was referred to as one of the towers of the inner ward, of which the text cites seven. There is no doubt that the *donjon* must have been rebuilt by Baibars and later sultans, but nonetheless, in origin it was probably round, not rectangular.[440] Pringle cites a seventeenth-century source as describing the south end of the castle with "a large octagonal room, which receives its light only through a dome or a cupola; this is round, quite open and without any roof. This room could formerly have been the church or chapel of the castle."[441] Pringle discusses the accounts of this structure by slightly later Dutch travelers, J. Heyman (1700–9) and J. van Egmond (1720–3), that corroborates Dapper, and makes what correspondences he can with the physical remains. Finally, on the basis of the extant evidence, both written and archaeological, he makes a hypothetical reconstruction drawing of how he thinks the castle Chapel of St. George at Safed may have been configured.[442]

Pringle readily admits that the evidence for this round chapel in the *donjon* is circumstantial, and he characterizes this interpretation as "a hypothesis to be tested by further excavation." Certainly *donjon*s and fortified round towers with circular, vaulted rooms are not uncommon in Gothic architecture, as we see it in the Ile de France, for example, at Villeneuve-sur-Yonne *c.*1205 or Dourdan in the 1220s.[443] However, the fact is this hypothesis is important, not only because it seems plausible and correct, but also first because it provides a significant and probable example of a round chapel built by the Templars in the early 1240s. Second, it is timely as proposed in this frame of reference, because it also indicates that the new round/polygonal church at ʻAtlit was neither the first Templar round church in the Holy Land, nor was it necessarily done in the 1250s. Nonetheless, further excavation is needed.

The Templar castle at Safed was a major work of Crusader military architecture, which focuses emphasis on the critical need for an adequate archaeological and architectural history study of this site. Our lack of knowledge about Safed currently limits what we can say about its larger significance in the development of Crusader castle architecture in the early 1240s. We are also deprived of the archaeological finds here that make the site of Montfort so interesting and important.


0
300
M
After Survey of Egypt 1918
Sea Castle
Northern Harbour
Beirut Gate
Baths
Baths
Jami`Abu Nakhla
Baths
Great Mosque
Baths
Site of Franciscan House
Maronite Church
Acre Gate
Land Castle
Egyptian Harbour
Tyre

97. The Sea Castle of Sidon: plan of the city with the sea castle and the town castle. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

We have nothing at Safed at the moment reported and published, for example, in the way of architectural sculpture, glass, painting, metalwork, pottery, or even coins. It is precisely this kind of evidence we would like to have to compare with the finds at other major castles like Montfort, and what we need to help fill in our knowledge of Crusader artistic activities in the early 1240s. All we have at the moment are the incidental indications of the travelers' accounts, for example, a letter of either J. van Egmond or J. Heyman that indicates inside the round "Temple" [=chapel] chamber, one can see all over the walls niches in which to place idols. By "idols" the Dutch Protestant writer in the early 1700s no doubt was thinking of images of some kind in a typical Roman Catholic church setting. We would like to know more about such images and their setting by further study here and in other Crusader castle chapels.

The Castles at Toron and Sidon (sites: Maps 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, and 10)

Among other fortification projects that we shall not discuss – because little survives that is medieval – is Toron. The Castle of Toron, essentially rebuilt in the late eighteenth century, is another site that belongs to this period – in this case to 1229 – like Montfort, and Safed slightly later, but one that has been investigated very little and for which there is in any case no detailed textual description. This castle commanded the important territory to the east of Tyre on the road from Damascus to the coast, through Banias and past Qalat Subeibe.[444]

Finally, we cannot omit mention of the important work done at Sidon on the sea castle, which was begun in this period (Figs. 96–100).[445] The problem at Sidon, of course, is that the work that was done in 1227–8 was swallowed up later in the

98. The Sea Castle of Sidon: entrance to the sea castle. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

enlargements carried out first while King Louis IX was in residence here, and even later when the Templars controlled the castle before the fall of the Latin Kingdom to the Mamluks. Nonetheless, there are other castles that had major new additions built in this period, most notably, Chastel Pelerin at ʿAtlit and Crac des Chevaliers, that we must comment on here in some detail.

The Fortified Town of Chastel Pelerin at ʿAtlit (Figs. 101–103)

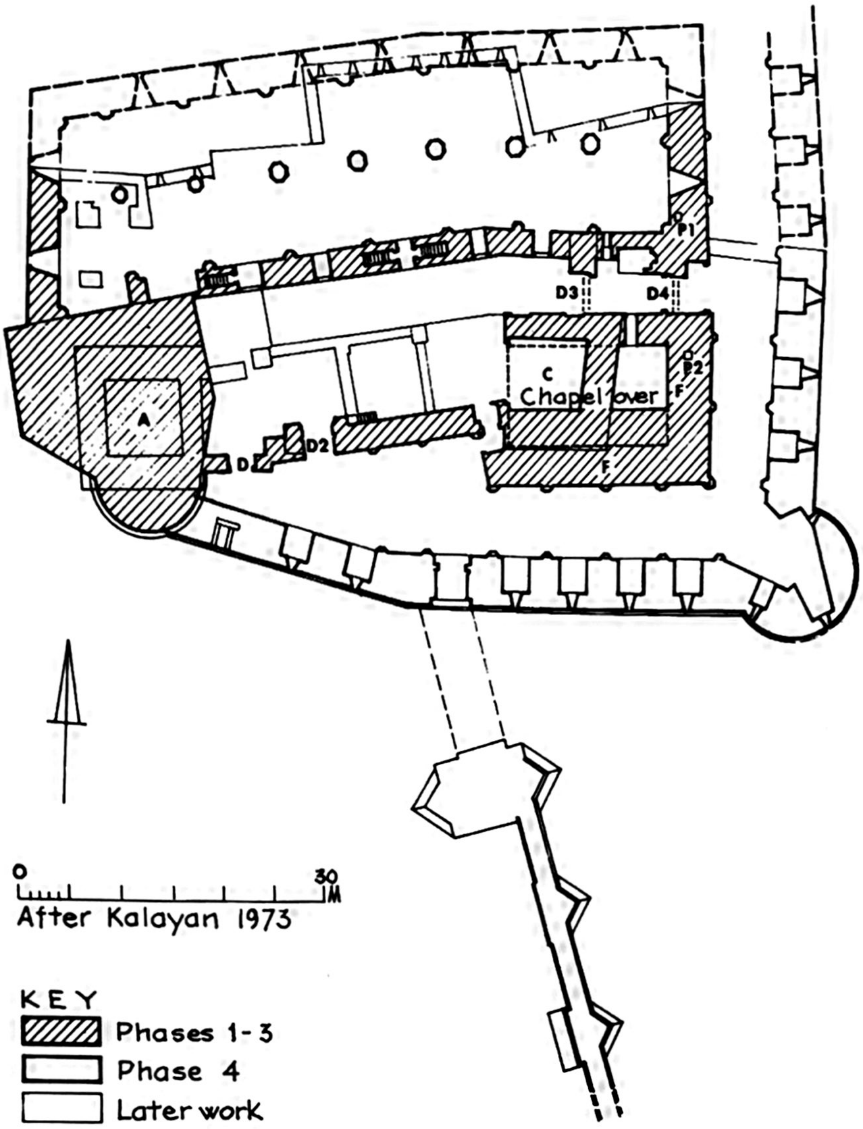
The fortified town of ʿAtlit had been begun after the castle was erected in 1217–18 by soldiers of the Fifth Crusade led by Walter of Avesnes. The *faubourg* that grew up outside the castle walls probably belongs to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[446] Like the developments at other major sites, the construction work probably moved along more or less continuously when possible, spurred on here by the attacks of the Muslims in 1220 and their sporadic raids thereafter.[447]

The town at ʿAtlit was given a landwall outside the castle, 645 meters long on the east side and 230 meters on the south. The highest surviving portion is 7.25 meters, measured from the bottom of the ditch in front of it. The wall is built of large limestone blocks.[448] No doubt the stables at the south end of the walls constituted the first town structure to be put in use after the walls were completed. Johns proposes to date the city walls in the 1220s, presumably just after the unsuccessful Muslim assault by al-Muʿazzam in 1220. As work in the town continued, a church was erected for the burgesses, that is, the craftsmen and merchants living there. Their court is mentioned in a text of about 1250, so we know of their well-established existence by that time.[449] Their church was probably done before that, most likely in the 1240s (Fig. 101).

The church itself consisted of one bay for the nave, approximately 10 meters square, and a seven-sided polygonal apse for the sanctuary. The church was rib vaulted with the ribs springing from the tops of shafts that rose from handsome column bases. The building was apparently left incomplete, with a makeshift wall closing the west end, for unknown reasons. On the exterior, wall buttresses approximately 1 meter square at ground level attest to the fact that the walls were meant to be proportionally high and pierced by windows. Stained glass fragments from these windows were also found on the site (Fig. 103).[450]

Compared to the more conservative – and much larger – cathedral church at Tortosa, this small parish church was designed in a more developed Gothic style. With its polygonal apse, it is a diminutive version of the east end of the cathedral in Nicosia, which had been under construction on Cyprus since the start of the thirteenth century; the choir and transepts of St. Sophia were finished in 1228.[451] Johns points out that the ʿAtlit parish church resembles the early work there, including the foliate sculpture from two of the compound pier capitals and one single capital extant (Fig. 102). He also compares the column bases with their upper torus and retention of the talons at the corners.[452] Finally, it is significant that the ribs of the church at ʿAtlit have different profiles according to their use, as also found in St. Sophia, although the precise designs of the profiles are not the same.[453] The diagonal ribs have a full middle roll with slightly pointed arrises, and the transverse ribs have a graceful double roll. These ribs also find parallels in the early work of St. Sophia in Nicosia according to Johns.[454]

Johns was uncertain which church came first at ʿAtlit, the parish church in the *faubourg* or the round church inside the castle – the latter which we take to be later – because of the ongoing excavations he was conducting. Nonetheless his comparisons with St. Sophia seem apt, even if we cannot establish any evidence for a direct linkage between the two churches. It may, however, be worth further consideration to look again at the molding profiles here seen against the development of Gothic architecture in the Latin Kingdom and in France. Interest in the molding profiles stems from the fact that the use of ribs in the vaulting is an important feature of Gothic architecture found in rather few extant Crusader buildings, but which appear here at ʿAtlit. Secondly, the profiles found in this church at ʿAtlit, which are quite different from the simple and heavy, round profiles of the ribs in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, are comparable to the more developed versions found in the *Coenaculum* in Jerusalem, clearly indicating a later phase in the development of rib vaulting in the Latin East. Finally, E. Roberts writes, "the interest of moldings stems from the fact that medieval architects personally drew the patterns from which the templates were cut. Mouldings in a sense recover lost working drawings of the Middle Ages of which only a fraction survive."[455] Even though she is referring to moldings from the mid-fourteenth century and later, the gist of what she

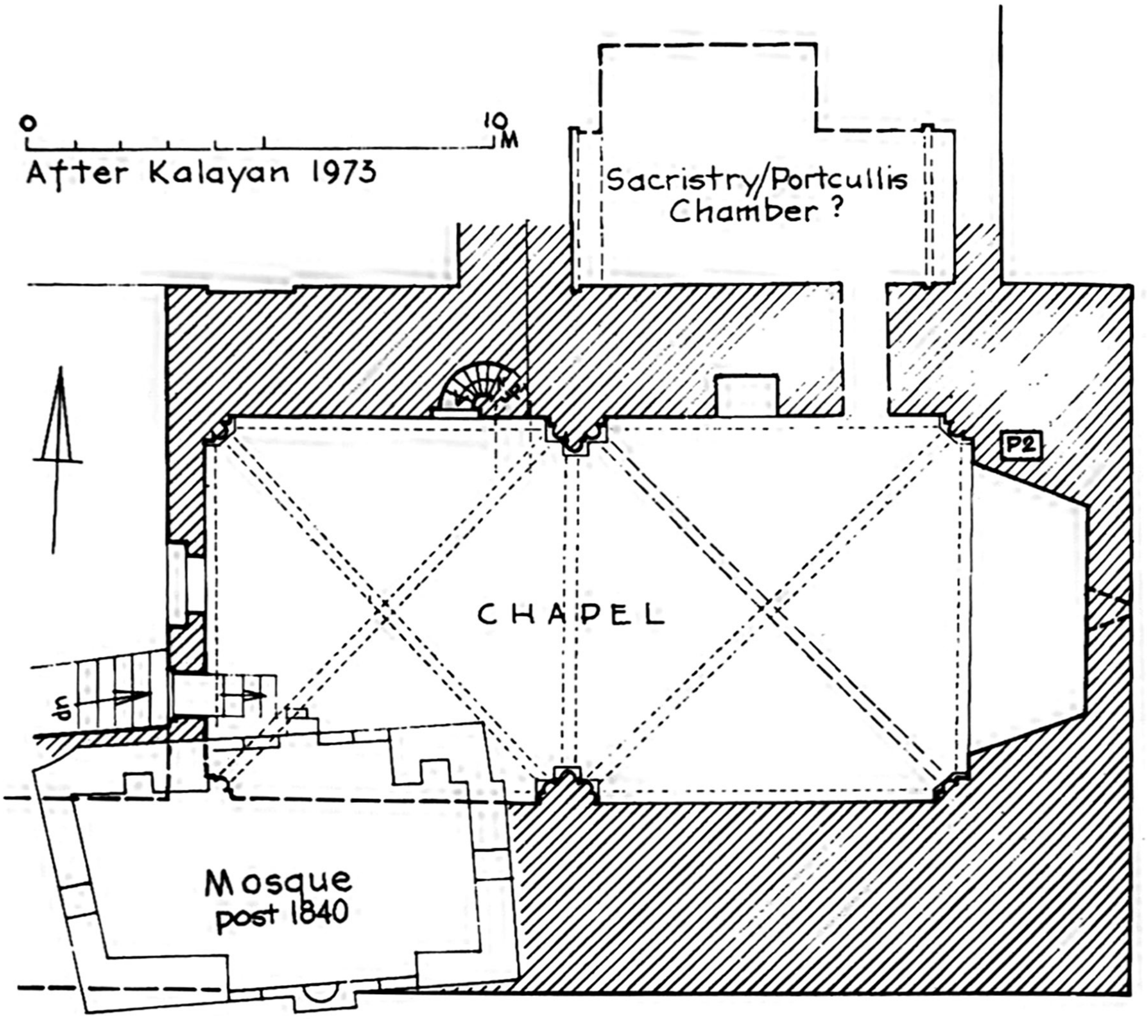


99. The Sea Castle of Sidon: plan of the sea castle. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

says pertains to our material as well here between the 1140s and the 1240s.

The first point to be made is that the transverse and the diagonal rib profiles found in the 'Atlit town church compare closely in a developmental way with those known from the *Coenaculum*.[456] The profile of the diagonal ribs at 'Atlit is quite different in proportions, in formal components and in appearance, compared to those of the Cenacle. The 'Atlit profile is more slender, less fat and heavy in proportions. It has arrises between the central and side rolls whereas the other has none, but the latter does have a central fillet that does not appear at 'Atlit. Finally, the 'Atlit profile is slightly pointed on the central roll and the side rolls protrude less, whereas the Cenacle profile appears larger and made up of all rounded main forms. Similarly, on the transverse ribs, the 'Atlit roll is more graceful, less flat and heavy. The deep cavets have given way to more open versions between the slender rolls, and there is no strongly stated flat surface between the rolls as at the Cenacle, only a shallow cavet. In regard to the column bases at 'Atlit, it is interesting that the griffe is still used *c.*1240, a feature that was common in the twelfth century and that appears at the Cenacle.[457]

If we compare these same profiles of the diagonal and profile ribs, as well as those of the column bases at the 'Atlit parish church with a selection of available published profiles from major examples in France, it may further assist us in evaluating their relative dating. Our selection includes profiles at Noyon (1157–85),[458] the early campaigns at Bourges Cathedral (1195–1214),[459] Amiens Cathedral (1220s–36),[460] the rayonnant part of St. Denis (1231–50s),[461] Burgundian Gothic churches (late twelfth to mid-thirteenth centuries),[462] and the drawings of Villard de Honnecourt in his sketchbook done before his death in the mid-1230s.[463] Unfortunately Johns did not draw the column base profiles from 'Atlit, but the photos he and Pringle published allow us to see a few major points as related to the examples cited earlier.[464] In relation to the early and later Gothic profiles in the Ile de France, 'Atlit is quite comparable, but it has certain distinctive characteristics. First, the lower torus is quite flat, not so robust or inflated as those in France, and the cavet is relatively smaller and deeper. Second, the

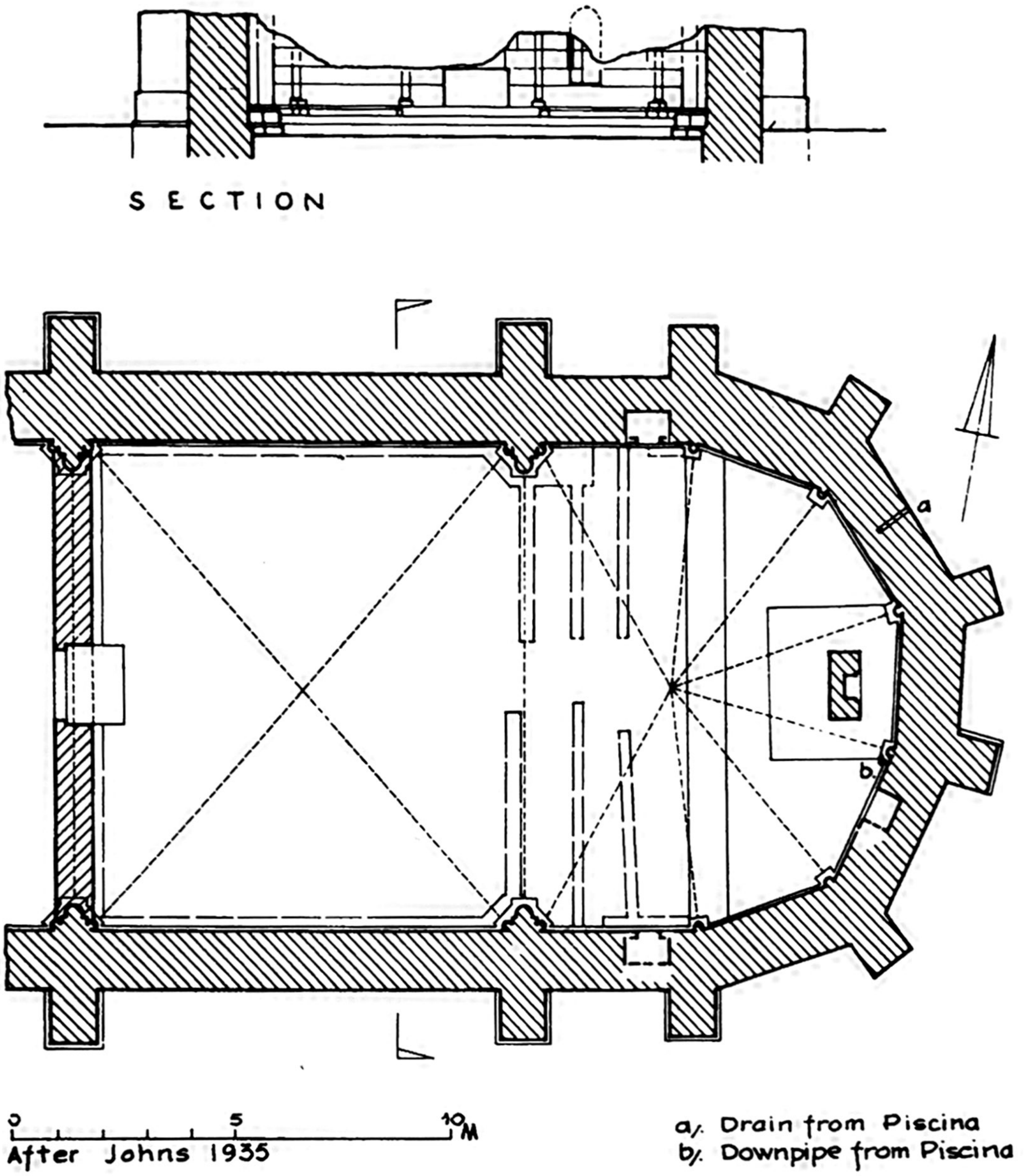


100. The Sea Castle of Sidon: plan of the chapel. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

proportions of the column bases at 'Atlit indicate that they are flatter, not as high or as full, and that the ratio of the upper torus to the lower torus is usually smaller. That is, whereas at 'Atlit the lower torus is approximately 2.5 times the radius of the upper torus, those profiles from the Ile de France are mostly twice the radius. In general we can say, finally, that the 'Atlit profiles belong to the more developed group of examples, related to the *comparanda* in the first half of the thirteenth century from the Ile de France, in contrast to the early examples from Noyon.

For the rib profiles, we turn to the Burgundian examples. They are useful, partly because the published examples make comparison possible and partly because the independent Burgundian group forms a useful analog to what must have been also a separate Crusader Gothic group, if the other examples from the Latin Kingdom, for example, from the churches in the major cities built between *c.*1200 and *c.*1250, were extant. We can see that the Burgundian Gothic churches also use different rib profiles for transverse and diagonal ribs, and that the profiles are similar to what we find at 'Atlit. Relatively speaking, it seems evident that the 'Atlit profile for the diagonal ribs belongs to the more developed phase in terms of form, when compared to the Burgundian parallels.[465] There is a similar comparison for the transverse rib profile in the sense that the two rolls of the 'Atlit example are more slender, less round and fat, despite the absence of fillets or arrises.

Finally, when it comes to the question of placing the 'Atlit profiles in a chronological context, we can see how useful the Burgundian Gothic examples are by comparison. Just as the Burgundian Gothic churches changed and developed on their own terms until the mid-thirteenth century, at which time a new wave of Gothic design representing the refined Parisian style of architecture stimulated by King Louis IX overwhelmed the region, so too in the Latin Kingdom we can see a similar situation. First, there is the advent of certain features of Gothic architectural design, which arrives somewhat tentatively in the Crusader States during the mid-twelfth century, and more confidently in the second half of the twelfth century. Second, there is the arrival of King Louis IX in the Latin Kingdom in 1250–4 as a major patron of architectural activity in the Holy Land. The period in between, that is, 1191 to the 1240s, was a time of independent development when the new Gothic architecture was adopted more fully and adapted for use in the circumstances of the Crusader States. One of the best extant examples of this is the Church of St. Sophia in Nicosia to 1228. On the mainland, we have glimpses of the developing Gothic in the 1220s, 1230s, and 1240s at Tortosa, at Montfort, at Safed, at Crac des Chevaliers – to be discussed later – and

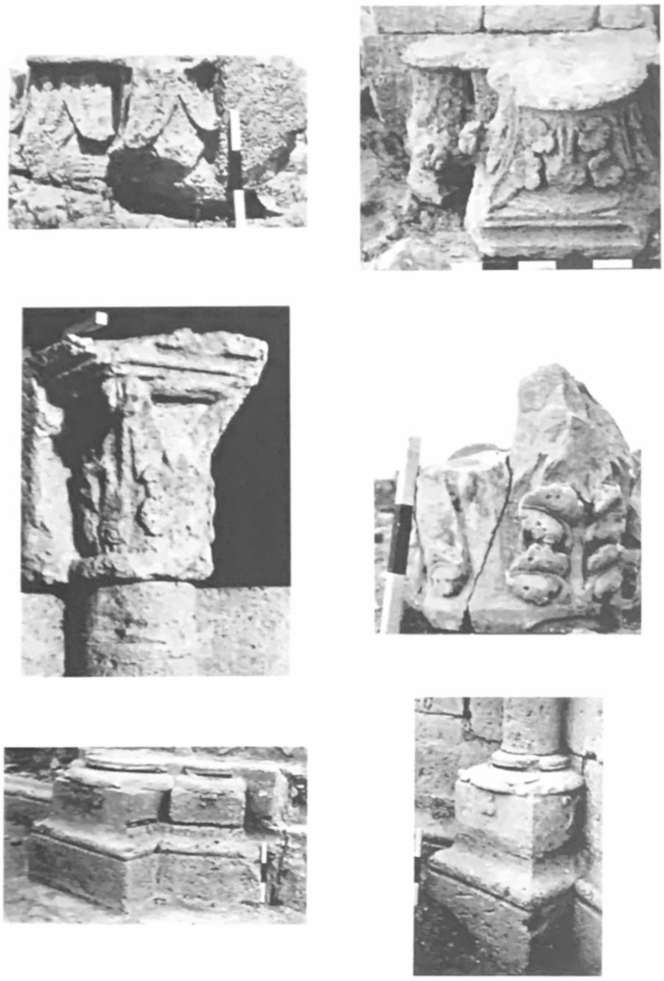


101. ‘Atlit, Plan of the Town Church. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

here at ‘Atlit, but unfortunately much is lost, especially at Acre.

Besides the question of the profiles at ‘Atlit, there are also foliate capitals, carved bosses, and floral designs on the pedestals of the column bases to consider and also the plan of the little church.[466] In regard to the decorative sculpture, the style of the foliate designs, although moving in the direction of greater naturalism, is somewhat abstract. The leafy designs on the capitals can be seen to be more developed than, for example, certain examples at Laon in the late twelfth century,[467] and more comparable to later Gothic developments at the Cathedrals of Notre Dame in Paris and Chartres between the late twelfth century and *c.*1230.[468] In fact, just as we see some variation in the "naturalism" of the leafy designs at Chartres, we also find similar differences at ‘Atlit, but nothing at ‘Atlit matches the extent of naturalistic development we see at Chartres. There is also the fragment of a carved boss with foliate design, clearly a Crusader specialty, which seems entirely comparable to the examples from Montfort, but certainly no later. The other bit of sculptural evidence is more unusual. Several of the pedestal blocks on which the column bases sit have floral design, what Johns calls "a sprig of leaves, perhaps oak or clover."[469] Whatever they are, they are quite abstract; rather flat and linear in design, but a notable refinement not seen at other sites. They reflect the strength of the more abstract Romanesque tradition; at the same time they demonstrate the new interest of Gothic in combining a rich array of foliate sculptural decoration on the various elements of the architectural ensemble.

This brings us to the matter of the plan of this church. Simple as it is, it has not only a parallel with aspects of St. Sophia noted earlier, but also with the plans drawn by Villard de Honnecourt in his sketchbook. Although neither of Villard's

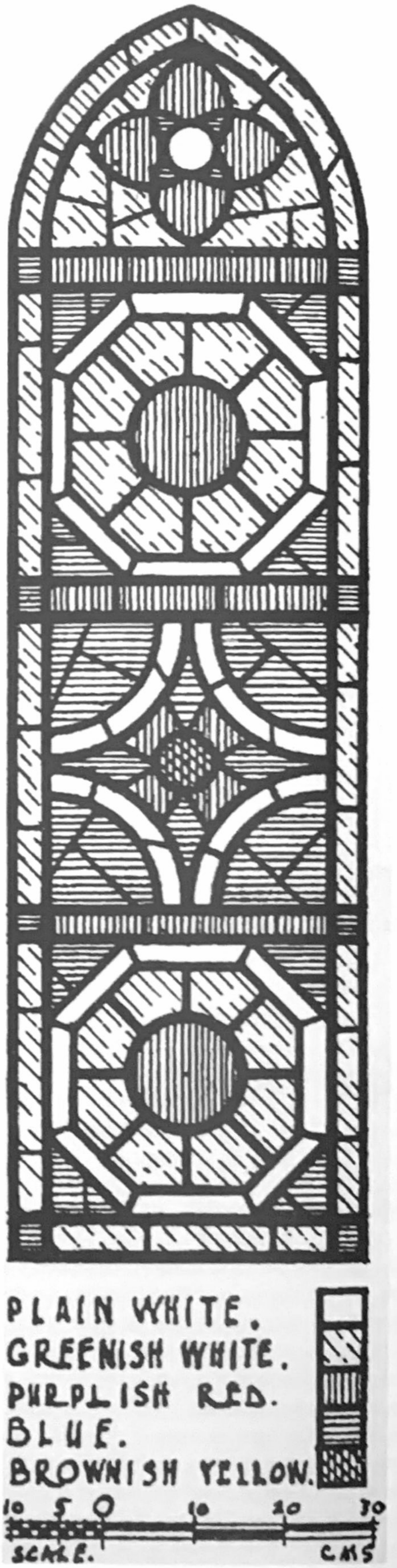


102. 'Atlit, Selection of Capitals from the Town Church. (photo: after Johns)

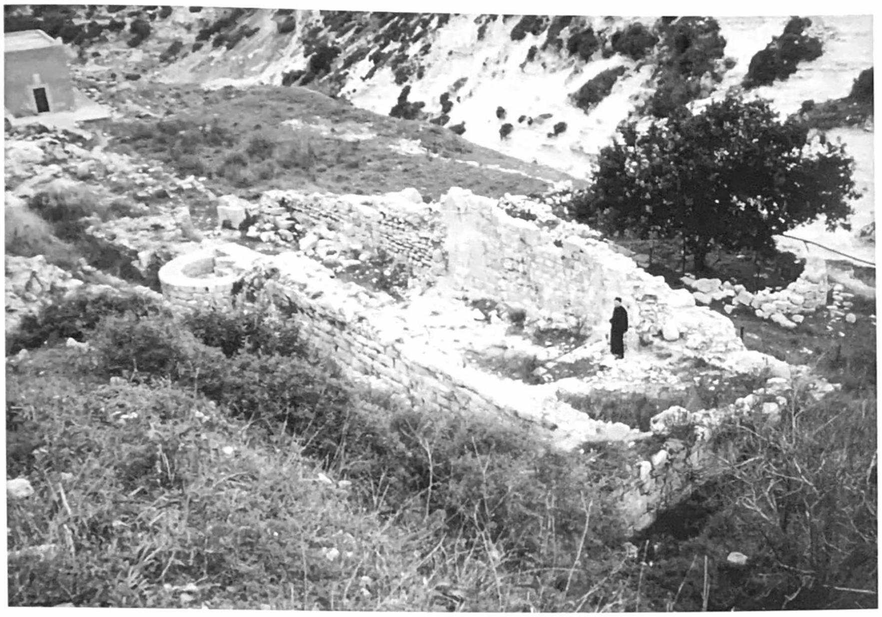
examples are exactly the same as the 'Atlit plan, two of his designs are relevant. The plan of St. Stephen in Meaux has the polygonal apse with seven sides, as well as the same handling of the external buttresses.[470] The plan of Cambrai Cathedral also incorporates these ideas, although the axial apsidal chapel is larger and there are other differences.[471] Villard's sketchbook also contains drawings of rib profiles and column base plans,[472] which are relevant to 'Atlit, not in any specific way, but generically as parallels to what we find here in the Latin Kingdom.

What then can we conclude about the date of this parish church?

Clearly the remains are fragmentary, and the fact that the church is unfinished is puzzling and cannot yet be explained on any historical or archaeological basis.[473] However, the *comparanda* introduced earlier, with the Cenacle and the examples from the Ile de France and Burgundy, help us to see that the Gothic ideas incorporated in the church at 'Atlit constitute a selection ranging from the 1180s to the 1220s or 1230s. The limited *comparanda* we have from the mainland Crusader States and Cyprus are important, because they more than anything else enable us to understand part of the developments that shaped the 'Atlit church in the Latin East. With these considerations in mind, the 'Atlit parish church appears to have



103. 'Atlit, Reconstruction of a stained glass window from the Town Church. (photo: after Johns)

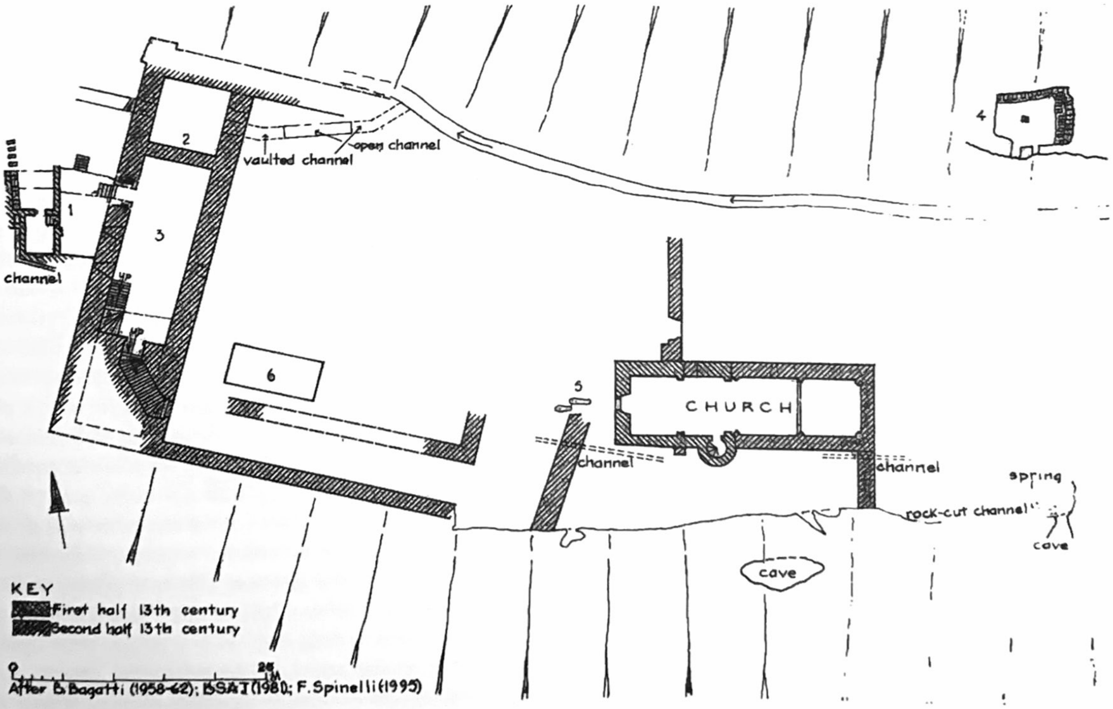


104. St. Mary of Carmel/modern St. Brochardus: View with Father Elias.

been done in the late 1230s or early 1240s, well before the decision was made to rebuild and enlarge the castle chapel with its relics of St. Euphemia.

St. Mary of Carmel (Figs. 104–105)

Two other architectural projects worth noticing appear to belong to the first half of the thirteenth century, one carried out by the order of the Carmelites and the other by the Hospitallers. The new Carmelite order was of course founded on Mount Carmel, the mountain that separates the coastal plain, where 'Atlit is located to the south nearby, from the Bay of Acre to the north, what is known today as the Bay of Haifa.[474] The first certain indication that Latin hermits were living in the Wadi as-Siyah on the western side of Mount Carmel occurs between 1205 and 1214. It was during that time, on land that had come back under Frankish control after the Third Crusade, that the saintly Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, had recognized these monks by giving them a "form of life" in 1214.[475] By this act – the beginnings of their rule – these hermits formed a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After B. Bagatti (1958-62); BSAJ (1980); F. Spinelli (1995)

105. St. Mary of Carmel/modern St. Brochardus: Plan. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

religious community with an elected prior, which was eventually approved by Pope Honorius III (1226) and emended by Gregory IX (1229).

By the 1230s, this community began to appear in various pilgrimage texts. In 1231, "Les Pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem" records the following:

> Near that abbey of St. Margaret[476] on the edge of the same mountain there is a very beautiful and delightful place, where there live the Latin hermits who are called the Brothers of the Carmel and where there is a small Church of Our Lady; and throughout this place there is a profusion of good waters which issue from the very rock of the mountain.[477]

The church of the "frères du Carme," named in honor of Our Lady, mentioned in this text has been referred to by certain travelers and scholars as St. Brochardus in modern times.[478] Brochardus was the hermit who petitioned Albert for a rule and he may have founded this site, but so far as we know his name was never given to this church in the medieval period. It was used this way only later, by travelers in the postmedieval period, but the pilgrimage texts in the thirteenth century consistently refer to the new church as being dedicated to Our Lady.[479]

The thirteenth-century Church of Our Lady is located at the eastern end of the monastery precinct, of which very little remains.[480] The church itself is a very simple rectangular structure of four bays, approximately 25 meters long; two of the bays survive from the early thirteenth century, and two from the later thirteenth century. The walls that remain stand to a maximum height of about 3 meters, and there is the base of a cylindrical tower on the southeast side. The original two bays measure about 5 × 6.5 meters each. It is not known whether the church had an apse on the east end, or was terminated by a flat wall. This phase of the building can reasonably be dated to the period 1205–14 when Patriarch Albert instructed Brochardus to build an oratory where mass could be celebrated daily in the midst of the cells where the hermits lived.

The second phase of construction of the church must have taken place some time after 1247 when the Carmelites held a general chapter in England where a prior general was elected and members of the order were, among other things, instructed to eat in a common refectory. It is presumably in the years after 1247 that the community here in the Wadi as-Siyah erected the communal buildings that constitute what we call the Monastery of St. Mary of Carmel. At this time the church was given two additional bays, somewhat more squarish, and the whole interior was apparently revaulted. The old pilasters were used in the two western bays, but new clustered shafts were installed in the two eastern bays along with all new ribs. Unfortunately none of the rib voussoirs survive, but Pringle says that the design of the new shafts on the side walls suggests early Gothic design. The walls of the new part of the church are even thicker than the old walls in parts and the east wall is again completely flat.

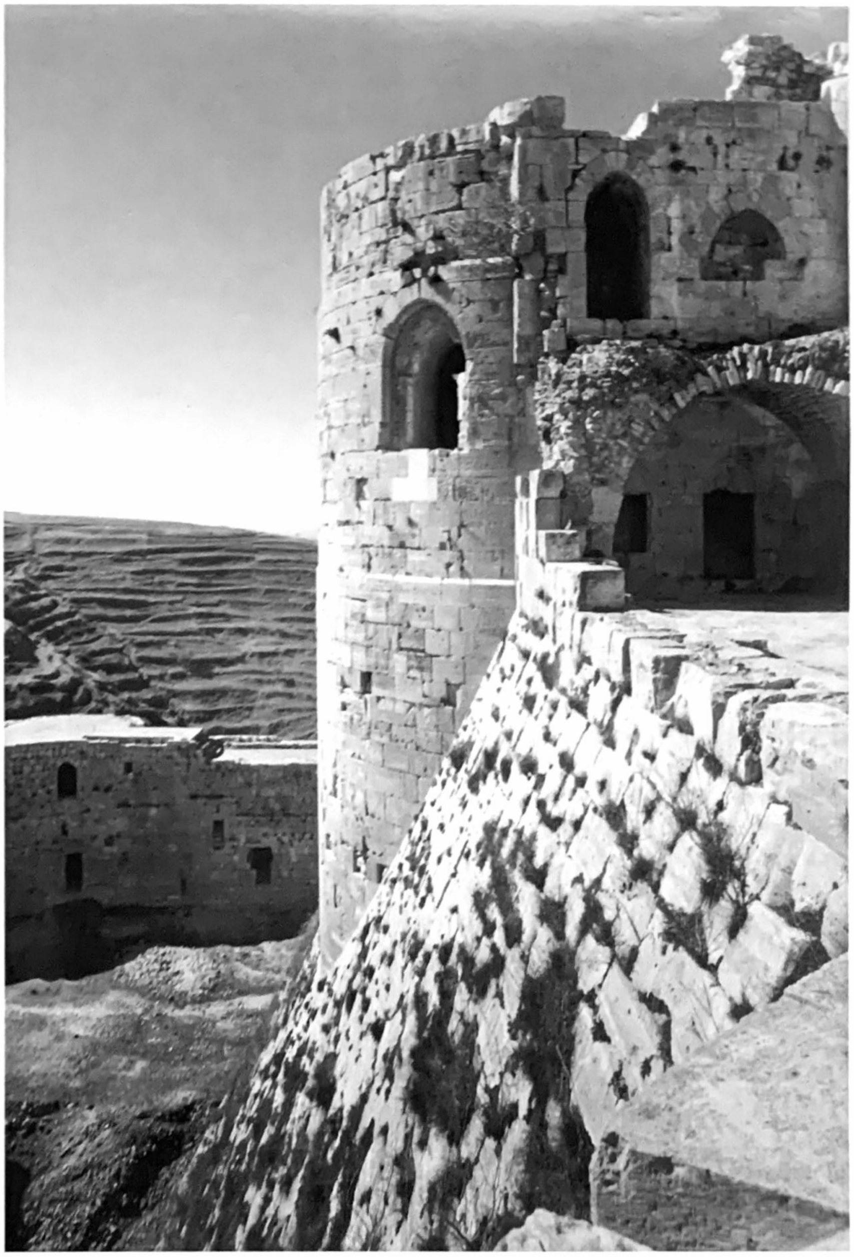
Almost nothing survives in the way of column bases, shafts, capitals, archivolts, or bosses, if there were any of the last mentioned. There is only one extant sculptural work with foliate decoration, but it is part of a stone tank or possibly a sarcophagus and is not apparently part of the fabric of the church. Nonetheless this church provides valuable evidence for Crusader architectural developments in the Latin Kingdom. It shows us that again an extremely plain church building could be given certain basic Gothic elements in the form of pilasters and rib vaulting by 1214. Furthermore, this rather austere version of Gothic could be retained after 1247 for monastic use when the church was expanded, probably in the 1250s or early 1260s. Compared to the town church at 'Atlit or the chapel at Montfort, this building was, of course, built for a different purpose and a different clientele. What is Gothic about it is quite limited and focused on its vaulting system.

By comparing this church with the cathedral at Tortosa, one phase of which was presumably being worked on in some of the same years after the earthquake of 1202, we can begin to appreciate the wide range of possibilities for what we are calling Gothic in churches built in the Crusader States. There is a huge stylistic gulf between the most simplified Gothic here at Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the most sophisticated work being done in Nicosia on the Cathedral of St. Sophia before 1228, but both are legitimately called Gothic churches in the Crusader East.

Crac des Chevaliers (Figs. 106–108)

Farther to the north, in the County of Tripoli, the Hospitallers continued their work on the great castle of Crac des Chevaliers. As part of the refinements introduced into the castle architecture in the later phases of work, we find handsome decorative sculpture carried out in the great round tower on the southwest corner of the inner ward,[481] designated by Deschamps as tower "K." Although phases of architecture in the great castles are notoriously difficult to date, in this case Deschamps himself specifies the dating here as "1230–1240."[482] He says that whereas the tower itself was done earlier, as part of the strengthening of the castle along the south side in the early thirteenth century after 1202, the transformation of one chamber in this tower was effected to become the residence of the commander. Here there was a beautiful round vaulted room known as "le Logis du Maitre." He identifies this as the living quarters of the commander of the castle and also served the grand master when he was in residence.[483]

Originally designed with arrow slits, this room, one storey above the level of the esplanade, was renovated in the 1230s primarily in three ways. First, the arrow slits were filled in and a very large and handsome pointed-arch window was installed facing south, from which the occupant could not only look over the south end of the castle and the hills and valley beyond, but also he could receive the breeze to ventilate his handsome chamber.[484] Such a large window with a panoramic view from one of the residence halls was truly unusual in any of these Crusader castles. Second, whereas according to Deschamps, ogival rib vaulting had not been used at Crac prior to this time, this completely round chamber was given elegant ribs springing from four stocky engaged columns with foliate capitals around the interior. The four-part circular vaulting was made up of webbing laid in the French horizontal mode, and the ribs were configured with a profile that appears to be comparable to the example found at the chapel at 'Atlit.[485] Third, a program of simple but very elegant foliate and floral sculpture was applied to the interior of the chamber and to the



106. Crac des Chevaliers: the Logis du Maitre. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

large window. The foliate components found on the capitals are somewhat flat and abstract versions of a type of capital we see at 'Atlit with flowers on larger leaves, but on a taller and more slender drum.[486] The important floral unit is a rosette consisting of five petals with a *bouton* in the center. Inside we find a series of these rosettes running on the chamfered underside of a heavy molding that articulates the chamber at the level of the springing of the vaults. The flowers seem to run continuously around the room, "behind" the capitals, and at the window they form a hood molding for the interior of the window arch. On the exterior of the window, a double series of these flowers also appears along the chamfered surfaces from the sills to the keystones of the stepped back opening. One can only imagine how impressive this room would have looked with this understated though surely painted sculptural decoration, in contrast to the austere simplicity of other residential rooms in the castle. (Figs. 106, 107, 108)

Besides tower "K," tower "J" was apparently also both a military and a residential tower with large rooms and mullioned windows on the north façade looking out over the courtyard of the inner ward. This façade has three pairs of double windows with mullions, and two single windows below. The two upper double windows are also decorated with round foliate decorative sculpture, which resemble the bosses we have seen at Montfort and 'Atlit, but the work on this tower may be modern restoration.[487]

The continuing work at Crac des Chevaliers is evidence for a fundamental fact that these castles had to be maintained and repaired constantly, and on some occasions renovations were carried out, occasionally with sculptural refinements. The case of the Logis du Maitre at Crac is a remarkable example of such renovations, one in which it was possible to introduce a program of decorative sculpture. We have already seen decorative painting at Crac from an earlier phase of work in and around the chapel. One additional major campaign of work took place at Crac a few years after the Logis du Maitre project was completed in the 1240s, when the Hospitallers decided to renovate and decorate their great hall, including a rib-vaulted loggia at its entrance along the inside of the courtyard. We shall discuss this major addition when we discuss the architectural activity in the Crusader States during the time of King Louis IX in Chapter 6.

Conclusions on Architecture in the Period 1225–1244

This selection of architecture indicates some of the wide range and impressive amount of Crusader construction in these years, but it is only a selection of the most important work. The extant condition of some of these projects also gives us some idea of how difficult it is to "see" a coherent picture of Crusader architectural development in this period. We can conclude our consideration with a few pertinant observations to help further contextualize these works for the period 1225–44 and to remind us of the major problems that currently exist in the study of these monuments, whether castles, cities and city walls, or churches.

First, it is evident that there were no major projects on the great pilgrimage sites of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which were now lost for good by August 1244, or for Nazareth, which still remained in Crusader hands. Nonetheless there was work on one other major pilgrimage site, at the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Tortosa. Even though the Tortosa project cannot rival the huge amount of work carried out at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, or the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth in the twelfth century, it is an indication that Crusader ecclesiastical architecture was dynamically growing by continuing to adapt the new Gothic style to the needs of holy sites in the first half of the thirteenth century.

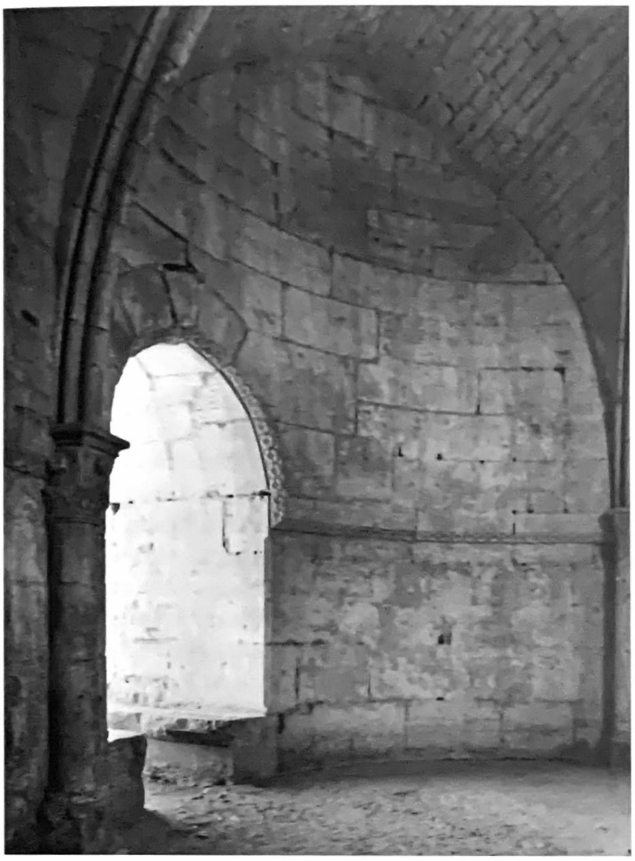
Second, the amount of Crusader architectural activity is difficult to assess in this period for several reasons. To some extent it is not because there was so little, but because there was so much Crusader work being done. Most of this activity was devoted to military fortifications such as the castles, but indeed a great deal of work was also done on the walls of major cities. We can recall that the Muslims destroyed many city fortifications in 1219, including those of Jerusalem. The walls of the Holy City were never rebuilt in the thirteenth century, but Caesarea and Jaffa had their fortifications reerected in the spring and fall of 1228, respectively, as a direct result of the advent of Frederick II. The other major town to have its walls reerected was Ascalon, yet again,[488] as a benefit of the coming of the Crusades of Thibaut de Champagne and Richard of Cornwall between 1239 and 1241. However, once again, these defenses stood only for a short time, because in 1247, the victorious Ayyubid sultan Ayyub dismantled the fortifications as we have seen. A further reason that Crusader architectural activity is difficult to assess between 1225 and the 1240s is that despite enormous activity in certain sections of the Crusader States, very little survives readily accessible to open inspection and very little relevant material has been excavated as yet by which to assess the developments step by step. Take, for example, the 40-kilometer-square area due east and north of Acre, which includes the major city of Tyre,[489] and the major castles of Montfort, Safed, and Toron, as well as the castle of Judin, all with major construction done in this period. If the Crusader structures in those sites were in better condition, and we knew the details on the church buildings and the fortifications in those places, we would have a much clearer picture of how Crusader architecture developed after 1225 and prior to the arrival of Louis IX in the Holy Land!

Third, it is evident that there were many patrons involved in the Crusader building activities, whether military or ecclesiastical. These patrons range from Crusader leaders like Thibaut and Richard, to the military orders like the Templars at 'Atlit and at Safed, the Hospitallers at Ascalon and Crac des Chevaliers, and the Teutonic Knights at Montfort, and to the new religious orders like the Carmelites. What we can clearly see is that, like Crusader military and ecclesiastical projects in the past, the specifics of the site, current needs, the function intended for the structure, and available resources played important roles in determining what would be built in any particular situation and how it would be designed and decorated.

Fourth, despite the fact he personally led the refortification of Jaffa and Caesarea in 1228 during his Crusade, Frederick II does not appear to have been a major architectural patron in Jerusalem during his stay there in March 1229. In the past various attempts have been made to see his hand behind the proposed refortification of the Tower of David in the Citadel,[490] in the renovation and rebuilding of the *Coenaculum* in the Church of Saint Mary Mount Sion,[491] or in major programs of architectural sculpture relating to Jerusalem and elsewhere.[492] None of these proposed interpretations has been borne out by later research, however. Rather surprisingly therefore, despite his remarkable political achievement in successfully arranging the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 that reopened the Holy City to Christian access, we must conclude, on the basis of our current understanding of developments in the Latin Kingdom, that Frederick II was not a major force in the artistic activity of the Crusader kingdom – in architecture and architectural sculpture – during his short period in the Latin East. It remains to be seen to what extent his presence is felt in other media.

Fifth, despite the problems mentioned earlier, there were some important new developments in military architecture as we have seen, which included the increase of defensive strength through the use of round towers, impressive taluses or glacis construction, and expanded installation of machicoulis on the heavily fortified battlements. There were also vaulted halls, some using the new Gothic rib vaulting to enhance the ambience of these sometimes forbidding structures. In churches and monasteries there was also the introduction of Gothic arches for portals, windows, and halls, rib vaulting, and decorative sculpture, including foliate and figural carving on capitals and bosses, along with the vaulted halls. Fortunately some of the most remarkable Crusader work survives in castles like Crac des Chevaliers, which have survived largely intact, providing us with a solid indication of the admirable fortification work the Crusaders could achieve at this time.

In regard to ecclesiastical commissions, we are poorly served by having so little sponsored by the new orders to have survived. St. Mary of Mount Carmel is an extremely modest example of what the Carmelites were building. Nothing of theirs nor anything of the Franciscans or the Dominicans is known to be extant in Acre, which is a great loss and a huge gap in



107. Crac des Chevaliers: the Logis du Maitre, interior. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

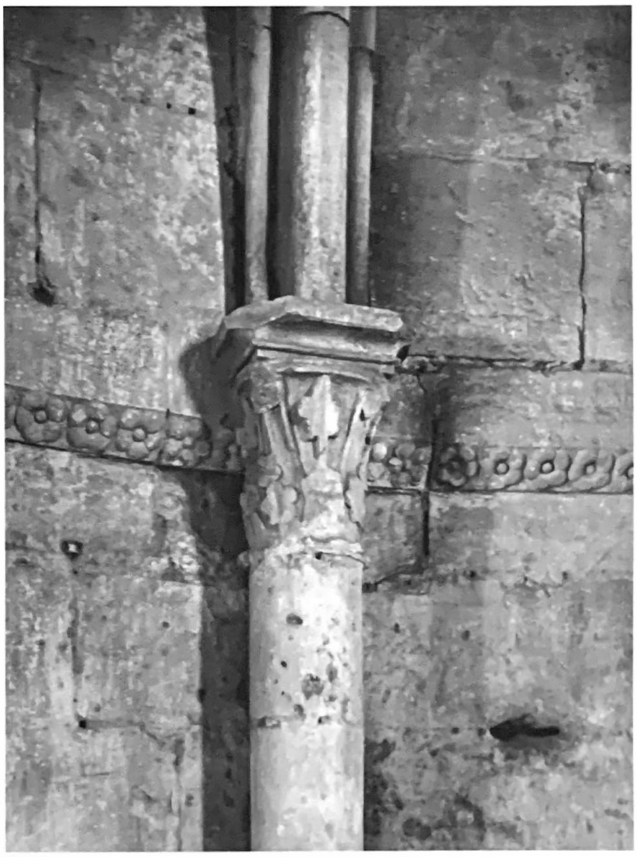
our knowledge, however modest and unassuming their initial projects may have been. It is interesting, however, that we see the Teutonic Knights possibly interested in round chambers – the chapter house at Montfort – and the Hospitallers building a rib-vaulted round chamber for their commander's residence at Crac des Chevaliers, both projects indicating new interest in this form of architecture done before the Templars produce their examples. The Templars subsequently build round chapels, first apparently at Safed and then, shortly thereafter, what has come to be their best known chapel – albeit in ruins – with this centralized plan vaulted construction, in the formidable castle at 'Atlit probably *c.*1250, the latter to be discussed later. It is also interesting to see the Cathedral of Tortosa finished: a Crusader levantine Romanesque church in origin with Gothic formal vocabulary in its final phases between 1202 and the 1220s. This demonstrates how flexible Crusader ecclesiastical architecture could be in the individual circumstances that called it into being.

Finally, it is a commonplace of Crusader studies that the castles and other work of fortification, especially city walls, have not been given the attention they deserve in order to inform us with evidence for a more detailed historical picture of architectural developments in the Crusader States between 1225 and the 1240s. It is important to identify and differentiate that work done during the time of Louis IX from the significant architectural projects that preceded his arrival. We have found in this discussion that, perhaps surprisingly, there was a great deal of work done between 1225 and the 1240s, some of it executed in Gothic architecture of varying degrees of sophistication. Making the identifications and the differentiations has often been difficult, and the arguments have sometimes been incomplete or circumstantial at best. Certain aspects have been surprising, including the fact that we have not been able to associate any major work with some of the most prominent political and military figures in the Crusader East during this period, that is, Frederick II, John of Ibelin, or two of the major new religious orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. However, it is clear nonetheless that much work preceded Louis IX; we need to know more clearly what it was, and how Gothic architecture developed in the Latin Kingdom between its earliest manifestations in the late twelfth century and 1250. The Crusader architecture produced between 1225 and the 1240s is crucial to our understanding of these developments.

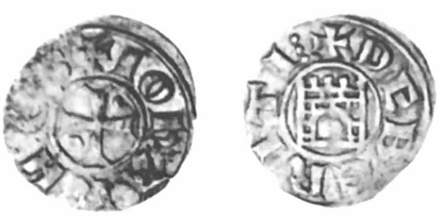
COINAGE, SEALS, AND METALWORK

Coinage

There are comparatively few new coins issued in the Latin Kingdom, in Tripoli, or in Antioch during the years 1225–44.[493] Furthermore, assessing the coinage in these years is difficult, although there are some major coin hoards with evidence for this period. It appears evident that a number of immobilized coin types continue to be struck, especially the Amalricus deniers in the Latin Kingdom and the helmet deniers at Antioch, but there are a few notable new developments as well. Because of the shift of the crown of Jerusalem to a nonresident king, in the persons of Frederick II in 1225–8, and his son, Conrad, from 1228 on,



108. Crac des Chevaliers: the Logis du Maitre, interior (detail). (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)



109. Beirut, denier of John of Ibelin. (photo: after Slocum catalogue)

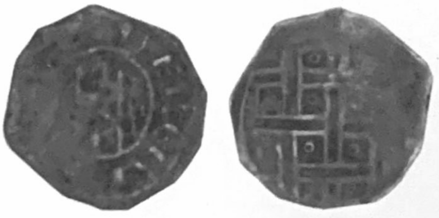
we see no new royal Crusader coins in the Holy Land as such, only the continuation of immobilized types. Frederick II does in fact introduce new gold seals, which refer to him as king of Jerusalem, but these are relatively few and entirely Western in conception. In the context of increased interaction with the Muslims diplomatically, economically, and otherwise, we find the Crusaders continuing to use gold bezants imitative of Fatimid coinage in both the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli. Furthermore, as one of the most interesting developments to be seen in this period, we observe the introduction of imitative silver drachmas based on an Aleppo coin type in the years 1216–40/1, and on a Damascus type in the years *c.*1243–50. Finally, whereas the royal coinage apparently wanes during the time of the civil war European currency is much in evidence, especially from France, with some from Italy, but surprisingly with almost nothing from Germany or England. Furthermore, baronial currency in the three main centers, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre, appear, but the finds seem to indicate a somewhat erratic level of output.

Given their prominence in the civil war and the money they were forced to spend to support their own causes, it is perhaps odd that we do not have more coinage connected with the principals in this bitter struggle, namely, John of Ibelin and Frederick II. For John there are various types that had begun before 1225 in Beirut, most of which continue the typical Crusader-type denier with the cross on the reverse, and on the obverse an architectural motif, such as the crenellated tower with gateway (Fig. 109).[494] Other baronial coinage seems to feature variations of the architectural motif, both at Sidon[495] and later, in the late 1140s, at Tyre,[496] as well as farther north in Tripoli.[497] Only one coin seems to offer something distinctively new, namely, an anonymous copper issue probably struck by John of Ibelin in Beirut featuring the architectural motif of a fortified gateway on the obverse with an abstract interlace design on the reverse interspersed with annulets (Fig. 110).[498] It would be interesting to know whether this interlace motif owes anything to Islamic artistic sources.

Frederick II, despite the tremendous impact he had on the political situation in the Latin Kingdom, has a minimal presence in terms of the coins. This is surprising perhaps because it was just in 1231, less than two years after he had returned from the Holy Land after concluding the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229, but while the civil war in the Latin East was still underway, that he issued his handsome and famous *Augustale* in Italy.[499] This coin, with its strong neoclassical connotations, features the profile bust of the emperor as victor with the laurel leaf crown on the obverse, and has the imperial eagle on the reverse. It was Frederick's most impressive and best-known imperial coin, but apparently it has nothing to do with his experiences as a Crusader in the Near East. Strange to say, neither an *Augustale* nor any denier issued by Frederick as king of Jerusalem has ever turned up in the main Near Eastern hoards representing finds from *c.*1220 to the 1240s.[500] Oddly enough, despite the fact that Frederick aggressively claimed the title of king of Jerusalem, he issued no coin in the Holy Land with that title inscribed; he and his son, Conrad, only used it on coins issued in Sicily.[501] However, he did identify himself as king of Jerusalem also on certain gold seals that were issued in the 1220s, some of which may have been executed in the Latin East, but which depict him as emperor in purely Western imperial pose, throne, and regalia. His special gold seal was particularly impressive with a frontal, seated imperial figure in full regalia on the obverse and the following long inscription:

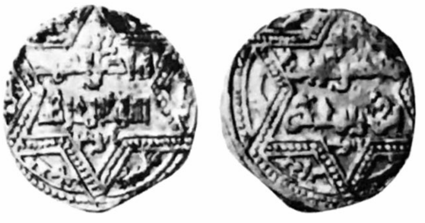
> Fredericus Dei Gratia: Romanorum Imperator et Semper Augustus et Rex Ierusalem et Sicilie.[502]

At least one of these gold seals was done in the Holy Land for the letter that Frederick wrote to the pope in 1229. Although this seal does not survive, we are fortunate to see it among two other examples that Matthew Paris illustrates in careful detail in his *Chronica Majora*.[503]



110. Beirut, copper of John of Ibelin. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

Of the baronial types, the coins of Beirut are the most interesting, and John of Ibelin appears to have issued them in two denominations, billon deniers and coppers, from 1205 until his death (Figs. 109, 110).[504] The deniers have a fairly standard architectural image of a fortified central gateway on the reverse that appears in two variants: one with a large round arched gate flanked by two towers, each with three crenellations; the other with a small round arched gate and five crenellations above.[505] The coppers are fractional currency for the deniers. In the Beirut series they resemble the deniers in the citing of the name of the city and they also use an architectural motif; but they also differ, not only in the metal employed and their color, but also in moving the architectural image to the obverse from its position on the reverse of the deniers and the specifics of the architecture are changed. These Beirut coppers appear in three variations, all of which have a fortified gateway on the obverse distinct from that of the denier. Two of the types are anonymous, but the fact that some are overstrikes of the "Turris Davit" coinage from Beirut suggests they are early examples. The third type, which may be the last of the series of three, has the name "+DEBERITOIOHE," John of Beirut. It also has the same fortified wall with a central tower, but the tower has only three crenellations and the round arched gate is smaller and placed to the left side, as a kind of postern gate, not a large centralized main gate in a tower with four crenellations, as in the two earlier types. Metcalf has suggested in light of the asymmetrical placement of the gate on type three that it "may depict a particular, real gate."[506]



111. Acre, dirham of al-Zahir. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

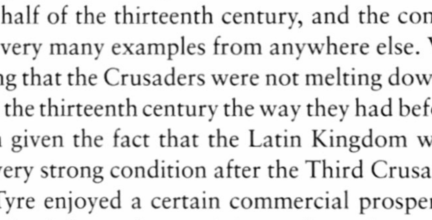
The "fretted design" on the obverse of the coppers is intriguing, one that by both its rectilinear interlace pattern and its strong geometric character suggests parallels with Muslim wood inlay work or metalwork. Although in its Muslim manifestation this type of design would most likely appear with a diagonal orientation,[507] it appears in its Crusader version here to be an abstract rectilinear rendition of the conventional cross motif found on the billon deniers. It is interesting that the designs vary; one version has the unbroken vertical cross element, but the other has the unbroken central cross element on the horizontal.[508] Despite these variations and the existence of both deniers and coppers, the number of Beirut coins struck by John of Ibelin appears to have been relatively few, based on the extant finds, indicating that this coinage was probably used mainly for local currency only.[509]

In some ways the most interesting coins from the Latin Kingdom in this period are the rare silver drachmas and the more plentiful half drachmas, which imitate dirhams issued from Aleppo and Damascus. Although it is not certain where these two early series were minted, it is likely the Crusader imitations were minted in Acre, which was the main trading center as well as the de facto capital of the Latin Kingdom.[510] The earlier series appears to have been struck between 1216 and 1240/1 on the model of the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo, al-Zahir Ghazi (Fig. 111).[511] Al-Zahir Ghazi was the son of Saladin who ruled Aleppo from 1186 until he died in 1216 (AH 582–613).

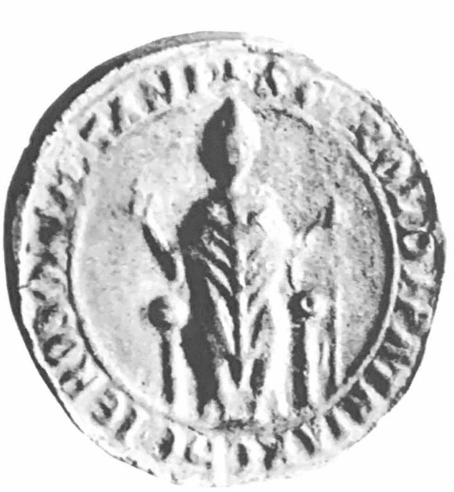
The imitations are very skillfully done, but on the basis of careful analysis of the dates in the inscriptions, the type of coin in relation to its dies, and the metrology and the alloys of the coins,[512] numismatists can identify the Ayyubid originals as distinguished from the Crusader copies. The Aleppo coin features a hexagram or six-pointed star of the "Seal of Solomon" type on both the obverse and the reverse, both containing identifying inscriptions in Arabic. On one side is found al-Zahir's name and titles, while on the other side are found the names of his overlords, Sultan al-Adil and Caliph an-Nasir. The Crusader imitation gives al-Zahir-type coins dates that fall after his death in 1216. Bates proposes the thesis that these imitative dirhams came into existence because al-Zahir was allied with the Crusaders in the early thirteenth century, and according to the terms of a treaty with the Venetians in 1207/8, "Venetian merchants could have access to the mint at Aleppo to have coins struck from any silver bullion they might bring to the city."[513] When al-Zahir died and the alliance had ended, the Crusaders, or possibly the Venetians, continued to make these coins. In any case, he interprets these coins to be intended for circulation with genuine Ayyubid coins for trade between the Latin Kingdom and the contiguous Muslim states.

The second series of Crusader imitations is based on the Damascus coinage of Sultan as-Salih Ismail and dates from 1240/1 (AH 641) (Fig. 112).[514] Bates proposes that again a specific historical event precipitated the changeover. In 1240 the Crusaders briefly entered into an alliance with as-Salih Ismail, under whose terms they were permitted to come to Damascus to purchase arms and supplies.[515] Aleppo imitations were apparently used for this expedition, but the Crusaders no doubt readily discovered that the al-Zahir coins were out-of-date, so they began to produce equally careful imitations of the current Damascus coinage of as-Salih Ismail. These new imitations begin in 1240; they have the main inscriptions inside a square enclosed by the rim of the circle of the coin. On one side there is the name and titles of as-Salih Ismail, with other information (date and mint location) in the segments outside the square. On the other side is the name and titles of the caliph al-Mustansir and Muslim professions of faith in the segments. Again, the Crusaders issued these coins between 1240 and 1246, for which Bates has analyzed four types.[516] Again here, these silver coins were issued to circulate between the Latin Kingdom and the contiguous Ayyubid states of Damascus and Egypt among others. This differs fundamentally from the gold bezants minted by the Crusaders in imitation of Fatimid dinars, which were intended to be a currency separate from the Muslims for use within the Crusader States and with other Christians in the Near East.[517]

One of the mysterious aspects of coinage in the Latin Kingdom is the presence of large numbers of feudal French coins in the first half of the thirteenth century, and the conspicuous absence of very many examples from anywhere else. We know for one thing that the Crusaders were not melting down foreign currency in the thirteenth century the way they had before 1187. In addition given the fact that the Latin Kingdom was financially in a very strong condition after the Third Crusade, when Acre and Tyre enjoyed a certain commercial prosperity,[518] at least up to the defeats of 1244, it is puzzling why mainly only French coins are found. Although French coins predominated, as they had in stray finds from the time of the First Crusade, their numbers must be explained by some kind of economic phenomenon – Metcalf has suggested a balance of payments surplus in favor of France.[519] Metcalf notes also the curious lack of other Western coins in relevant Near Eastern hoards when there must have been a number of German pilgrims and there certainly was vigorous trading going on with Italian merchants in all the major Crusader port cities. This suggests that the Teutonic Order may have been serving the German Crusaders and pilgrims, the way we know the Templars served as bankers for others,[520] and that Italian merchants may have



112. Acre, silver dirham of Ismail. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)



113. Acre, seal of Gerold, patriarch of Jerusalem, reverse. (photo: after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*)

carried on their business by means of credit transactions to a much larger extent than the French.[521]

Finally, in Cyprus King Henry I pointedly avoided issuing any coins that resembled those of Frederick II. Instead he followed the lead of his predecessors, Guy de Lusignan and Hugh I, by issuing Byzantine-style bezants and deniers with the typical Crusader program of a cross on the reverse and an architectural motif on the obverse.[522]

The coinage of the Crusader States has proven to be an important if selective bellweather of economic, cultural, and artistic developments throughout the period of Frankish presence in the Near East. In the years 1225–44 it is truly fascinating to see the amazing variety of architectural motifs that appear, most very similar to each other, but all diversified by certain special characteristics. Not only do these motifs of fortified towers, walls, and gates on the coins genuinely continue a Crusader tradition of architectural imagery seen earlier, but they also reflect the fact that a great deal of the Crusader construction in this period was focused on massive fortifications for cities and castle building, in terms of either new sites or rebuilding already existing fortresses. The fact that some of these coins imitate Muslim prototypes, either new examples or continuing types known from the twelfth century, and others seem to show clear sensitivity to, even careful study of, Muslim design is a telling aspect of how much the Crusaders, economically as well as politically, militarily, and diplomatically, while interacting with their Muslim adversaries were also becoming involved in some of their cultural forms. The increase in the Muslim impact on Crusader coins seems to be one important indication of how life and art in the Crusader States were changing between 1225 and the 1240s. The importance of French coinage in the finds of relevant coin hoards is perhaps most surprising only in the context of the comparative lack of other Western issues. The fact is, the French presence seen in the coinage in this period would only increase in the coming years as French influence grew stronger in other artistic media as well.

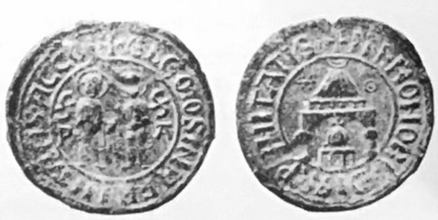
Seals

We have already mentioned the remarkable golden seals of Frederick II, which although totally Western in design do carry a reference to the king of Jerusalem. At least one of these seals must have been used in the Latin Kingdom.[523] Other seals found in the Latin Kingdom during this period are more closely tied to the Crusader East. Schlumberger publishes a single seal of John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, which has a castle on the reverse with the inscription, "Castellum Civitas Berity," in the manner of his coinage as well.[524] On the obverse there is an armed knight brandishing a sword, reminding us of the widespread imagery of the Crusader as soldier, often riding a galloping horse, from the twelfth-century seals.

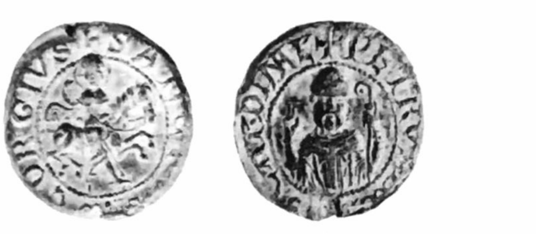
There seem to exist significantly more ecclesiastical than secular seals in this period, including those of Gerold of Lausanne, patriarch of Jerusalem (Fig. 113). In the same way that John of Ibelin follows a conservative tradition in the design of his seal, so Gerold employs the familiar "Anastasis" iconography of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on the obverse. This imagery was seen already in the twelfth century on the seal of the patriarch Heraclius.[525] Similarly in Antioch, the Latin patriarch there, Albert (1226–45), retains the traditional pairing of St. Peter on the reverse and himself as patriarch on the obverse,[526] thereby harking back to the Latin petrine origins of the see of Antioch and the imagery of its early coinage during the Crusader period.

It is also notable that many seals exist from this period, or from slightly later, for religious institutions in Acre: monasteries, convents, priories, and abbeys, institutions – like the patriarch of Jerusalem – that in many cases had relocated in the capital city after Jerusalem was lost in 1187.[527] Among these the most topical and intriguing for us is perhaps the seal of the confraternity of St. André (Fig. 114).[528] It was this organization that formed the basis for the commune of Acre, which came into existence in 1232. The confraternity seal featured the standing images of Sts. Peter and Andrew on the obverse with an inscription, "+Elemosina Fraternitatis Acco," which thereby focused on the *raison d'être* of this organization. On the reverse we find an image of the Holy Sepulchre surmounted by the rotunda, referencing the holiest of the holy sites in the Latin Kingdom, a site made accessible under the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229. The mystery is whether the commune of Acre, which existed from 1232 to 1243, also had its own seal, for documents issued under its corporate authority, and if so whether it was related to this seal.

Finally, one seal from this period that is not Crusader, but may show Crusader influence in Rome, is worth mentioning. A seal of Peter Capuano, cardinal deacon of St. George (Fig. 115), came on the market in 1999, which shows a frontal bishop on the reverse and a mounted figure of St. George on the obverse.[529] It is quite interesting that the image of the mounted George is dressed as a Frankish knight with chain mail and spurs on a spirited galloping horse just as we see in certain Crusader icons. We may wonder how and why Peter chose this



114. Acre, Seal of the Confraternity of St. Andre. (photo: after Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*)



115. Seal of Peter Capuano, Cardinal Deacon of St. George, elevated by pope Honorius III or Honorius IV. (photo: after Spink auction catalogue 132)

image on his seal and to what extent it may reflect Crusader imagery from the Latin East.

In sum, the seals extant appear to affirm a conservative effort to retain traditional forms during a period characterized by dramatic political and military change. It is perhaps not surprising to find that Frederick II staunchly retains his own imperial design, which in seals as in politics reflects his policy of forcefully imposing his will on those he dealt with. It is a bit more surprising to find that otherwise the seals from the Crusader States were to some extent more traditional and less experimental in their imagery than the coins, reversing a relationship we found to exist in the twelfth century.

Metalwork

The situation with metalwork in the Latin Kingdom is, as usual, more difficult to assess than the coinage or the seals. We know of many major pilgrims, as noted earlier, a number of whom apparently took important relics home, some of which must have been protected in metal reliquaries. We know what some of those relics were said to be, especially the more celebrated relics that went to England, although we know very little about the metal reliquaries. There was the Holy Rood of Bromholm, the imprint of Christ's Holy Foot at Westminster, and especially the relic of the Holy Blood, which King Henry III personally carried to Westminster in procession in 1247. Matthew Paris illustrated all three of these relics in either his *Chronica Majora* or elsewhere.[530]

The Holy Rood of Bromholm apparently arrived in England before 1223 from Constantinople, carried by the English chaplain of the Latin Emperor, Baldwin I.[531] Its origin before that is not known; the question is "did it come from the Holy Land during the time of the Crusaders or was it a relic of the True Cross that had resided for centuries in Byzantium?" What is significant for us in this period 1225–44 is that it is clearly a double-armed cross, an image of the True Cross as the Crusaders had celebrated it in the twelfth century prior to the battle of Hattin. The story of how it came to the priory at Bromholm after monks at the Monastery of St. Albans doubted its authenticity is as remarkable as is its efficacy as a miracle-working relic. Between 1226, when King Henry III made his first pilgrimage to Bromholm, and 1248, it was frequently visited by prominent pilgrims and made the object of generous donations. We know of its configuration because of imagery that survives in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, and its appearance on the seal of Bromholm Priory.[532] It is significant that just as interest in the relics of Christ's Passion was building in western Europe, stimulated by the surge of relics sent westward after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, the image of the True Cross again becomes a central focus. It also raises the question to what extent the goldsmiths in the Crusader kingdom were again active, perhaps in Acre, or even in Jerusalem while it was open and accessible to Christian pilgrims, that is, between 1229 and 1244.

The imprint of Christ's Holy Foot, the *Passus Christi*, came to England later, in the 1240s, in the hands of the Dominicans. Matthew Paris describes this relic as follows:

> About this time [1249], too, the Dominican friars brought to England a stone of white marble, which had been in the Holy Land since the time of Christ and which bore the impression of our Saviour's foot on it, which, as if it were made of soft wax, plainly showed the form of half a human foot. The inhabitants of the Holy Land declare this impression to have been the footprint of Christ made when, ascending to heaven, he took leave of his disciples, in order that this sign might perpetuate to his disciples the memory of him at whom they gazed for the last time and whom they would not see until he would come again to judge the world. In the same way also, Christ is said to have made the impression of his face, which he is reported to have done for St. Veronica, that his memory might be cherished on earth. The king presented this noble gift to the church of Westminster, as he had lately done with the blood of Christ.[533]

This story is important because first, it links the relic directly with the Holy Land and the holy site of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, where the imprint of Christ's foot is said to be visible even today. Jerusalem is, of course, a holy city that preserves other holy imprints, in particular that of Muhammed on the rock under the Dome of the Rock. The story of the *Passus Christi* suggests that this imprint had been acquired by the Dominicans before the Holy City was lost in 1244. One wonders how an imprint like this could have been authentically duplicated, but Matthew Paris explains this in regard to the original with reference to the veil of Veronica and the miraculous image of Christ "not made by human hands." The relic was mounted with silver, again metalwork possibly done by the gold- and/or silversmiths of the Latin Kingdom.[534]

For the Holy Blood of Christ, Matthew Paris records the story of its reception by King Henry III at some length, and provides an illustration of the king carrying the vessel with the precious substance to Westminster.[535] Matthew Paris writes:

> About the same time [1247] the king wrote to all the nobles of his kingdom, ordering them to assemble [in London] on the feast of St. Edward . . . to hear the most agreeable news of the holy benefaction lately conferred by heaven upon the English. . . . The master of the Templars and Hospitalers, with the testimony of a great many seals, clearly those of the patriarch of Jerusalem, of the archbishops and bishops, of the abbots and the other prelates and important persons, had sent a portion of the blood of our Lord, which he shed on the cross for the salvation of the world, enclosed in a handsome crystalline vessel. . . . And the king, as a most Christian prince, had obtained it from the . . . emperor, following the example of the then living French king who was bestowing all honor at Paris on the [relic of the] cross. . . .
>
> The king then gave orders that all the priests of London should assemble . . . dressed for a feast . . . attended by their clerks also appropriately clad, and with their symbols, crosses, and lighted tapers. The king also went thus and, receiving the vessel containing the aforesaid treasure with the greatest honor, reverence and awe, he carried it above his head

> publicly, going on foot and wearing humble dress.... Nor should it be overlooked that he carried it with both hands when he came to any rough or uneven part of the road, but always kept his eyes fixed on heaven or upon the vessel itself. The canopy was borne on four spears.

After the procession had reached Westminster, a sermon was preached on the Holy Blood of Christ. Then Matthew Paris, who was an eyewitness to this event, was summoned by the king on his royal throne in the nave of the church:

> "You have observed all these things, and is what you have seen firmly impressed on your mind?" "Yes, my lord, for the splendid events of this day are worthy of being recorded."

The king then said to Matthew Paris:

> "I therefore beseech you to write an accurate and full account of all these proceedings and write them in a noble and indelible script in a book that their memory may not in any way be lost to posterity."[536]

This passage is exceedingly interesting for several reasons. The story is told in great detail and Matthew then records it in an equally detailed narrative image, the last full-scale illustration to appear in the *Chronica Majora*.[537] Matthew Paris as eyewitness is directly commissioned to record the events. The king asks him to write them in a book, but Matthew apparently decides that these events are worthy of both a detailed description and a narrative image. What the image records that the text does not describe is the shape, colors, and character of the "crystalline vessel"; the fact that the king holds the vessel in draped hands as a sign of reverence and respect, in the manner that the priest would hold the eucharistic chalice during the liturgy; and the shape and colors of the canopy – rich burgundy red with golden circular designs – presumably made of silk or some other rich fabric. The image is a remarkable complement to the text, and it testifies to how seriously Matthew Paris took his charge to render the important events he had seen with care and precision, according to what he and the king understood to be the highest standards of an "accurate and full account." The Gothic naturalism that Villard de Honnecourt exhibited as an architectural observer in the 1230s in France are paralleled here by Matthew Paris as an historical observer in the 1240s and 1250s in England.[538]

We learn from this episode how important such a holy relic of the Holy Blood was to Henry III. The English king, having learned of the fabulous success of Louis IX in bringing relics of the Passion to his new palace chapel in Paris – many of which came to him via the Holy Land – may well "have felt a pang of envy."[539] The image gives special focus on the way Henry takes the relic in procession, emulating his brother-in-law Louis in Paris, and the way that Henry visually, as anointed king, combines royal and sacerdotal roles.[540] We learn how important seals of reliable and important witnesses were for authenticating the relic itself. We learn that the king expected Matthew to record these events in a manuscript book, a kind of official history, so that the importance of this event could be known to future generations. Also we learn that a precious reliquary was the vessel brought to Westminster by the king so that devout Christians could come there to venerate the Holy Blood.

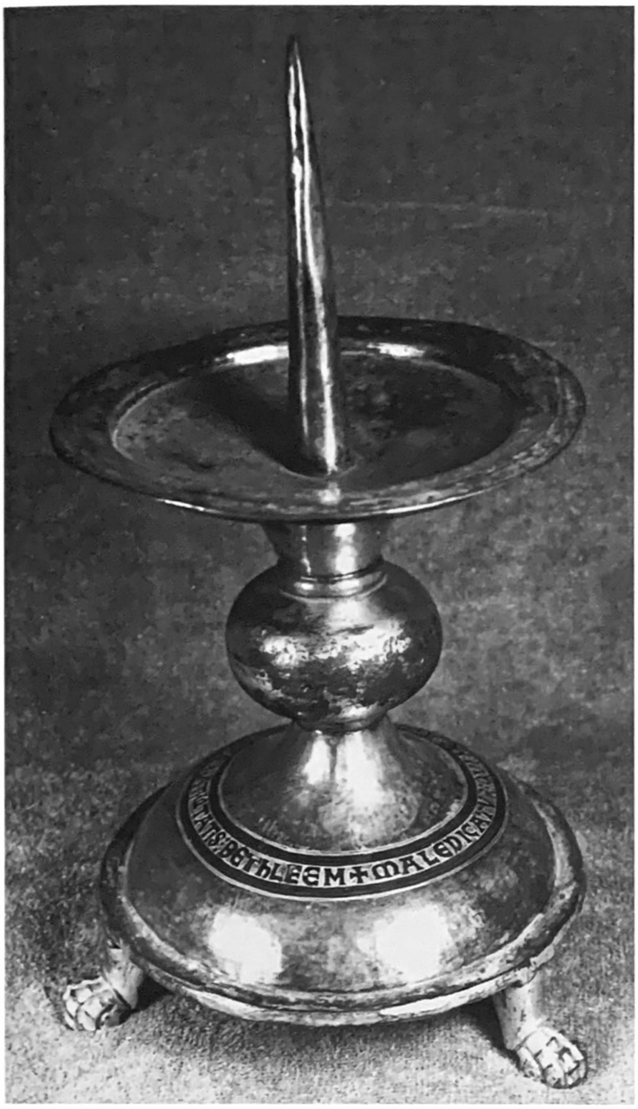
Finally, what is significant about this episode for our discussion, even if the relic and the reliquary no longer exist, is that they are said to have come directly from the Holy Land. Again, it was the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem that supplied this precious relic, not the Latin Empire of Constantinople, attesting to the importance still attached to the holy sites as a source of precious relics. This is of note both because the relics of Louis IX had come from Constantinople by contrast, even if many had come via the Holy Land, and because it meant that it was still possible to obtain such relics, and special vessels to contain them, in the Holy Land. Presumably in 1247 this meant that the reliquary of the Holy Blood sent to Henry III by the Hospitallers and the Templars was produced in Acre.[541]

Despite the vivid testimony of chroniclers and artists like Matthew Paris, we have very few actual objects of metalwork such as reliquaries, liturgical objects, candlesticks, and other religious – or secular – metalwork extant or identified as yet from this period. On the other hand we know that a great deal of such metalwork existed, and was transported both East to West, as we have seen above, and West to East, as the case discussed in the following will demonstrate.

In 1245, the new bishop of Bethlehem, Gottifredo de' Prefetti de Vico, petitioned the pope to recover rights to the property of his see. This property, including liturgical vessels and relics, had been disposed of improperly by his predecessor, Bishop-elect Giovanni Romano, when, following the loss of Jerusalem and Bethlehem in August of 1244, he had sold it off, presumably to raise money. With the loss of his see, Bishop-elect Giovanni had been translated to Paphos on Cyprus in 1245, and the problem had arisen because the pope had nominated Gottifredo, or Godfrey, to be the new bishop of Bethlehem and eventually to take up residence there.[542]

When he was appointed bishop of Bethlehem on 3 January 1245 by Innocent IV, Gottifredo immediately submitted his petition. By 22 February 1245, the pope had directed the patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, to take authority in this matter and restore the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem to its property rights. In a second letter of 20 August 1245 the pope refers to certain specific relics – major relics of the Church – a nail and a hammer used at the crucifixion of Christ, as well as a hand of the apostle Thomas, along with other property that he authorizes Bishop Gottifredo to reclaim, with either the Templars or the Hospitallers as guarantors for these precious objects. Bishop Giovanni Romano was meanwhile directed to appear at Lyon for an inquest in the spring of 1246. When he failed to appear, the pope wrote to Patriarch Robert and the new bishop of Acre, Gauthier of Provins, explaining the weighty charges against Giovanni Romano. In this letter he outlines in detail the buyers, both religious and secular, of property improperly disposed of, including the *bailli* of Jerusalem, the lord of Beirut, Balian III d'Ibelin. Bishop Giovanni Romano continued to ignore the papal summons. The resolution of this conflict occurred during the year 1247 when Bishop Giovanni was condemned. He was removed from the see of Paphos, and a new bishop was named there, Guy de Mimars, but Giovanni was allowed to remain in the East and reside in Jaffa. Meanwhile Gottifredo proceeded to reclaim the alienated property of the see of Bethlehem.[543]

In 1863, excavations in a cloister near the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem recovered certain liturgical objects, which appear to have played a role in this peculiar affair.[544] Two



116. Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity: candlestick no. 1.

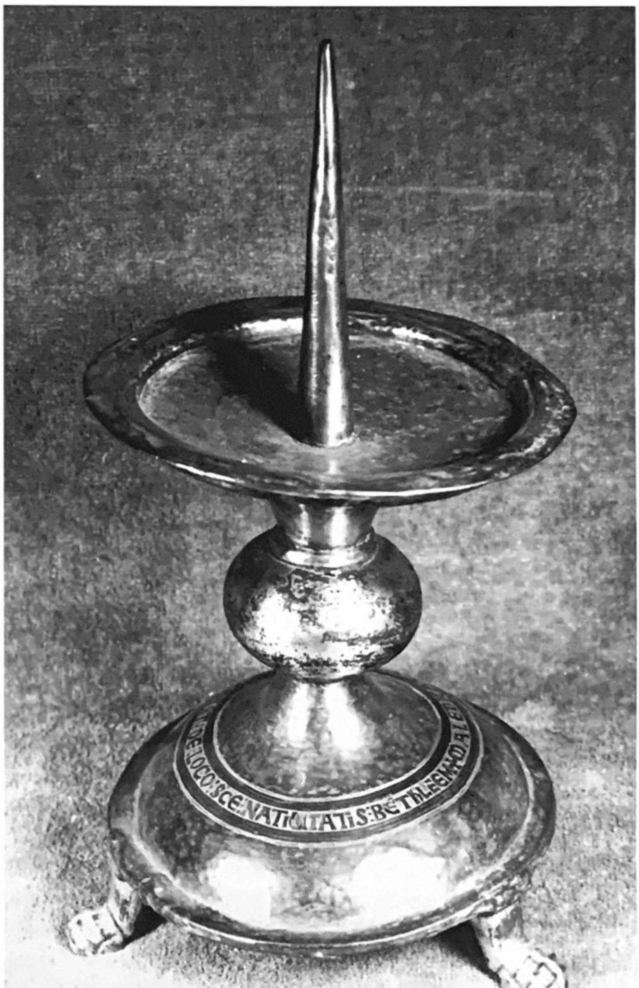
bronze bowls, decorated with scenes of the life of St. Thomas, along with five candlesticks and a crozier were found. Two of the candlesticks are inscribed with the following inscription, in niello on silver:

> maledicatur qui me aufert de loco sce nativitatis bethleem

that is, "anathema to him who would take me away from the site of the holy Nativity in Bethelehem."[545]

The objects found in 1863 are extant today in the Franciscan Convent of the Flagellation from the treasury of Bethlehem that Gottifredo de' Prefetti de Vico successfully restored. In 1906 a peal of 13 bells and 250 copper organ pipes were also found at Bethlehem from a separate site, the only such sets we have in the Crusader Kingdom.[546] The two bronze bowls, or *bacili*, were done in the twelfth century;[547] the crozier[548] and three of the candlesticks[549] are twelfth- and thirteenth-century Limoges enameled work, all of which apparently came from the West. The two silver candlesticks with the inscriptions may have been done in the West or in the Latin East and placed in the treasury in Bethlehem by Bishop Gottifredo (Figs. 116–17).[550] The bells and organ pipes may also be from the thirteenth century, and they appear to have been made in the West.[551]

These objects, now in the Museum of the Convent of the Flagellation, may have been part of the "aliis rebus ecclesie Bethleemitane" that the pope referred to in his letter of August 1245.[552] Although opinions have differed over when they were acquired for the church at Bethlehem, it appears that some of these objects represent part of the property improperly alienated by Giovanni Romano, and that with the possible exception of the two silver candlesticks and the musical objects, they were repatriated as part of this long inquest. The significant aspect about these works is that they are mostly works originally commissioned and produced in the West and brought to Bethlehem at some point. Some of the thirteenth-century objects may have entered the church treasury shortly before the inquest began in 1245. The silver candlesticks, however, may have been done for Gottifredo de' Prefetti himself in the Latin Kingdom at some point when he went out there to take up residence in the 1250s. Otherwise, they could be slightly earlier works for which Gottifredo commissioned the special niello inscriptions to be added with reference to the long affair over the Bethlehem church treasure. In either case, this remarkable set of objects taken together forms a telling indication that significant metalwork was being brought to the Crusader East in the twelfth



117. Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity: candlestick no. 2.

and in the first half of the thirteenth century. This phenomenon occurred even while Crusader metalwork was also being produced in the Latin Kingdom, perhaps on a level somewhat reduced in quantity, but not necessarily in quality, compared to work in Jerusalem before 1187.

The situation with the metalwork is obviously very incompletely understood, and it appears that this is one area along with the painting in manuscripts and on panels where significant new finds may be made in the future. Whereas works like the Bethlehem bowls or the Limoges candlesticks clearly are not "Crusader" in origin, they nonetheless become "Crusader" in function. Likewise they and other works brought similarly from the West must have influenced what the Crusaders themselves used and produced. Both issues warrant further investigation.

MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION AND PANEL PAINTING

The period 1225 to 1244 appears to be characterized by a certain amount of scribal activity in the Latin Kingdom. There was the execution of liturgical manuscripts and other private religious books, and the copying of the cartulary of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. This probably indicates that Crusader scriptoria were trying to meet the new needs of ecclesiastical establishments and of the resident Franks, and that there was a continuing effort to replace books destroyed in the wake of Saladin's conquest in 1187–8 or other more recent devastation.

In the period of 1229–44, there is no doubt that some of the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher returned to Jerusalem to perform the liturgy. On the other hand, we know that the patriarch of Jerusalem did not take up residence there, partly because of his opposition to the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa, and partly because Jerusalem had had its walls dismantled in 1219, and therefore the Holy City remained undefended. In view of this situation it is not likely that the scriptorium of Jerusalem was reestablished in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as it had existed prior to 1187. What is clear is that a series of manuscript books closely related to each other in terms of scribal hands, and also closely linked to the Holy Sepulcher, were written,[553] which must have been done in its scriptorium wherever it had been reestablished, very likely in Acre.

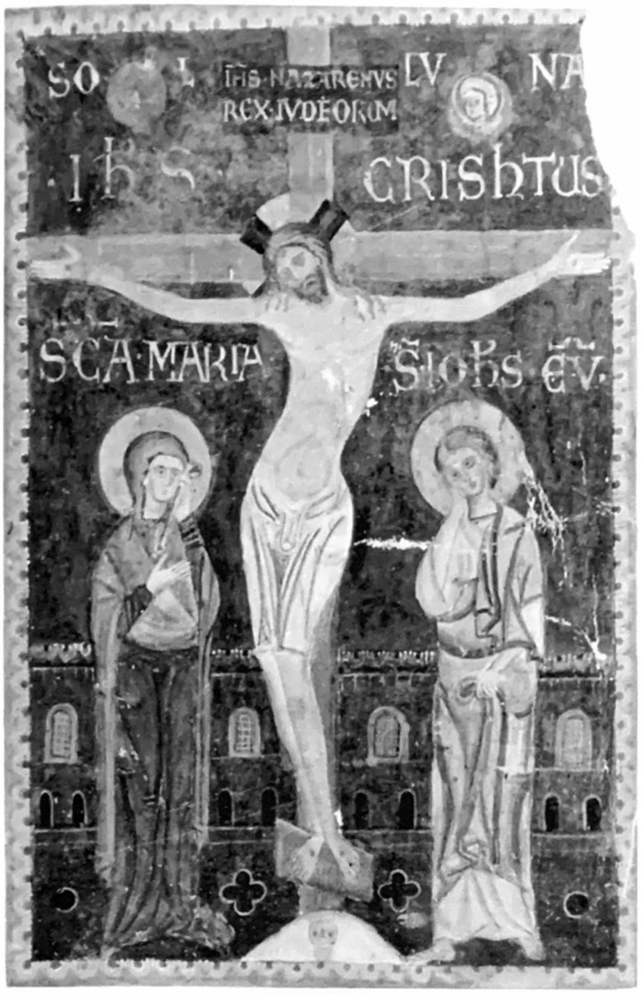
First, there is an illustrated sacramentary for the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which is now in the British Library, Egerton MS 2902 (Fig. 118).[554] Second and third, there is the rituale for the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, in manuscripts basically undecorated in regard to painted figural designs, one in the Vatican Library, Barberini Latin MS 659,[555] and the other in the Church of San Sepolcro in Barletta.[556] Fourth and fifth, there are undecorated manuscripts that are copies of the cartulary of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, both now in the Vatican Library, Vatican Latin MS 4947[557] and Vatican Latin MS 7241.[558] Finally, closely related to these five manuscripts on the basis of scribal hands is another mostly undecorated codex known as the pontifical of Apamea, a codex formerly in the private collection of F. Wormald and now in the British Library (Fig. 119).[559] Each of these manuscripts has some interesting special features, some of which have been noted earlier, all of them are closely related on palaeographical grounds, and Egerton MS 2902 and the pontifical of Apamea are so closely related that they must have been copied by the same scribe, according to Wormald.[560]

It cannot be determined precisely where these manuscripts were all written, but it is very probable they were produced in a scriptorium established by the patriarch of Jerusalem, who lived in Acre throughout this period, and the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, who also apparently mostly lived in Acre, near their residences. Kohler points out, incidentally, that if the complete chapter of canons at the Holy Sepulcher had returned to Jerusalem after 1191, they would have been the only ones to do so as a group, and this seems to be true after 1229 as well.[561] If the new scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was located in Acre, as seems likely, it was very possibly in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross. Most of these manuscripts were copying texts, some with calendars, that originally were written for the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, but at this later point were apparently being used widely in the Latin Kingdom.

The only books to receive painted decoration in this group are the sacramentary[562] (Fig. 118, CD nos. 15–20) and the pontifical[563] (Fig. 119, CD no. 21), both of which are now in the British Library. They are both liturgical books, not private luxury prayer books. The calendar of the sacramentary has strong Jerusalem ties, but it also includes an unusual series of saints from the south of France, including St. Trophime of Arles and St. Apollinaris, bishop of Valence. This suggests that possibly the calendar copied in this codex was commissioned by Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem (1225–39), who had been formerly abbot of Cluny and bishop of Valence.[564]

The main illustration in the sacramentary is a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion, which appears in the traditional location, at the start of the "Te igitur" text that begins the canon of the mass. The same painter also does a series of ornamental initials. Compared to the earlier Crucifixions in the Naples Missal (*c.*1200) or the Melisende Psalter (*c.*1135), this image has lost its close link with the Byzantine tradition. This artist certainly does not display the competent understanding of Byzantine iconography and figure style demonstrated by Basil in the Crucifixion of the Melisende Psalter. Yet even though his image is simplified iconographically into the figures of Christ, Mary, and John as seen typically in thirteenth-century painting, he does not match the Italianate painter of the Naples Missal in achieving a certain monumentality in the forms and a vivaciousness expressed in a lively colorism.

On the whole the Crucifixion in the Egerton sacramentary reflects modest goals on the part of the artist, and the end result is somewhat heavy-handed. Even though the figures are slender and the outlines of the attenuated Christ on the cross could even be seen as graceful, his body seems flat and lifeless, just as the bodies of Mary and John seem blocky, infusing the latter with a rigidity that even their gestures of sorrow cannot overcome. These formal characteristics are combined with an unusual choice of colors. The frame is red with an orange scalloped motif and white highlights. The background is dark blue, with an architectural backdrop below consisting of a dark green wall with a purple roof and red windows. The cross is colored by halves: the left side/lower side in soft light brown, the right side/upper side in soft light green. Christ is red-haired as seen on some Limoges enamels. Mary wears a bright dark-blue tunic with a purple veil/maphorion; John is in an orange-red



118. Sacramentary, London, British Library, Egerton MS 2902: fol. 14v, Crucifixion (full-page panel). (photo by courtesy of the British Library, London)

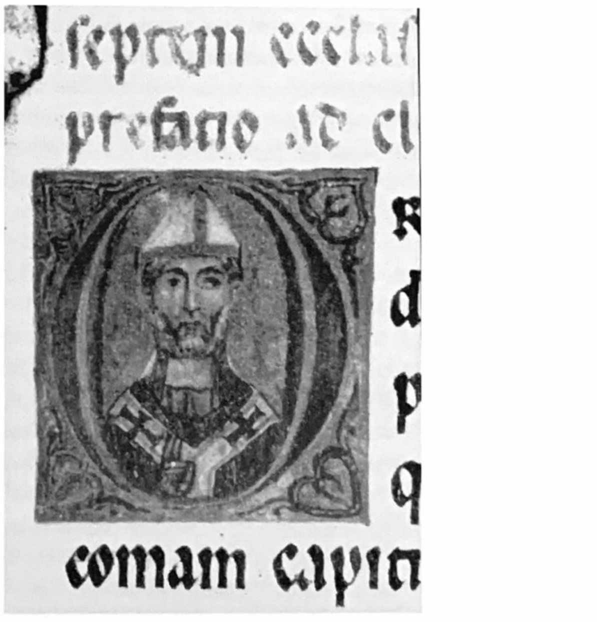
tunic and a light blue cloak. They all have orange haloes. The unusual colors, the traditional four-nail Crucifixion iconography, the simplified forms combined with the overly large and busy inscriptions, produce a curious effect. The odd spelling of Christ's name, "Crishtus," is particularly puzzling.[565]

As Buchthal characterizes it, this image "appears to be copied from a western model in the 'Italo-Byzantine' style." The artist was clearly not French Gothic; rather if he was a Westerner he may have been Italian or of Italian ancestry. Otherwise, he might have been born in the Crusader East and trained by Crusader artists of Italian background. Whoever he was, he has tried to grapple with the competing claims of Byzantine icon painting, the local Crusader tradition, and his own personal style and imagery, without great success. The mediocre result appears to be the product of a second-rate artist who has better results with the local tradition in his ornamental initials than with this large figural miniature. His initials for the opening prayers of the preface of the canon, "Per omnia . . . ," and "Vere dignum . . . ," follow types seen in earlier twelfth-century Jerusalem manuscripts, albeit very reduced and simplified, that must have been known through model books and/or atelier sketches.[566] Unlike those earlier manuscripts or the pontifical, however, the decoration of the sacramentary includes no gold or silver.

By contrast the pontifical has only one small but significant historiated initial. It features the bust of a mitered archbishop wearing the pallium – the figure for whom this book is specifically made – as the opening initial for the text that begins the first prayer, "*Oremus . . .* ". However, modest as it is, this initial combined with the other nonfigural initials reflect a level of decoration not found in the sacramentary, because of the use of gold for the bishop's miter, and for the major initials in the text, which feature a blue and gold format.

Despite its modest decoration, the pontifical is by far the more famous of these two manuscripts because of its liturgical text, a text first published in 1700.[567] At that time, however, the text was known by a modern copy, and the original manuscript only surfaced in a London sale-room in 1946, where Francis Wormald had the good fortune of acquiring it. The text is basically a Roman pontifical as it is known from the late twelfth century, and the current name of this manuscript derives from some contemporary additions. On fol. 21r, in the lower right margin, following the order for the consecration of a bishop, there has been added a profession of obedience to the archbishop of Apamea. Second, on fol. 205r, there is a long profession of obedience to the archbishop of Apamea, specifically from the bishop of Valania, on the coast of Syria, just north of Margat, in 1214.[568]

It will be evident from this discussion that, besides the decoration and the scribal hand, the only Eastern aspects of this liturgical text are these two additions, which were made shortly after the manuscript was copied. Furthermore, not only was the pontifical probably not made specifically for Apamea or Valania, but also the scribe used an old version of the text, not the recently revised pontifical of Innocent III. Thus the attribution of this manuscript to the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher depends on its palaeographical and codicological closeness to the sacramentary, and to some extent to the Riccardiana Psalter.



119. Pontifical of Apamea, London, British Library, Add. MS 57528, originally from the collection of F. Wormald: fol. 1r, (O)remus . . . , historiated initial with bust of an archbishop. (photo by courtesy of the British Library, London)

The codicological features of the pontifical and the sacramentary, as well as the style of their script, are all very close, but nonetheless the work of the two painters seems quite different: different in style and different in the use of color, sometimes color that is rather garish. Thus Wormald correctly observed that these manuscripts may have been done by the same scribe,[569] a man named *Normandus*, but as Buchthal observed, they appear to have been done for different patrons by different painters. Wormald suggested on the basis of the scribal characteristics and the calendar that the sacramentary may have been done during the reign of Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem, 1227–39. The pontifical of Apamea can probably be assigned to approximately the same period, 1229–44, when the new access to Jerusalem perhaps stimulated commissions for additional liturgical books, and when the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher was possibly newly reorganized, probably in Acre.

The Riccardiana Psalter (Color Plate 2, Fig. 120, CD nos. 22–37)

The most famous illustrated manuscript to be associated with the Crusaders in the Holy Land during this period is the psalter now in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, MS 323.[570] Like the psalter of Queen Melisende done in Jerusalem *c.*1135, the Riccardiana Psalter is also richly decorated and illustrated.[571] It is clearly a work of the first rank, done for a special patron, perhaps also for a special occasion. In his incisive analysis, Buchthal identified its major remarkable characteristics, for which he proposed a provocative patron, and certainly to date, the most cogent interpretation of the evidence. However, problems remain and this difficult manuscript has defied Buchthal's attempt to reach a consensus understanding of its origins, nature, and function.[572] It is worthwhile here to review its important features and to attempt to carry the discussion further.

Palaeographically, the main scribal hand of the Riccardiana Psalter belongs to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, as both Wormald and Buchthal indicate.[573] The manuscript also has additions to the calendar from the late thirteenth century, even later emendations to the calendar and brief text passages (fols. 12v, 13, 14r) from the early fourteenth century, and the codex was signed by a Sister Margharita probably in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.[574]

The content of the codex includes a handsomely decorated calendar, with red and blue "KL" initials on lustrous matte gold. The calendar contains many Jerusalem episcopal commemorations, a number of north Italian saints not normally found in a Jerusalem context,[575] three special additions made in the second half of the thirteenth century,[576] along with the addition of Dominican entries in an even later hand.[577] The festival commemorating the capture of Jerusalem is included at 15 July by the original hand, along with the feast days of St. Francis (4 October), St. Thomas Aquinas (27 March), and Louis IX (25 August), among several others, by the later Dominican hand. The commemorations of numerous Jerusalem bishops along with that of taking the Holy City by the First Crusade make clear it is a Jerusalem calendar in origin, and the later entries would presumably not have been begun before the canonization of St. Thomas Aquinas in 1323.

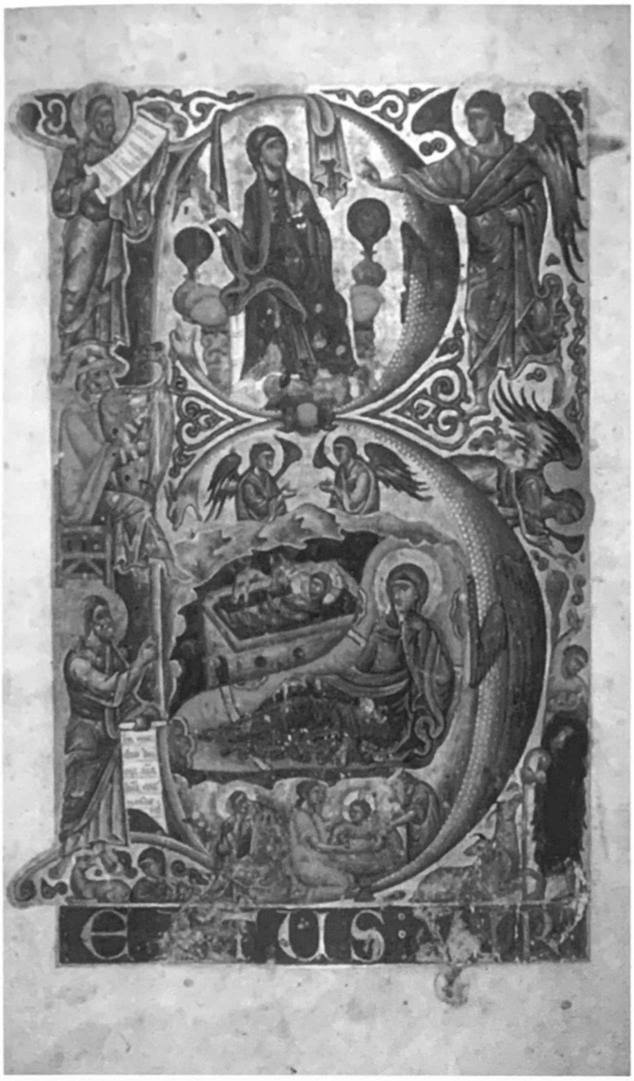
For the psalter itself, there is a full-page illustration with the Annunciation and the Nativity in the familiar "B" of the "Beatus vir" text that begins the first psalm (Fig. 120). Following this there are seven smaller panel miniatures continuing the life of Christ at the start of the subsequent sections of the psalter text, at Psalms 26 (Adoration of the Magi), 38 (Presentation in the Temple), 52 (Entry into Jerusalem), 68 (Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet), 80 (Harrowing of Hell with the Holy Women at the Sepulcher), 97 (Ascension), and 109 (Pentecost). Overall these sections form the standard eight-part or "liturgical" divisions in the Latin Church, which correspond to psalm divisions of the Roman office.[578] The practice of including a narrative cycle of images of the life of Christ distributed through the text of the psalter, but unrelated to it, and not as a prefatory cycle as we find in France and England,[579] was specific to Germany, as Buchthal pointed out.[580] There are also numerous illuminated initials, some with flora and/or fauna, some historiated with images of Christ, saints, and other holy men.

The psalter is followed by a litany at fols. 171r–v and 172r,[581] and then a set of prayers on fols. 172v–174v. The litany copied here was originally composed for a Benedictine nun.[582] Although there are no Jerusalem bishops to match those in the calendar, the references to female saints include St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary; this may be a reference to the royal Benedictine convent of St. Anne in the Holy City. Even though this house was appropriated by Saladin at the time of his conquest in 1187, the nuns migrated to Acre where they had a convent with a church even larger than the one they had in Jerusalem. The litany for Riccardiana 323 may have been based on a prayerbook done for someone at St. Anne's in Acre. Otherwise, this litany is notable for its inclusion of large numbers of northern French saints, for a large proportion of abbesses among the women saints, and for the appearance of the names of two English martyr saints, Eadmund of East Anglia and Edward, who died at Corfe in 979. Among the prayers there are also some that suggest the codex was done for a woman in the convent: "pro custodia loci" (fol. 173r), and "pro abbatissa" and "pro conservanda virginitate" (fol. 174r).

Based on these observations, Buchthal argues that the psalter must have been produced by copying the text of a *de luxe* codex that had belonged to a noble lady of royal descent who had been a member of the convent of St. Anne's in the twelfth century. He thinks that this hypothetical model may well have been the only such devotional text available that reflected Jerusalem for the new scriptorium in the first half of the thirteenth century. So this older manuscript model was modified for its new patron. Appropriate changes were made in the calendar, the old litany was expanded with some important new additions, the basic corpus of prayers was retained, and a new prayer, "*pro comite,*" was added at the end (fol. 174v). In its new configuration, the psalter was made, not necessarily for a nun, but for a noble woman probably of royal rank.

He concludes his argument as follows:

> There can be no doubt that the decoration of the Riccardiana Psalter reflects German usage. The most likely person to have commissioned it is of course the Emperor Frederick himself. If this suggestion is accepted, the allusions to English royalty in the litany appear at once in their true perspective: the manuscript was written for the Emperor's third wife, the



120. The Riccardiana Psalter, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 323: fol. 14v, (B)eatus vir . . . , (historiated initial in full page panel) Annunciation and Nativity. (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ricc. 323). See Color Plate 2.

> English princess. As the marriage took place in 1235, this year provides a *terminus post quem*; a prayer "*pro comite*" which can only refer to the popular ex-king, John of Brienne, who died in 1237, gives a convenient *terminus ante*. The manuscript may thus be dated 1235/1237. The most likely assumption is that it was intended as a wedding present, to be sent to Worms to remind the Emperor's English bride, as well as his German subjects, of his outstanding success as the protector of the Holy Sepulcher. An illuminated manuscript of such distinction produced in his fabulous kingdom Outremer would be a rare and precious gift, eminently fitted to impress his countless guests at Worms where works of this kind had probably never been seen before.[583]

In sum, he proposes that Emperor Frederick II commissioned the codex as a wedding gift for his third wife, Isabel, sister of Henry III of England.

This scenario, although brilliantly conceived and methodologically sophisticated, nonetheless cannot survive historical scrutiny. If we accept the idea that the prayer "*pro comite*" specially added at the end of the manuscript at the time of its production refers to John of Brienne, it is inconceivable that it would have been commissioned by Frederick II in 1235. Frederick incurred the hatred of John of Brienne by his brutal treatment of John following the emperor's marriage to John's daughter in 1225. Subsequently, John of Brienne had personally led papal troops against Frederick into the kingdom of Sicily in 1228, and then been forced to flee into France when Frederick returned to confront him following his successful conclusion of the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229. By 1235 John of Brienne was in fact the co-emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, an unlikely candidate to be remembered by the prayer "*pro comite*" in any case. Finally, why in 1235 would there have been such a prayer in this manuscript referencing John of Brienne at all? Isabel, the sister of Henry III, had no close family relationship to John, and John had not been regent for Jerusalem since 1225.

The commission of this manuscript by the emperor in 1235 from the Holy Land would have been unlikely on other grounds as well. Between 1235 and 1237, the patriarch of Jerusalem was Gerold of Lausanne, the same patriarch who had expressed unmitigated opposition to Frederick's Treaty of Jaffa in 1229, the same patriarch who had leveled an interdict on Jerusalem during the emperor's visit to Jerusalem in March of that year. Gerold was, furthermore, the same patriarch whom Frederick had caused to be recalled to Rome during 1233–7 to face papal inquiry as a threat to his cause.[584] Furthermore, in 1235/7, the Latin Kingdom was, as we have seen previously, still divided by the bitter civil war that had raged between the imperial partisans and the Ibelins. Acre, the likely site of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher, as we have already suggested, was in the hands of the Ibelins. Therefore, it is unlikely that a manuscript commission from Frederick II would have been approved by Patriarch Gerold – or his appointed deputy in Acre – for his scriptorium to execute, especially while Acre was under Ibelin control. Certainly in 1235 there is no evidence that any other major scriptorium existed in the Holy Land, for example, in Tyre, which was in imperial hands, or least of all in Jerusalem, capable of work as outstanding as we find in the Riccardiana Psalter. Therefore, the notion that Frederick II would have commissioned a *de luxe* manuscript for his bride-to-be from the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in Acre in 1235 also seems highly unlikely, if not impossible.

The framework of Buchthal's and Wormald's analyses and aspects of Buchthal's hypothesis might still be useful and relevant if we change the circumstances, *mutatis mutandis*, from 1235–7, to 1225, ten years earlier. Consider the following: in 1225 Frederick II agreed to marry another Isabel, namely Isabel of Brienne, who was born in the Holy Land in 1212, the daughter of Queen Maria of Jerusalem and King John of Brienne. In 1225 when Frederick accepted the papal suggestion that he marry Queen Isabel, there was good reason to have a prayer, "*pro comite*," referring to John of Brienne in this devotional book. Queen Maria had died in childbirth in 1212 and Isabel's father, John of Brienne, at that point was regent for Isabel, no longer king himself. With the pope, the master of the Teutonic Knights, the patriarch Ralph of Jerusalem, and John of Brienne in agreement that this wedding was in the best interests of the Latin Kingdom, there can be no doubt that Frederick could have commissioned such a manuscript for his bride-to-be from the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher at that time. Based on the evidence we have, how likely is it that he did so?

The palaeographical characteristics of this manuscript, placing it in the second quarter of the thirteenth century by the hand of a French scribe, are still valid if the manuscript was commissioned in 1225 instead of 1235. The Jerusalem character of the calendar is also valid, with its Jerusalem bishops and the commemoration of the conquest of the Holy City by the First Crusade. The presence of north Italian saints in the calendar are not obviously relevant, but neither are they necessarily determinative. As Wormald himself says, "the Riccardiana calendar presents fewer peculiarities than the Egerton one. Whereas in the latter there was a marked display of south French saints which can with some reason be associated with the patriarch Gerold, in the Riccardiana calendar the most interesting saints which are not common to the Jerusalem calendar seem to be north Italian."[585] In any case, we have no evidence that the insertion of these north Italian saints in the calendar was necessarily done when the Riccardiana Psalter was produced.

The litany and the prayers at the end of the manuscript also provide similar problems. The inclusion of St. Elizabeth as a namesake for the bride-to-be is equally relevant for Isabel of Brienne as it was for Isabel of England, if it was a special addition. The large number of northern French saints would not be inappropriate for a lady whose ancestors came from Brienne in the northern French territory of Champagne. The presence of two English martyrs is interesting and unusual, but again they are not necessarily determinative. The original manuscript with this litany and the prayers may indeed have been based on a prayerbook for a nun at St. Anne's resident at Acre. When the new manuscript was copied from this hypothetical model, a few additions were made – the litany was expanded to include certain new saints and the prayer for John of Brienne was added at the end of the codex. Wormald's comments are again interesting:

> the litany of saints in the Riccardiana Psalter differs very considerably from those found in Queen Melisende's Psalter and in the manuscripts connected with the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Moreover, its contents bear little connexion with the entries in the calendar found at the beginning of the manuscript.... What certain evidence there is shows that this litany was composed for recitation by Benedictine nuns.... If, as seems certain, the manuscript was written in Jerusalem, this litany must represent that of the convent of St. Anne in Jerusalem. This house had, however, disappeared in the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, so the Riccardiana Psalter cannot have originated there, though a litany composed for that convent could have been used as a basis for that found in the psalter.[586]

The Convent of St. Anne in Jerusalem was no longer in operation after 1187, true enough, but the nuns of the convent had not disappeared; they had relocated in Acre, as we mentioned earlier. In this instance therefore, if the original manuscript was, appropriately, a private prayerbook for a noble lady in the Convent of St. Anne's in Jerusalem, as Buchthal and Wormald argued, and this manuscript was used as a model for the Riccardiana Psalter in the early thirteenth century as seems very likely, the litany and the prayers, quite possibly along with the psalter text itself, must have been part of that model. However, the calendar seems to have come from an independent source, albeit again a Jerusalem source. Obviously it would be peculiar and unlikely that a prayerbook for a noble Benedictine nun would have had a calendar that omitted the name saints of her convent, Benedict, Anne, and Giles, any of the numerous French saints, or the numerous abbesses among the female saints, all of which are included in the litany. Therefore we would suggest that either the model manuscript had lost its calendar or, perhaps more likely, a generic Jerusalem calendar was chosen for the Riccardiana Psalter from another source, because the person for whom the new manuscript was being done was not a nun. That means the litany and prayers were retained from the original prayerbook source, modified as indicated, and combined with a calendar taken from another Jerusalem codex for use by Queen Isabel of Brienne.

Such a proposal, although attractive, does not, it must be admitted, explain all of the special features of the calendar, the litany, or the prayers of the Riccardiana Psalter. To paraphrase Leroquais, the fact that a text from a liturgical manuscript – a calendar or otherwise – is transcribed for other, later usage certainly does not mean that the original text and the later transcription were made in the same place, nor that all the characteristics of the original are relevant later.[587] However, the essential features of the major components are, I submit, understandable in these circumstances. The need for a basic Jerusalem calendar was critically important if this was to be a gift of a private prayerbook from the Latin Kingdom for the queen of Jerusalem. Certain additions were made to the litany and the prayers, but care must have been taken not to damage or obscure the special character of their content and the fact that they were originally made for a royal female member of the Convent of St. Anne's in Jerusalem. However, it would not after all be irrelevant to a married queen of Jerusalem to have a large litany and a set of prayers that included some particularly composed originally for celibate monks and nuns that she could pray for, pray with, and pray to as part of the essential fabric of her personal devotions.[588]

Considering the possibility then that the Riccardiana Psalter may have been done for Queen Isabel of Brienne as a personal prayer book in 1225, where might the manuscript have been done? It is impossible to think that it would have been executed in Jerusalem. Neither the Convent of St. Anne's nor the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher existed in Jerusalem in 1225. The nuns of the convent had moved to Acre by that time, and if the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher existed in Acre at that time, for which we at least have circumstantial evidence, it is possible that Acre, or, much less likely, some other site in the Crusader States such as Tyre, may be the place where this codex was done. To examine the question of where and when the Riccardiana Psalter was executed, let us turn to the illustrations. They more than any other aspect of this manuscript proclaim the *de luxe* quality of the book, and they can perhaps help us understand critical aspects about its origin and function.

We begin by recalling Buchthal's observation that the decoration of the psalter reflects German usage. He is referring here to the Saxon-Thuringian practice of inserting full-page scenes of the life of Christ in manuscripts, such as we see in the Psalter of Hermann the Landgrave of Thuringia, the first of the "Vita Christi" group at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[589] In fact the series of illustrations in the Riccardiana Psalter is comparable to this German method of illustration, but different in terms of which illustrations are selected; the Crucifixion image, which was central to the German series, does not appear in the

Riccardiana manuscript. The Riccardiana Psalter is also different because it contains the images of the Annunciation and the Nativity, which are not regularly included in the German psalters. Finally the Riccardiana Psalter has only one full-page miniature, whereas the German psalters typically have all eight (or ten) illustrations in full-page format.

With regard to other Crusader psalters, for example, the Melisende Psalter of *c.*1135 has a prefatory cycle of twenty-four miniatures in the English manner, in contrast to the eleven scenes in eight miniatures in the German format for the Riccardiana Psalter. Although it is true that the Melisende Psalter contains every scene illustrated in the Riccardiana Psalter, the iconography is frequently quite different in the later manuscript. Stylistically even though both manuscripts are painted by artists who are knowledgeable about Byzantine art, the specific styles differ markedly, the earlier master reflecting eleventh-century Byzantine painting and generic Western Romanesque artistic traditions, the later master combining more recent Byzantine models with Western traditions specifically from Sicily, about which we shall have more to say later. The Riccardiana Psalter is therefore distinct in format, style, and iconography from the twelfth-century product of the Holy Sepulcher scriptorium. I propose that it might have been commissioned as a royal psalter for a queen of Jerusalem, but it breaks with the past and reflects new Crusader artistic ideals that are not dependent on the old scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher.

If we examine the miniatures in the Riccardiana Psalter more carefully, we note some surprising discoveries. In the first miniature with the great "B" of the "*Beatus vir*" text, the first two scenes of the life of Christ, the Annunciation and the Nativity, are introduced by certain prophets, Isaiah for the former and Habukkuk for the latter, who carry scrolls with appropriate texts in Latin.[590] These texts are important because they are literal Latin translations of the Greek Septuagint text, not simply quotes from the Vulgate, demonstrating that the artist was basing his work on immediate Byzantine sources, translating both the text and the imagery into the Crusader idiom directly. King David plays his music on the stem of the letter between the two standing prophets.

The basic iconography and style of these scenes and figures is strongly Byzantine, but there are formal details that indicate the fact that this artist is not Greek, but rather Crusader and probably from a strong Sicilian background. Buchthal has discussed the Byzantine characteristics of the style and has pointed to what he sees as the Sicilian parallels. He refers to the treatment of the draperies found in these figures as closely parallel to the style seen in the well-known seated Virgin and Child in a missal from Messina done *c.*1200.[591]

> The figures have volume and plasticity; voluminous draperies cover their fully articulated bodies and emphasize the actions of their limbs. The closest parallels to this style are, however, not found in Greek manuscripts, but in certain Sicilian miniatures under strong Byzantine influence.... Thus it appears that our master works in the artistic tradition of Norman Sicily; his western background is, for instance, obvious in the rendering of such details as the network of lines covering the face of the angel, which intersect in pointed angles and form rigid unorganic patterns.[592]

I propose that Buchthal and other commentators are undoubtedly correct to see the Byzantine and Sicilian foundations for the style in which the Riccardiana Psalter master was trained, but that his immediate modus operandi should be sought in the atelier tradition that had somewhat earlier produced the San Danieli Bible. If we compare the overall look of the miniatures as works of painting with glowing golden backgrounds in the two manuscripts, they clearly suggest a strongly related common tradition. Analyzing the style of the figures, there is of course no doubt that the San Daniele Bible was painted in the late twelfth century. Contrast Christ on the donkey in the Riccardiana Psalter (fol. 62r) with the mounted Macchabee figure from the Bible (fol. 156v) to see how different the artistic hands and their styles are in specifics. However, nonetheless, they have common concerns such as their extraordinarily rich color palettes, their harmonious treatment of the color, and their integration of strong pattern with painterly finesse. Even if the colorism is Byzantine-inspired in both, the remarkable effects created by the red–oranges, the strong blues, plums, and dark greens found in the "B" miniature of the psalter is paralleled by the dark purple, bright reds and blues, and deep greens in the Bible, both palettes set on lustrous gold grounds. In fact the gold grounds are handled similarly, to some extent in the Sicilian manner, in that, for example, the gold elegantly forms a sometimes undulating outline, best seen in the "B" miniature of the psalter (fol. 14v) as compared to the figure of the prophet Haggai in the Bible (fol. 28r). This feature is paralleled as what might be called a workshop trait in the notable highlighting also found in both codices. The highlighting in rich grays over dark blue and plum colors in the "B" miniature figures is a limited version of the similar and remarkably coloristic highlights found in the Bible in gray–white, light blue, or even yellow.

Other miniatures in the Riccardiana Psalter reveal additional aspects of this artist's Crusader style and iconography. The adoration of the Magi (fol. 36r) uses standard Byzantine imagery, but the particular rendering of the Virgin and Child in the cave at Bethlehem reminds us of the site-specific iconography found in the icon on the column of the Church of the Nativity. Furthermore, the remarkable treatment of the carpentered throne whose back is seen from the rear is also notable here, reminding us of the tradition of such high-back wooden thrones so important in Italy later in the thirteenth century, but apparently derived from Byzantine origins and reflected in Crusader work between 1200 and 1291.[593]

In the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, found on fol. 49v, and the Entry into Jerusalem, on fol. 62r, the dynamic activity of the figures and their robust corporeality contrast markedly with the delicate miniaturized representations of the architecture. The Crusader propensity to transform the spiritualized experience contained in Byzantine art to one with forceful physical and psychological sensibility and accessibility is plainly in evidence here. The claims that the architecture seen in these two miniatures may relate to actual Crusader buildings in Jerusalem, such as the *Anastasis* Rotunda and the campanile of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher seen on the right side of the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem, are difficult to evaluate. On the one hand, these architectural motifs are inherently simplified and somewhat generalized. In their manner of presentation here, they are much less specific in their references to Crusader Jerusalem than aspects of other works of architecture found in the last four miniatures of this series in the psalter.

On the other hand, motifs equally simplified can be found to refer to specific Crusader buildings in Jerusalem on coins and seals, and even on small-scale relief sculpture, such as the curious bit of Crusader *spolia* that has been identified set into the entrance wall of the mosque of Sultan Hasan (*c.*1356) in Cairo (Fig. 121).[594] The latter sculpture is said to depict representations of the Dome of the Rock in the center, the Citadel of Jerusalem with the Tower of David, or the *Curia Regis* – the residence of the royal court near David's Gate – at the bottom, and the badly damaged image at the top is thought to be the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

The fifth miniature in the cycle represents an extremely unusual version of the Last Supper combined with the washing of the feet, set in the architectural framework of the Cenacle. Although here the image does not obviously reflect any specific feature of the *Coenaculum* that can be identified with the Crusader holy site in 1225, the architectural setting is stressed and the artist has creatively put these two scenes together in a novel composition. Whereas Christ appears twice in this image, once at the head of the "omega"-shaped table for the Last Supper, and once kneeling in front of the seated Peter, the apostle only appears once and simultaneously participates in both scenes.[595] Here the combination of East and West, which we have characteristically seen to be typical of Crusader artistic production, is found. It is presented both stylistically, with Byzantine and Romanesque traditional features, and iconographically, with the Western emphasis on Peter, the combination of the two scenes and Christ's kneeling posture below, combined with the Eastern imagery of the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet with Christ drying Peter's feet and Peter pointing to his head.

As we noted earlier, there is no image of the Crucifixion; instead we find next a remarkable version of the *Anastasis*, with the Holy Women at the Tomb below. Again here the Eastern tradition is strongly apparent, with two half-length angels flanking the dynamic figure of Christ, reflecting the mosaic of the *Anastasis* in the apse of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, thus relating this iconography to a specific Jerusalem landmark.[596] The artist has furthermore creatively focused our attention on the handsome figure of Christ by presenting the flanking figures of Adam, Eve, and the worthies of the Old Testament as truncated, essentially bust-length figures. In the lower scene, the Western iconography of three holy women approaching the empty sepulchre, based on Mark's Gospel, is combined with what is otherwise essentially a traditional Byzantine representation of this episode, except perhaps for the rather grand image of the sepulchre itself that may reflect the *Anastasis* rotunda.

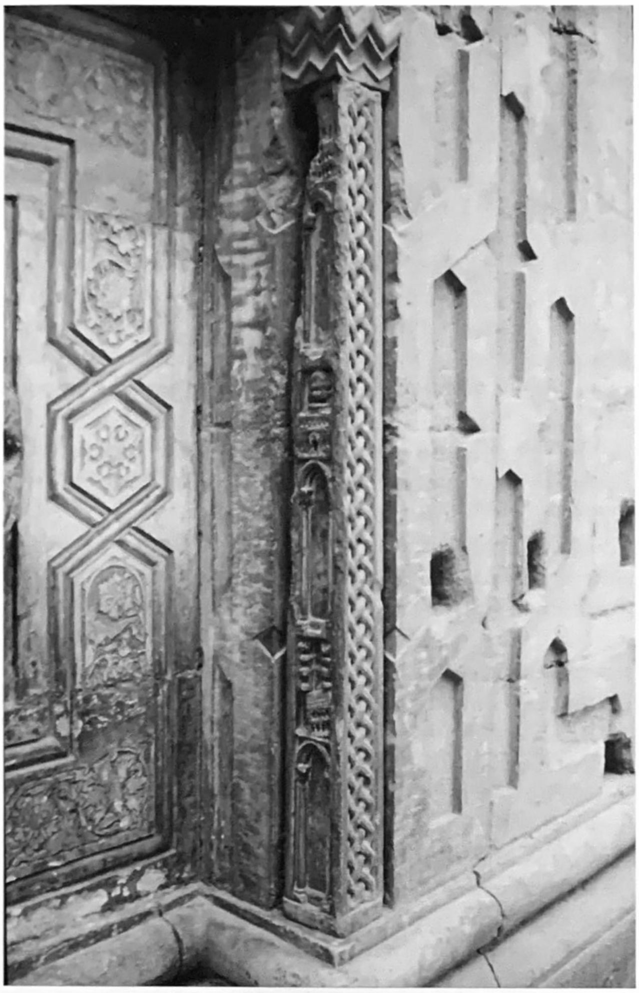
The seventh miniature in this cycle contains a representation of the Ascension, which echoes certain traits of the *Anastasis* image just mentioned. A striking immediacy is attained for this depiction of the ascending Christ in a golden mandorla by the artistic use of half-length figures below. The iconography for this scene is basically Byzantine, and there is no attempt to render the architectural setting of this holy site on the Mount of Olives in this miniature. Nonetheless, the reduction of the Virgin and her apostolic observers to a bust-length format as well as the simplification of the disciples to two clusters is a Western approach,[597] one seen quite effectively employed in Germany in the thirteenth century as a matter of fact, and this combination of traditions in Eastern and Western Christian art again reflects a distinctively Crusader handling here.

The final miniature in the series contains a representation of Pentecost. Here again the imagery is fundamentally Byzantine, and there is no attempt to represent the architecture of the cenacle where the apostles met in the upper room and received the gift of the descent of the Holy Spirit. There is again, however, a Western tendency to simplify and reduce the figures of the apostles other than Peter and Paul, who are clearly emphasized here, and the representatives of all nations to whom the disciples would speak in their own languages. Thus the cycle ends on a strongly Byzantine iconographic note, which is modified by stylistic characteristics that combine both Sicilian and Crusader aspects.

We should also recall that the Riccardiana Psalter is graced by a set of impressive illuminated initials, many of which are historiated. They are varied in form, elegant in execution, and altogether impressive adjuncts to the miniature panels, which taken together as an ensemble reinforce the harmonious nature and unified program of the decoration in this aristocratic prayerbook. The same artist who worked on the minatures seems to have done the initials, a fact that comparison of the beautifully painted figures – full length, bust length, heads only – in the initials to those in the panels and the opening full-page miniature will demonstrate. The vocabulary of the decorative initials seems every bit as rooted in Sicilian tradition as the figure style we noted briefly earlier. See, for example, the handsome dragons in the "B" of the opening *Beatus* text as compared to those found in the missal in Madrid, already cited with regard to its comparable figure style.[598]

At this point we should acknowledge that many scholars have observed the strong Sicilian characteristics apparent in the painted work in the Riccardiana Psalter, and some, unlike Buchthal, have attributed this manuscript there. These scholars include, for example, A. Daneu Lattanzi in the 1960s[599] and Cathleen Fleck in the 1990s. Valentino Pace has proposed to see this manuscript as being done in the Holy Land by an artist from southern Italy, but he prefers Apulia to Sicily, which at this period is a very sensitive refinement of the basic Sicilian hypothesis. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Pace's view is the close ties he sees between Apulia and the Holy Land, ties manifested by the San Danieli Bible and the Riccardiana Psalter.[600]

Turning to the issue of where and when the Riccardiana Psalter was done, we must assess the content of my discussion earlier, in light of the corpus of scholarship on Sicilian manuscript illumination and in consideration of the illuminated codices associated with Frederick II from the 1220s to 1250. Obviously my argument to associate the Riccardiana Psalter in 1225 with the San Danieli Bible, done a full generation earlier also in the Holy Land, is neither a radical departure from scenarios already considered nor demonstrable in terms of any startlingly new evidence. However, I believe that seeing the Riccardiana Psalter as having been done in 1225 does clarify certain problems. I think that its connection with the San Danieli Bible is strengthened. I suggest that some of its major characteristics make sense when seen as a gift to Isabel of Brienne, queen of Jerusalem between 1225 and 1228. However, the question remains, if Isabel of Brienne was the recipient, who commissioned and gave her the manuscript?



121. Jerusalem: Cairo, Mosque of Sultan Hassan, Crusader relief.

I do not think that with this or any other scenario we can assume the donor was Frederick II. There is no strong link between what we find in this manuscript and what we know of manuscript illumination connected directly with Frederick in the kingdom of Sicily, whether in Apulia or elsewhere.[601] Rather than approach the problem in this manner, consider what the function of the manuscript appears to be. The Riccardiana Psalter seems to be an aristocratic prayerbook made for a noble woman of high rank. As distinguishing traits it has a Jerusalem calendar, a somewhat personalized litany, and a group of prayers with a special prayer, "*pro comite*," which could refer to the ex-king, John of Brienne, but the fact is this prayer could refer to any of a number of Levantine counts. The lavishness of the decoration and the high level of quality leave no question that the book was a unique commission. The special iconography of the psalter illustrations have the distinctive characteristics of Crusader work, and the imagery of the eight miniatures for the psalm divisions lays stress on the holy sites in and around Jerusalem. Apparently no expense was spared to find an artist and a scribe who could do the very finest work.

A work of this character could make sense as a gift to the young Queen Isabel of Brienne on the occasion of her coronation and marriage to the emperor, Frederick II, in 1225, but we cannot say for sure it was done for her. In fact, it could have been done for any of a number of Crusader noblewomen. It is as yet also impossible to say who the patron or patrons of this gift may have been. Whoever it was, the commission could have been sent to the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in Acre. Whatever the commission may have contained and however it was transmitted, it clearly specified that the manuscript should be richly illustrated – perhaps a German psalter was sent along as a model to be used along with the Crusader resources at hand. To whomever the responsibility fell to have the commission carried out, it was clear that they would have to find the best possible artist and scribe for the job.

If we are correct to date the Riccardiana Psalter closer to 1225, it becomes the earliest product of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre during this period, with the sacramentary next, probably about 1227–30, followed by the pontifical of Apamea thereafter, but most likely before 1244. What can be said about these manuscripts as a group? The sacramentary and the pontifical are closely related palaeographically and codicologically, but distantly related to the Riccardiana Psalter by their minimal illustration and by their ornamental initials, which also reflect aspects of the missal in Naples from *c.*1200. However, both of these manuscripts are quite provincial in style and execution, compared to the high style of the aristocratic psalter, which was apparently executed with the greatest care for a very special occasion and a very special recipient. The Riccardiana Psalter, like so many aristocratic books, is unique in many ways, and has little in common with other products of the Latin Kingdom between 1225 and 1244. This can plausibly be explained as the result of a very detailed and particular commission for the manuscript in question, and it was made in a scriptorium that was obviously capable of functioning at a very high level, but of whose products there are unfortunately very few extant from these years.

The "Crusader" Illustrations of Matthew Paris

We cannot pass this point without mentioning briefly the inspired narrative imagery of Matthew Paris, who, although he never traveled to the Holy Land and can certainly not be considered a Crusader artist, makes an important contribution to what might be called "Crusader" illustration. We know that Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, brought copies of William of Tyre's great historical works to the library of St. Alban's in 1231.[602] We may speculate that one of these books could have stimulated and inspired Matthew Paris in his work, which began in earnest when he succeeded Robert of Wendover in 1236 as the next historian of the abbey.[603]

What is truly remarkable about Matthew Paris from the point of view of the current study, of course, is that his copious historical writings, carried out over the next twenty-two years, from 1237 to 1259, were accompanied by lively narrative drawings. Whatever texts of William of Tyre's two great works of history he may have seen, it is unlikely that they were illustrated. The extant Latin texts we have of William's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* are mostly unillustrated; only one received an historiated initial at the start of the work decorated with a generic chevalier on horseback.[604] Even the earliest extant Old French translation of William of Tyre's text of the *History of Outremer* with a full cycle of detailed historiated initials only dates to the period 1245–8 and was done in Paris, not the Holy Land.[605]

In regard to the Crusaders, Suzanne Lewis discusses Matthew Paris's work in relation to the catastrophic loss of Jerusalem in 1244.[606] She writes,

> From the beginning of the thirteenth century on, the St. Albans historians view Christendom as having been caught in an inexorable vise formed by a resurgent Islam on the one hand and a faithless, morally corrupt papacy on the other. For Matthew Paris, immediately pressing military dangers overshadowed the religious issues. From the rise of Saladin in the 1180s through Richard of Cornwall's Crusade and the eruption of the Tartar invasions of 1241–2, events in the Middle East inspired the St. Albans artist to create some of his most gripping and dramatic scenes of combat and gore in the margins of the *Chronica Majora*.[607]

There are several remarkable features about his illustrations. First, Matthew Paris covers an historical period that includes the years 1187 to 1244, a time of catastrophic defeats for the Crusaders. The events of these years are given relatively few narrative images in the William of Tyre texts with continuations, and the earliest extant *History of Outremer* manuscript with illustrations for this period is dated only in the 1260s, after Matthew Paris had died.[608] Second, the usual *History of Outremer* manuscripts with continuations to 1261 or into the 1270s that contain illustrated cycles may include an image of the Third, Fourth, or even Fifth Crusade, but typically they then skip to the Crusade of Louis IX, paying little or no attention to the Crusades of Frederick II and those of Thibaut of Champagne or Richard of Cornwall.[609] Matthew Paris, on the other hand, selects a few dramatic moments that proved pivotal for the Crusaders during those years and provides a vivid image for each.[610] Matthew, for example, illustrates the moment at the battle of Hattin in 1187 when Saladin captures the relic of the True Cross.[611] He illustrates the siege of Damietta in 1219 during the Fifth Crusade.[612] He also does a drawing of the battle of La Forbie in 1244.[613] Finally, it is notable that for the battle of Hattin and the battle of La Forbie, there is no known image in any extant William of Tyre illustrated codex. Thus even though Matthew Paris was not an eyewitness to the Crusades, he makes notable contributions to the knowledge of the Crusades in England by means of his meticulous historical texts and in his remarkable drawings.

In sum, just before the moment when Louis IX would take center stage in the ongoing drama of the Crusades, a moment when in fact we begin to see for the first time extensive secular texts start to be illustrated in western Europe, Matthew Paris leads the way in England with his precocious work. It is only shortly after this time that manuscripts of the Old French translation of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre, with or without continuations, begin to receive full cycles of narrative illustration in the Holy Land.[614]

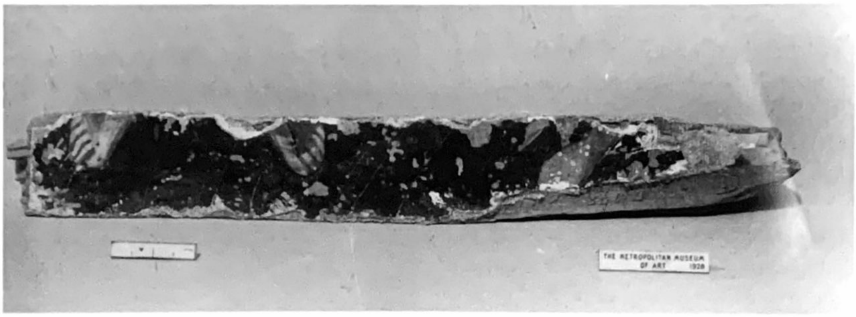
Crusader Icons and Panel Painting

The most tantalizing evidence of Crusader painting that may date from the period 1225–44 is the tiny fragment of a painted panel excavated at Montfort in 1926 (Fig. 122, App. no. 129).[615] Measuring 22 cm (9.75 in.) wide by approximately 2.5 cm high, this wooden piece is conspicuously broken at the top, far left, and along the lower right side. On the part that remains we can see the sandaled feet of a standing male figure at the left, and to the right is one of a pair of imperial buskins that would presumably be worn by a standing male saint. Given the position of the feet and the size of the fragment, it is likely that this panel contained only two frontally standing figures, if we compare our data to the extant icons now in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. The sandaled feet could belong to a range of possible male figures, mostly saints including Peter, Paul, James, and John the Baptist, or Moses, among others.[616] The foot with the buskin might belong to a figure of St. Stephen, Theodore, George, Demetrius, or Daniel, or an archangel, among others.[617] These feet appear to belong to male figures because women saints are normally not shown on thirteenth-century icons with exposed or bare feet. Also, women wearing imperial footware, such as the Virgin Mary or St. Catherine, typically have their buskins partly covered by their tunics, and are not fully visible as we see it here.

Looking more closely at this fragment, we can see that the background on which these feet appear is a dark blue painted over medium gray, and that the feet are standing on the slanted surface of what must have been the inner part of the bottom frame of the icon. Each of the two sandaled feet is handled slightly differently. At the left the foot is outlined in red and has gray-green shading on its upper left part. At the right the foot has a single sandal strap showing, which runs from between the toes up over the front of the foot with no division in the strap visible.[618] It is hard to see any red outlining, but there is brownish shading to the right of the sandal strap element. The left foot looks somewhat "up" in position compared to the right foot, which appears slightly "down." As for the buskin, it is brilliant red with two sets of simulated pearls in clusters of four, and two strips of pearls in lines across the middle of the buskin and farther up across the ankle. For this type of buskin, it is more lavishly decorated with pearls than any *comparanda* yet identified in the thirteenth century.

What we can say about these fragmentary images is that the two sandaled feet are more compact and unified than we see in icons identified as later thirteenth-century Western-influenced panels now in St. Catherine's. Similarly the foot in the buskin swells from the heel area toward the toes, but it is rather straight along the instep, with no curve or arch and does not appear as bulgy at the broad part of the foot, as we also see in the later examples.[619] The color of the buskin and its lavish decoration suggests that it might belong to one of the archangels, for example, St. Michael, as we see in the later icon of the Virgin and Child enthroned with St. John the Baptist (Fig. 200, App. no. 48/544).[620] It is impossible to say for certain who the saints in this pairing might have been, but one possibility is St. John the Baptist at the left and St. Michael the Archangel at the right.

As we have seen at Montfort, the main work of decoration there was done before *c.*1240, although work stretched from 1226 to 1266. It is obviously impossible to say much about a fragment of a portable icon such as this, in relation to the monumental decoration, which must have been done for the most part in the period of the 1230s. We cannot even be sure that this icon fragment belonged to a so-called Crusader icon, although it is likely because of where the icon was found, that is, in chamber "K" of this castle belonging to the Teutonic Knights. What can be said therefore, and is very important, is that, first, here we have a bit of archaeological evidence



122. Icon: Montfort Castle, App. no. 129, Icon fragment now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. (photo: Metropolitan Museum, New York, gift of Clarence Mackay, Archer M. Huntington, Stephen H. P. Pell, and Bashford Dean, 1928)

indicating the presence of panel paintings in a Crusader castle in the Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century, independent of the huge collection at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.[621] Secondly, apparently icons like this were being used by these knights for their worship, in terms of liturgical services or devotional prayers, or both. The question of exactly how they and other Frankish Christians were using these icons must be considered in due course.

Finding a single icon fragment in the setting of a fortified site like the castle of Montfort may seem to be both trivial and random, and could even be considered to be some kind of accident, if we cannot corroborate it with other evidence from more likely places. The Monastery of St. Catherine's clearly has the largest and most important surviving collection of medieval icons, and we have already seen specific evidence for Latin Christians going there on pilgrimage in the first half of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, we know from studies by K. Weitzmann and D. Mouriki that Byzantine icons were actively being produced there in the years after 1200, either by artists from Constantinople or by local artists with strong ties to Constantinople.[622] Indeed, Mouriki has published a set of four icons, which are closely related stylistically, and three of which bear an inscription naming the painter, "Petros."[623]

The four panels depict:

1. The Virgin *Blacherniotissa* between Moses and the patriarch of Jerusalem, Euthymios II;
2. The Virgin *Kyriotissa*, labeled here as the Virgin of the Burning Bush, between four holy monks of Sinai;
3. St. Procopius; and
4. St. Makarios of Egypt and St. Makarios of Alexandria.[624]

Mouriki analyzes the style and iconography of these panels in detail, demonstrating the special painterly characteristics of the artist and the particular Sinaitic imagery contained in these devotional images. On the basis of the extant inscriptions, Mouriki argues that Petros was both the patron and the painter of these works. Furthermore he may have been a monk whose given name was Procopius, but who took Petros as his religious name when he entered the monastery. Finally she argues that these panels should be dated between 1224, when the patriarch of Jerusalem, Euthymios II, depicted on the Virgin *Blacherniotissa* icon, died, and 1227, when the term of the archbishop and abbot of Sinai, Makarios, the namesake of two Sinai saints who appear on another icon, ended.

These four icons are purely Byzantine, indeed, specifically Sinaitic, in style and iconography, and they firmly anchor other Byzantine icons to this period, 1200–50, here at Sinai on the bases of their style. This style features new painterly and monumental formal characteristics, sometimes achieved with soft brushstrokes, sometimes with more linear designs, combined with new concerns for more naturalistic facial renderings, including the actual portrait-like head of Patriarch Euthymios II, and greater psychological immediacy and presence.

Painting at St. Catherine's appears to have enjoyed the benefits of Greek artists who fled from Constantinople during the diaspora in the years after 1204.[625] By the 1220s, however, Petros apparently developed his more painterly approach as one response to the diminution of artistic stimulation directly from Constantinople as the result of the Fourth Crusade. At that point, St. Catherine's was open to influences from other Orthodox sources.[626] Can we identify any icons in a Western-influenced or "Crusader" style at this time at Sinai?

Among the Byzantine icons at Sinai apparently dating from the early thirteenth century, we find two bust-length images of the archangels, Michael and Gabriel.[627] Both measuring approximately 55 × 45 cm, these medium-sized works appear strikingly monumental, perhaps echoing fresco painting as seen outside of Constantinople at this time, for example, in the Church of St. Mary at Studenica in Serbia, dated 1209.[628] Apparently intended for use on the templon as part of a Great Deësis, that is, in conjunction with the central figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist, these two works belong to what becomes a standard type, but they are among our earliest examples. They appear to be by different artists and probably should not be considered a pair; they illustrate the developing popularity of this iconographic theme in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

It is striking to find among the large collection of icons at St. Catherine's a series of similar angels done slightly later. We have four unpublished archangels in a bust-length format, which appear to form two pairs, to which certain images of the Virgin Mary and Christ can be related in one case. They reflect later stylistic developments in the Byzantine and Crusader world, but possess certain iconographic and stylistic details, which suggest they were done at Sinai for Crusader patrons, or even by Crusader artists. The four angels were probably done by at least three different artists, and possibly one of the panels was repainted, altering its original appearance.

The two earlier angels are represented in a vertical composition, which stresses their heads and hands and deemphasizes their angelic wings: St. Michael (Fig. 123, App. no. 120/

1997),[629] looking right, and St. Gabriel (Fig. 124, no. 121/1998), looking to the left.[630] They both have the same type diadem with ends fluttering to each side of their head, the staff each carries is slightly different, and whereas Michael's halo has a painted outline, that of Gabriel seems to be tooled with round punched designs. Both wear the same garments, including an undergarment with an embroidered sleeve and jeweled cuff – each again slightly different – which is a favorite motif for Crusader painters in the later thirteenth century.[631] They both share a similar monumental style where the head is enlarged compared to the Byzantine examples cited earlier, and the oval shape of the face, the distinctive smooth curve of the jaw, the arrangement of their hair, and the large round eyes remind us of the fresco paintings at the Church of the Ascension at Mileševo, dated 1230.[632]

In fact, despite their similarities, however, they are different in style and in certain details of iconography. Both angels have white highlights, but the treatment of the faces and the draperies differs. On St. Michael's face the patterns of white highlighting in linear patterns is understated, whereas on the drapery it is more emphasized in terms of thicker forms with greater geometric clarity. With St. Gabriel, the face is rounder, not as long an oval; the highlights are more emphatic and the draperies have wash highlight zones that sometimes are defined with rectangular forms. Also Gabriel's clavus on his tunic is given spikey linear chrysography, whereas Michael's is given none. As for their hair, the front roll of Michael's hair and the tousled hair of Gabriel seem to be both related to the Mileševo angel, the former more than the latter, but they are clearly distinct from each other in the overall arrangement of the hair on the head and down the neck.

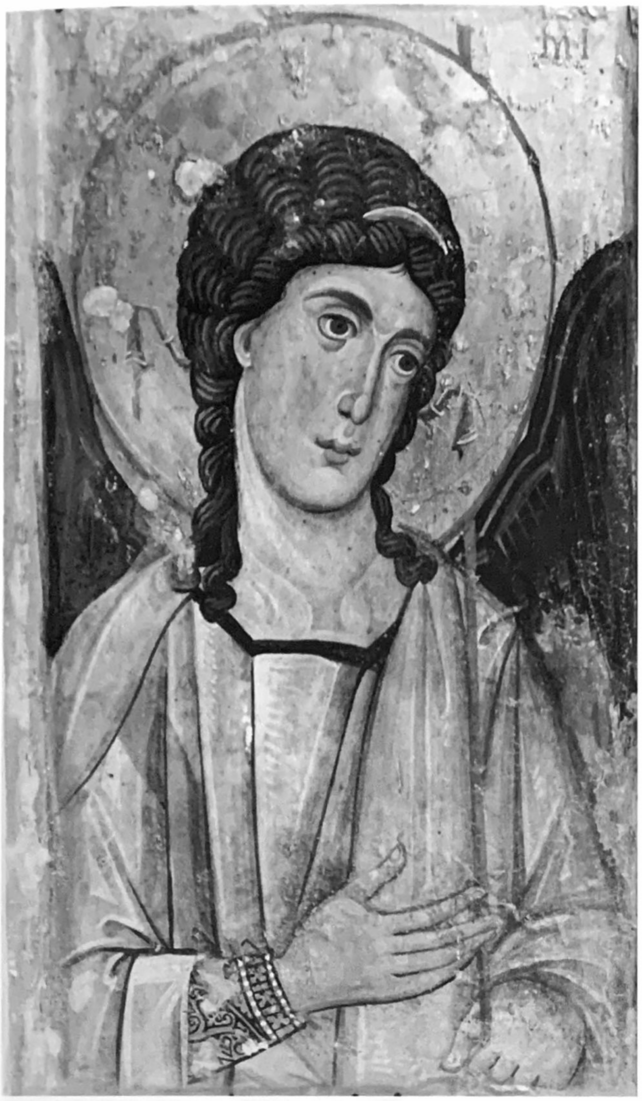
If these angels seem to reflect the Mileševo style rather indirectly in their individualistic interpretations, there are icons of two other angels at St. Catherine's that seem to have even more distant links, and which I am therefore dating later in the 1260s. These two angels, St. Michael (Fig. 202, App. no. 89/1414)[633] looking right, and St. Gabriel (Fig. 203, App. no. 85/1357)[634] looking left, are composed with greater breadth in which the wings form a fuller setting for the head, and the heads have a more pronounced and expressive inclination toward the central figures they are meant to flank. This head gesture is strengthened by the design of the diadems, which features both fluttering endings on the same side of the head. These angels are clearly a pair and were no doubt done by the same later Crusader artist working in a Franco-Byzantine style, judging stylistically from the more volumetric traits of the heads and the hair, and the nature and handling of the linear patterning of the wings and the draperies. Furthermore, both angels exhibit the same softly painted, fleshy faced figures with large round eyes accentuated with lines at the corners; they also both have nimbi with pearls studding their red outlines and both wear the same style embroidered sleeves and jeweled cuffs on their undergarments.

A glance at the two Byzantine icons of Michael and Gabriel mentioned earlier, with their expansively broad compositions, their more triangular faces, their harder drapery folds, the more intense highlighting of the faces, and their use of chrysography, makes the progressive changes in style demonstrated by the four Crusader angels quite apparent. How can we account for this stylistic change and development here at Sinai? Although the Milesevo parallel is meant to indicate a stage in the development of the new painterly and monumental style at St. Catherine's, I am not suggesting necessarily that one or more painters came to Sinai from the territory of the former Yugoslavia.[635] In this instance a more likely means of transmission between these two rather remote places is found in the vehicle of a detailed model book.

In fact, of course, we have a specific example extant, namely, the Wolfenbüttel Musterbuch, which Buchthal argued was made by a Venetian master in the 1230s.[636] The important drawing in this book for our purposes is the monumental angel based on the angel seated on Christ's empty tomb at Mileševo, one of the major figures in this model book, found on fol. 93r.[637] The significance of the Musterbuch here is to demonstrate that the work at Mileševo was known widely and reasonably promptly in the Mediterranean world by means of such sketchbooks. The artists at Sinai who did the icons discussed earlier for their Crusader patrons most likely were using a sketchbook like this, and following the specifications for these panels from their commissions.

We should remember that a sketchbook like this was a combined pictorial and iconographical guide, and to some extent a motif book. In this particular instance, the Musterbuch contains some thirty figures extant drawn on six folios, which are bound together with certain didactic texts. The nature of this book is to include, among other things, selected visual copies, that is, incomplete, disorganized, secondhand interpretations of Byzantine and Byzantinizing formulas.[638] We do not know much about the exact travels or functions of such books, but their mobility was impressive, as we know in this instance and in the case of the sketchbook by Villard de Honnecourt at about the same time.[639] Clearly, model books were instrumental in enabling artistic ideas to travel widely as we see here with the Wolfenbüttel Musterbuch, and as we have seen previously with the Freiburg Leaf.[640]

Parenthetically, we should not of course completely rule out the possibility of artists' travel to Sinai at this time, however. There is at least one conspicuous example of a painter coming to the Crusader Kingdom and the Monastery of St. Catherine's, apparently on pilgrimage in the 1220s. As we have also seen in Chapter 3, a German artist from the Rhineland came to the Holy Land *c.*1200 and made sketches, in the case of the Freiburg Leaf. In the same way, a Saxon artist apparently came to the Holy Land sometime around 1220 and studied the icons at the monastery on Sinai. Later he used his artistic study of these icons – most likely in the form of modelbook drawings – to paint the Halberstadt Cabinet.[641] This fascinating work includes the figures of Mary and the Angel Gabriel of the Annunciation on the doors of this cabinet. We find Sts. John and Paul on the exterior sides of the cabinet. Also there are Sts. Catherine and Kunigunde on the inside surfaces of the main doors. By careful analysis, it is clear that this artist must have known Crusader as well as purely Byzantine works of art. We can imagine that when he was at Sinai he may have made drawings from certain icons for a model book, which he took with him back to Germany. These would have been the drawings that he utilized in order to paint the Halberstadt Cabinet in the 1220s or the 1230s. The hypothetical drawings are no longer extant, but the Halberstadt Cabinet gives us the clear evidence that they must have existed.

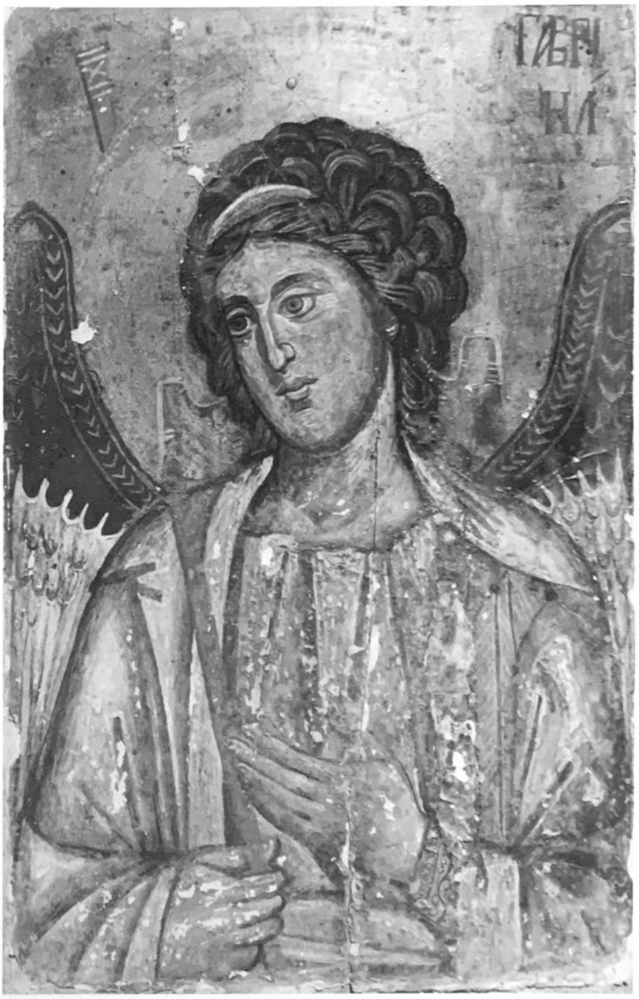


123. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 120/1997, Panel with bust-length St. Michael. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

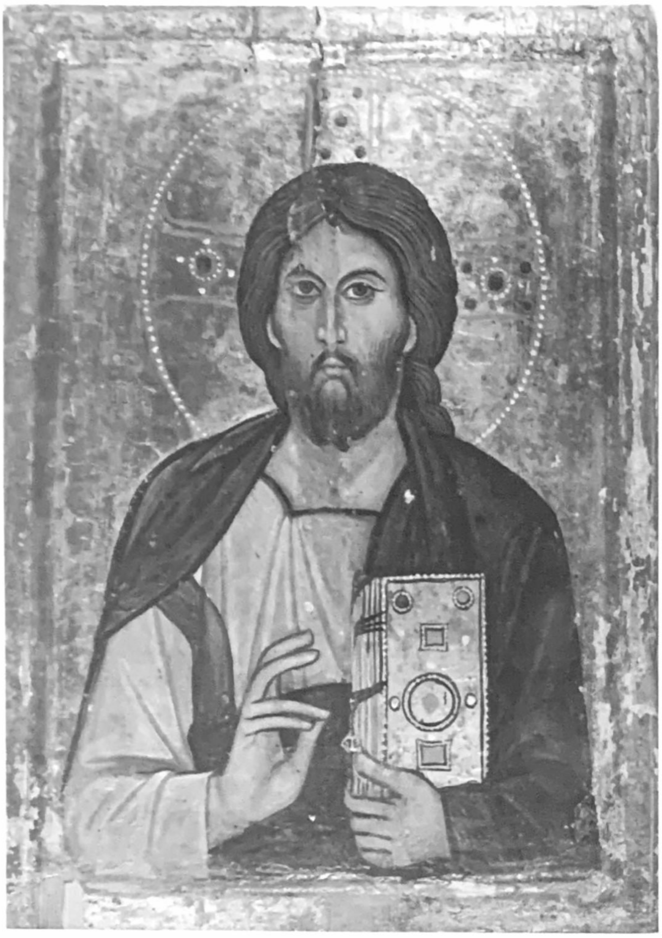
Returning then to our main argument, if we are correct to see the importation of models from Mileševo into Sinai in the 1230s, the importance of this development is considerable for the history of art in the eastern Mediterranean. It means that Constantinople was no longer the only major source of ideas and artists for the Orthodox world in the first half of the thirteenth century. Other places made their contributions, especially Yugoslavia and Cyprus, now that the Crusaders were established in the Latin Empire and Frankish Greece. It means that when Crusader pilgrims came to St. Catherine's, they could commission icons that would be done by artists that reflected not only the local St. Catherine's imperial Byzantine style but also others as well. It means that such models of Byzantine art were circulating to Orthodox and Crusader sites via model books made by, according to the evidence of the Wolfenbüttel Sketchbook, Venetian artists, among other possibilities, and they were carried by Frankish travelers, presumably also Venetians among others. Finally if such model books were circulating to Orthodox sites, they must have also been finding their way along the shipping and pilgrimage routes that such travelers followed into such major Crusader cities as Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch in the Crusader States, not to mention Constantinople in the Latin Empire.

In light of the existence of the archangel icons for the Great Deësis, possibly commissioned by Crusader patrons as new embellishments for chapels in the Holy Land, are any of the main Deësis figures extant among the icons in the collection at St. Catherine's, Mount Sinai? In fact, there are several icons that may be possibilities for such a function. An icon of a bust-length Christ Pantokrator along with two others of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist as intercessors exist at Sinai (Figs. 125–7, App. nos. 1/36, 2/37, 3/38). All three of these icons exhibit characteristics that link them with the second set of archangels mentioned earlier and should also be dated therefore in the 1260s.[642] Not only is their style exactly comparable to those of the archangels, but also we see the same curious contrast in these paintings between the beautifully painted heads and the rather clumsily drawn thick, heavy hands. Christ, the Virgin, and St. John – all three – also have the red-outlined nimbus studded with pearls that we have noted on the pair of bust-length angels.

Other intercessory figures of the Virgin or St. John, along with two images of the frontal bust-length blessing image



124. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 121/1998, Panel with bust-length St. Gabriel. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



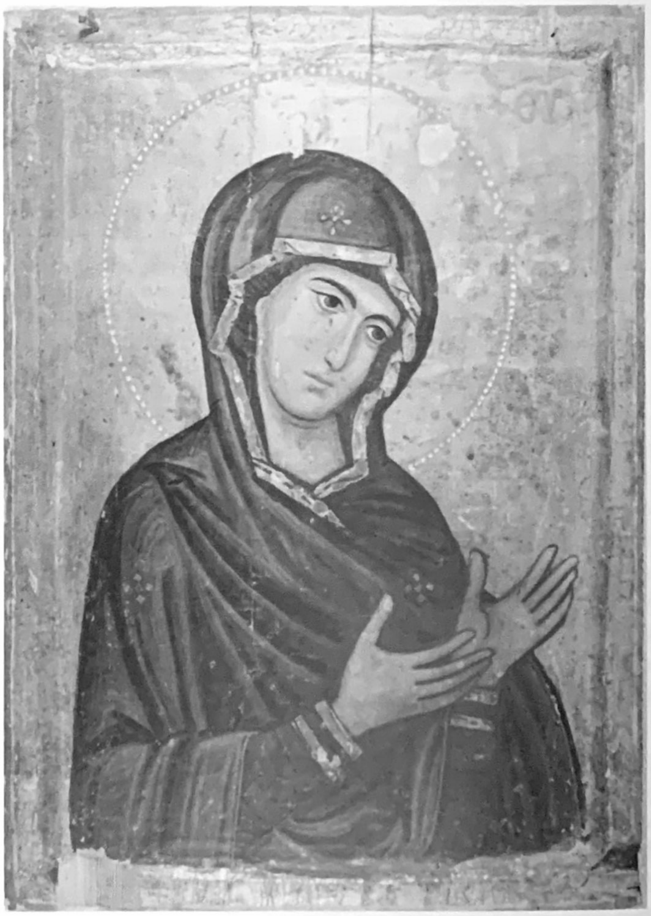
125. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 2/37, Panel with bust-length Christ from a Deësis group. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

of Christ Pantokrator, that must have also belonged to such Deësis ensembles also exist. However, these works, including the Virgin (Fig. 128, App. no. 15/109) and Christ (Fig. 129, App. no. 16/110), another less well-done figure of Christ (Fig. 130, App. no. 77/1025), and a St. John the Baptist (Fig. 131, App. no. 45/470), all exhibit formal characteristics that indicate they must have been done slightly later, perhaps as late as the late 1260s. We shall accordingly also discuss them in Chapter 6, but it is important to mention them here in order to see that some of the painting traditions that can be identified in the Crusader East at the time of Louis IX are in fact continuations from work that had been done in the preceeding quarter of the century. Not all painting in the years of the 1250s and 1260s would be generated solely by Louis IX and the strong French influence that he stimulated during his residence in the Latin Kingdom.

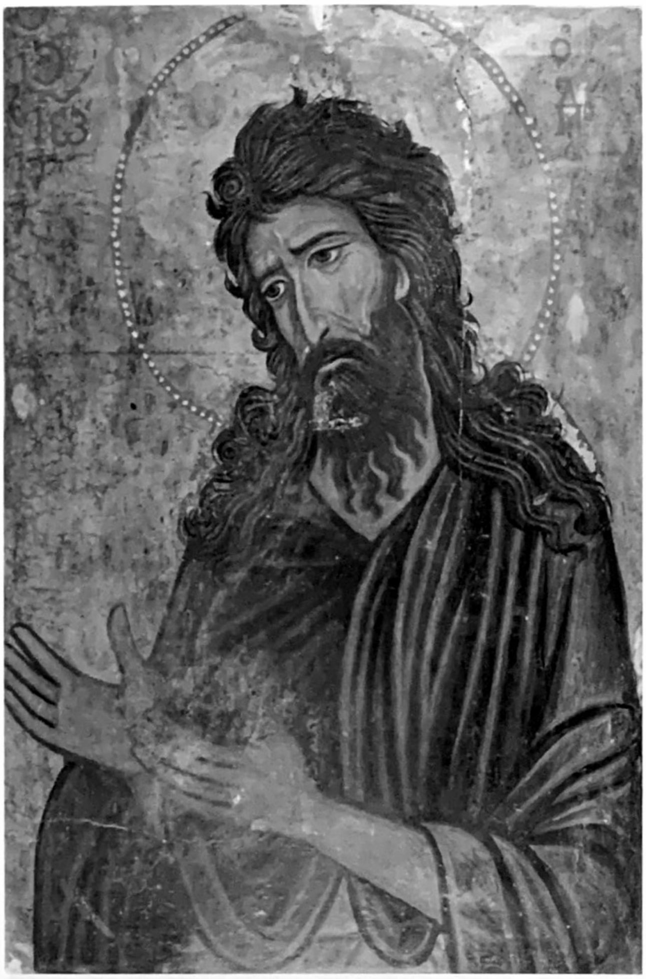
Besides these icons, presumably commissioned by Crusader visitors at Sinai, which demonstrate that painting at St. Catherine's was changing and evolving on its own, there are other icons that appear to indicate the influence of other styles. Doula Mouriki has proposed that a pair of icons, a Crucifixion (Fig. 75, App. no. 32/285)[643] and a Hodegetria Dexiokratousa (Fig. 76, App. no. 57/679),[644] that is, the Virgin indicating the way to Christ in the manner of the sacred icon from the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, where Christ is seated in the Virgin's proper right arm, are both by Syrian artists from Cyprus working at Sinai. The icons are similar and might even have been configured as the two wings of a diptych, subject matter conceiveably originally drawn from the two sides of the Hodegon icon. As we have them now they both have striking red backgrounds, are done in the same somewhat folksy style presumably by the same painter, employ raised gilded and silvered gesso for the haloes of the figures, and exhibit a similar repertory of white pearls on black lines for the outside borders of the haloes and the inside frames of the two panels.[645] Both have inscriptions in Greek and distinctive harmonious browns and maroons for the dominant coloring set against the red backgrounds.

The only significant difference between the two panels as they currently exist concerns the outer frames. The outer frame of the Crucifixion icon, now quite damaged, was apparently originally decorated with raised and gilded gesso. The outer frame of the Virgin Hodegetria is now a bold floral design in painted medium blue with heavy flaking that might have originally indicated gesso decoration, but which is completely lost today.

Despite the characteristics just noted, Mouriki suggests there are other aspects of these icons that indicate Crusader patronage. She notes that even though the red grounds can be associated with Syrian painting in this period, the taste for red backgrounds is something we find with later Crusader patrons and could well be the case here. She thinks the swooning Virgin



126. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 1/36, Panel with bust-length Virgin from a Deësis group. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



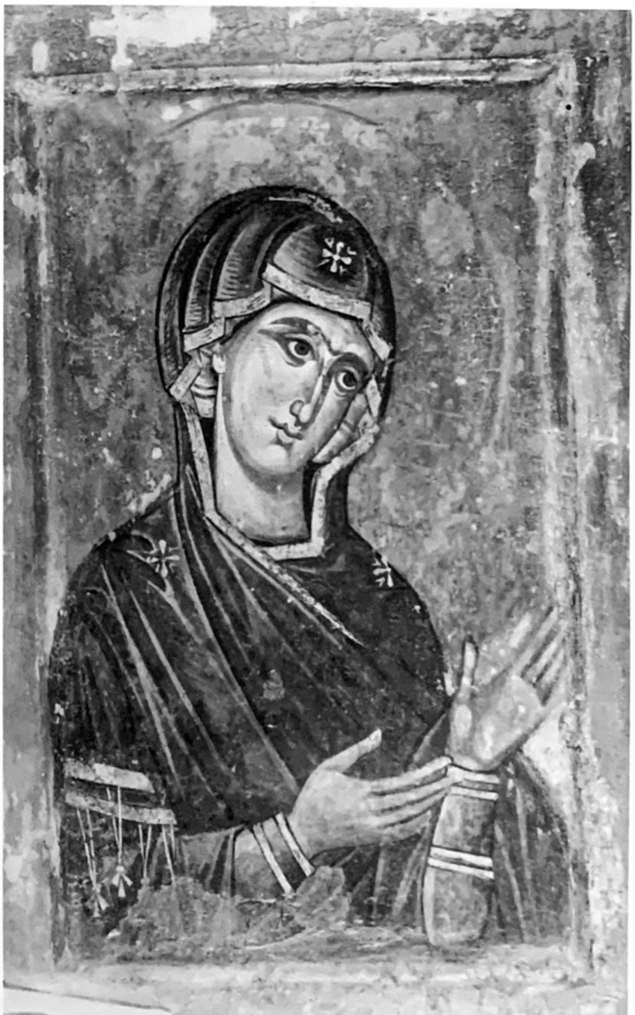
127. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 3/38, Panel with bust-length St. John the Baptist from a Deësis group. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

and the shape of the knot on the loincloth as well as the coloristic decoration of the latter on the figure of Christ in the Crucifixion are all Western iconographic features. In the Hodegetria, the figure of Christ wearing the red harness is associated with Cyprus, along with the iconography of his bare legs, as Mouriki has discussed elsewhere.[646] However, the strange gesture of Christ, which cannot be a blessing and seems to be a gesture of speaking, appears to be a misunderstood version of Christ's position in the Dexiokratousa.

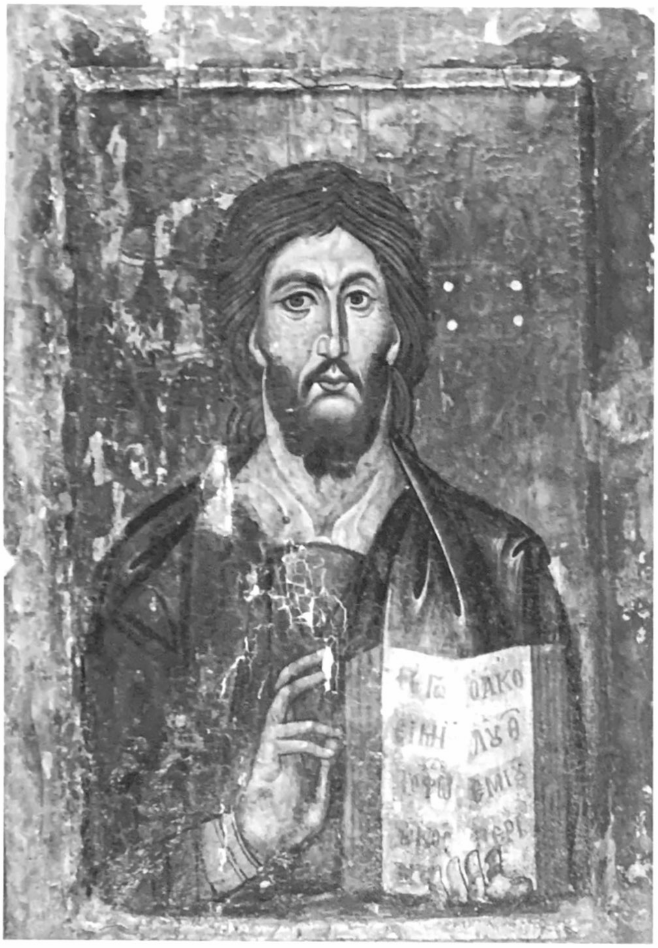
These features taken together, the Byzantine origin of the iconographic ensemble and the basic imagery, the Cypriot and Syrian associations of iconography and color, and the Crusader taste for the various choices in the icons as they stand, are indicative of Crusader art. Given the presence of the original Greek inscriptions, these panels might have been commissioned by a Crusader to be given to the church at St. Catherine's or elsewhere. Mouriki recognizes the difficulty in attempting to date this somewhat folksy style, but she proposes a dating in the first half of the thirteenth century. It appears that this style corresponds well on its own terms to the new monumental style discussed earlier in terms of its interest in greater naturalism and its focus on physical and psychological presence. Both the swooning Virgin in the Crucifixion and the direct gaze of the Virgin at the onlooker in the Hodegetria icon indicate these concerns. As a result it seems reasonable to attribute these panels to the period 1225–50 at Sinai, and possibly even in the 1240s.

If we adopt as our working hypothesis therefore, the existence of vigorous Crusader patronage of icon painting at St. Catherine's during this period, as well as elsewhere in the Latin Kingdom, possibly at Montfort from which there is a bit of archaeological evidence, and even from Acre, from which we as yet have no certain examples, the question is, "how did these icons function for Crusader patrons?" As we have already suggested, Crusader pilgrims could have given icons as gifts to the Holy Sites they visited, a tradition for which goes back into the early twelfth century at Bethlehem.[647] Such icon donations could have served as *ex votos* in chapels of shrine churches for pilgrims. However, as important as the pilgrimage movement was, and as significant as pilgrims may have been in commissioning icons, icons cannot exclusively be seen as pilgrimage art among the Crusaders.

If we ponder momentarily the importance of the icon to the Orthodox, indeed, to the entire Eastern Christian presence in the Crusader States, and consider the question of the Orthodox legacy to Latin-rite Catholics in the Latin Kingdom, the



128. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 15/109, Panel with bust-length figure of the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

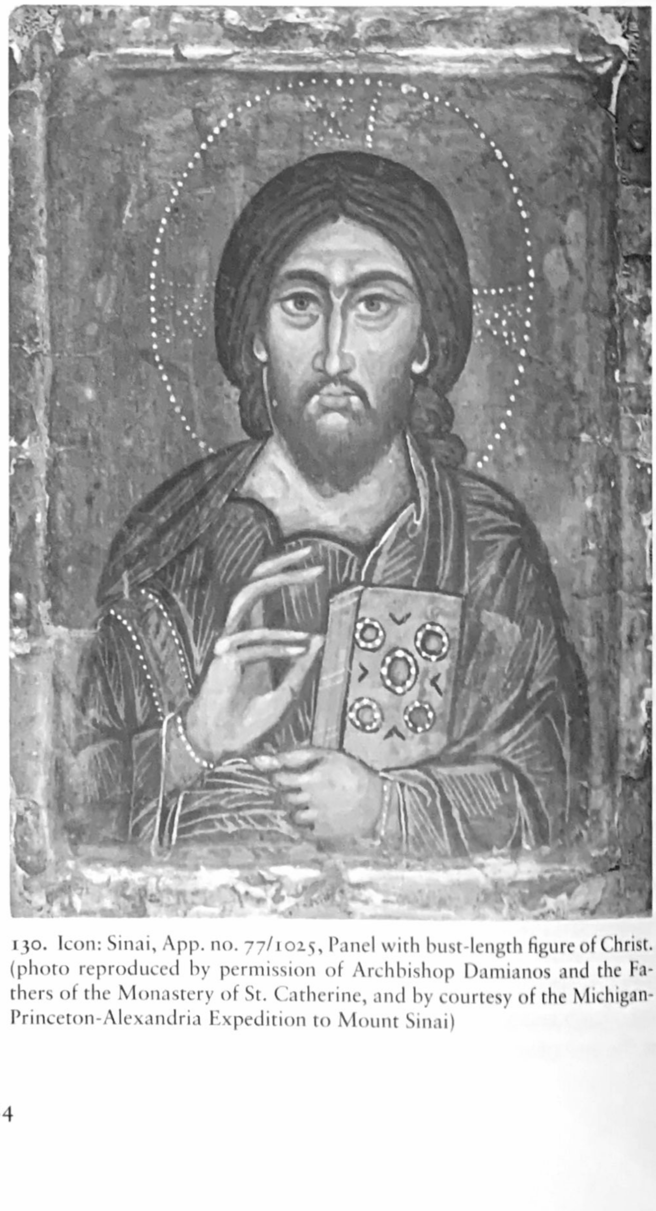


129. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 16/110, Panel with bust-length figure of Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

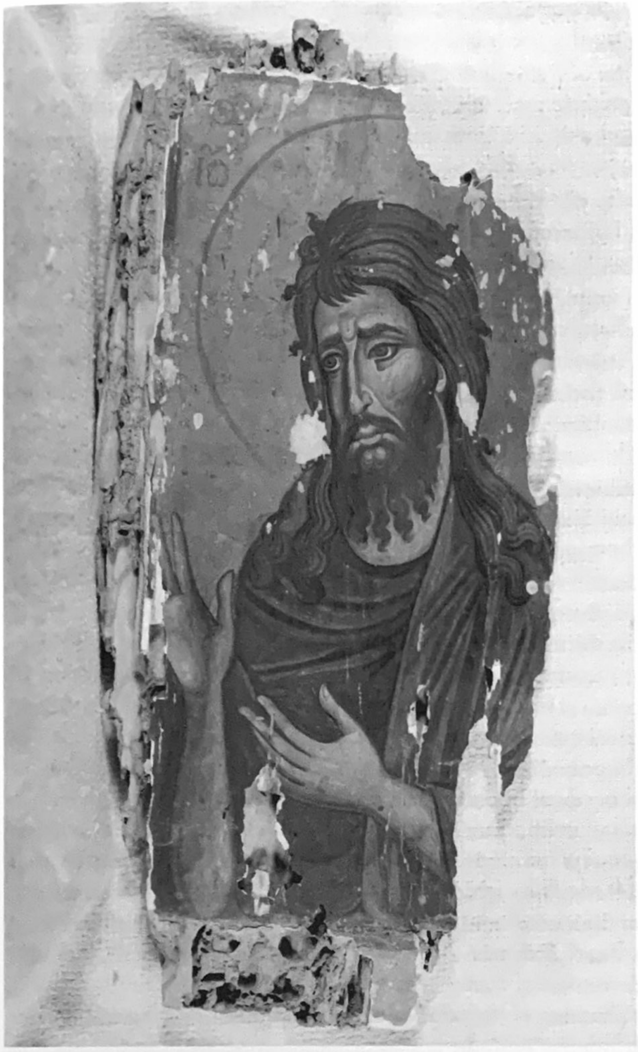
central issue that arises is the liturgy. Although few changes in the Latin rite were required by the Frankish settlers and increasingly in the thirteenth century, the clergy tended to be imported from the West; in fact there were some developments worthy of note that reflect the Eastern context of the Latin liturgy in the Crusader Holy Land.[648] The resident Frankish laity in the Latin Kingdom was clearly more "orientalized" than much of the recently arrived clergy after 1191. Partly as a result of their Eastern liturgical and devotional interests, a few changes can be noted, for example, Eastern saints were incorporated into Latin-rite calendars – a process that had started in the twelfth century for sure – Eastern votive lamps were allowed into the holy sites where Latin services were conducted, and notice was taken of solemn Eastern-rite services that gradually were allowed to be performed at appropriate holy sites. We recall, of course, that certain liturgical services had been taken over by the Latin clergy, especially at the main holy places, including unique events like the ceremony of the Holy Fire in Jerusalem on Holy Saturday at the Holy Sepulchre.

With these considerations in mind, we must also ponder the fact that one of the central religious and artistic aspects of the Eastern-rite liturgies and the spiritual life of the Eastern-rite Christian was focused on the icon. We must imagine, therefore, that just as Eastern saints entered the Latin-rite calendars, Orthodox clergy celebrated Eastern rites in the churches of certain holy sites, and Latin clergy had become accustomed to using holy images made by Crusader artists that were heavily Byzantine influenced in style and iconography in their new Crusader context, the practice of using icons – holy images – in the Latin-rite services must have also grown in importance. This means that the icons we have attempted to identify as linked to Crusader patronage at St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai and at Montfort are tangible testimony to greater Crusader interest in icons, mostly painted on wood panels, as pilgrimage gifts certainly, but also for public liturgical and personal devotional use.

One other important question related to the Orthodox liturgy that may have important links with Western developments concerns the templon screen, what is generally called later the iconostasis. The templon, which was undergoing certain changes in its configuration in the Eastern rite at this period, is in effect a partition with doors that effectively became covered with icons in a fixed order. The icons of the epistyle usually consisted of some version of the Twelve Feasts. Icons below were set into the interstices of the columns that supported the epistyle and on the doors. This icon-screen partition separates the sanctuary of an Orthodox church from the nave. During the thirteenth century the process by which the templon was being covered with holy icons was apparently still underway.[649]



130. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 77/1025, Panel with bust-length figure of Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



131. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 45/470, Panel with bust-length figure of St. John the Baptist. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

The analogue to the templon in Western-rite churches was the chancel screen, the rood screen or what was called in France the *jubé*. In the early thirteenth century when the new mendicant orders were evolving, the Franciscans in particular develop the use of the *tramezzo*, about which we know of examples in Florence and elsewhere. The question that must be posed, even if it is beyond the scope of this discussion to investigate it here, is, "to what extent was the use of the *tramezzo* by the mendicant orders influenced by the Byzantine templon or iconostasis, including the placement of holy pictures on it as we know from the examples in the Church of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella in Florence?" This question can be refined further to ask more specifically, "what contributions did the Byzantine templon make to mendicant use of the *tramezzo* in the Holy Land?" Even more pertinently, "what possible use was made of holy images on some kind of chancel screen in Crusader churches in the Latin East that led to, influenced, and/or reinforced the development of the *tramezzo* in mendicant churches East and West?"[650] We shall continue to consider these liturgical developments and their impact on the figural arts in the later years of the thirteenth century.

CRUSADER MINOR ARTS

Fresco Painting and Stained Glass

Of other Crusader art in the media of fresco painting or textiles that must have been done at this time, nothing is left that has yet been identified. Yet there must have been many works, works related to the practice of decorating pilgrimage sites, to the ends of providing monumental holy images as part of the context of the liturgy, and to painting churches and monasteries newly built or rebuilt in towns and in remote places during this period, or for the purpose of providing vestments and luxurious textiles for the celebration of the divine services or for the handling and protection of holy relics. Nothing is left in an ecclesiastical setting that can surely be dated to the years between 1225 and the 1240s as yet, but several possibilities exist that may yield firm attributions in the future. We know for example that a number of Coptic monasteries in Egypt were decorated with frescoes and given icons in the thirteenth century, among which some may eventually be seen to date from this period and to show links with Crusader developments.[651] We also know, as we have seen at Montfort and at the town church at 'Atlit, that the Crusaders had begun the use of stained glass in some of their churches during this period.[652] Finally, we know that it is likely that fresco painting was used to decorate certain important interior rooms in Crusader castles, as in the *Logis du Maitre* at Crac des Chevaliers.[653]

Textiles

As for textiles, here is another medium for which much research is needed to evaluate the possible identification of work that may have been acquired by the Crusaders in special circumstances even if the sources of the fabrics were ultimately Byzantine or Islamic or Far Eastern. We know that Frederick II received important diplomatic gifts that included luxury textiles,[654] and the same may well have been true for other prominent Crusaders during this period marked by treaties and truces. Richard of Cornwall is said to have returned home in 1241 with rich cloth, which eventually found its way to Westminster Abbey.[655]

Pottery in the Crusader States

In relation to the discussion in Chapter 4 of the various kinds of Crusader pottery, the main new development between 1225 and 1244 is the advent of pottery specifically excavated at the site of Montfort. Unfortunately, when it was originally discovered in 1926, little was known about Near Eastern pottery during the Crusader period; hence the investigators at Montfort did not pay much attention to it and the original publication on Montfort has little to say about it.[656] In the meantime, the examples of pottery at Montfort have attracted little study for several reasons. Not only were very few finds reported, but also most of those finds were modest local work of earthenware with no slip or green glaze ware. Thus, recent scholarship has usually not been able to take the site of Montfort much into account, except in a negative way. Pringle reports, for example, that no proto-maiolica has been found from Montfort.[657] In that regard it is comparable to other inland sites in the Latin Kingdom, where the commerce of shipping did not afford easy importation of pottery from the West and much of what has been found is modest local ware for daily use. Pringle's comments in another context are applicable here for Montfort:

> The ceramic products of medieval Palestine... are relatively undistinguished; and in the 12th and 13th centuries they are poor even when compared with those of the Crusader states in Northern Syria and Cyprus. The finer ceramic products made locally in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, such as the monochrome graffita wares derived from earlier Byzantine types or the slip-painted-and-glazed wares, represent in effect relatively commonplace table-cum-kitchen wares.[658]

At Montfort we only seem to find pottery of the most modest sort. Thus in contrast to 'Atlit, which has three main types – St. Symeon ware from the region of Antioch, proto-maiolica from southern Italy, and Cypriot graffita ware – at Montfort we cannot verify that even one of those types existed, even though there may be examples of St. Symeon ware among the best finds.

The situation at Montfort is an example of a site that needs additional investigation to follow up on the original research done in 1926. A major site such as Safed, which has not been much excavated but remains as a prime candidate for archaeologists to explore now that work has begun, could help fill in the gap that Montfort at present does not fill. Until these sites, and others like them, are fully investigated in light of our current knowledge of developments, their pottery cannot help us to understand the range of historical information available from studies in this field.

CONCLUSIONS

In the years 1210 to the 1240s we see once again the fact that Germans and the German Emperor played important roles in the major political, military, and diplomatic developments pertaining to the Latin Kingdom, and to some extent to the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch, along with French and English Crusaders. Germans were not, however, prominent in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Crusader States, which continued to be dominated by French and Italian prelates. There are certain surprising aspects pertaining to the German political involvement at this time, during which Frederick II and then his son, Conrad, was king of Jerusalem. Despite the prominent role played by Emperor Frederick II, the impact of German aid to the Holy Land was diminished by the 1240s rather than being enhanced, despite the efforts of Hermann von Salza and the relatively newly organized Teutonic Knights. This occurred for several reasons. First, there was Frederick's unwillingness and inability to engage in military operations on the Crusade. Second, there was his unwillingness and that of his son to take up residency in the Holy Land as Latin king. Third, there was also the fact that his remarkable achievement in successfully concluding the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 was handled in so idiosyncratic a manner. In the end, the benefits of this treaty were eventually swallowed up in the bitter civil war led by him and his imperial officers against the members of the Ibelin family. Therefore, it is the Crusade of Thibaut IV of Champagne and that of Richard of Cornwall that are remembered and extolled for their successful diplomatic achievements by continuing to maintain access to Jerusalem. They also even made it possible, in the final stage of negotiations carried on by the local rulers, 1243–4, to regain full access to the Muslim areas of the Holy City, areas which, of course, had formerly been controlled by the Templars and the Crown.

Unlike the Fifth Crusade, the Crusade of Frederick II made Christian access to the Holy City again possible, even though Frederick failed to refortify the Holy City. This was a great benefit to the Latin Kingdom, but the by-product of this expedition, the Lombard War, certainly was not. The two later Crusaders, Thibaut IV and Richard of Cornwall, also brought aid and contributed diplomatic successes of varying sorts. However, what they all failed to do in the long run – Frederick II included – set the stage for the catastrophic defeats suffered by the Latin Kingdom in 1244 when Jerusalem was finally lost to the Muslims for good and when the largest Crusader army to take the field in the thirteenth century was routed and destroyed at La Forbie.

Because of the civil war, because of the fragmentation of political leadership, because of the turbulent conditions, artistic developments are again only visible piecemeal. However, as in the preceding period, there is clear evidence of substantial work being done in both art and architecture.

In architecture, we have seen the massive construction projects for urban fortification and the major new castles that were built or added on to. We have seen the evident increase in the variety and quality of Gothic style in both church and military architecture, as well as in architectural sculpture and decoration.

Painting is the other area of innovation and significant development with the apparent establishment of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in the city of Acre as a source for high-quality aristocratic books as well as important ecclesiastical service books and cartularies. The other center that emerged as important for painting at this point was the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, where we begin to see important icon painting for what appear to be Crusader patrons. New and expanding castle sites were also centers for artistic work, including painting. Panel painting emerged as a newly important medium, but we have seen glimpses of panel painting earlier. Stained glass appeared in the holy land as a new medium, however, reflecting its growing importance as a major medium of monumental painting in western Europe. In other media, like metalwork, we find that activity continued to surround the export of major relics as before, even if the details of the industry are mostly shrouded from our view. However, we also see that there was important metalwork brought to the Latin Kingdom from the West, just as there was a constant supply of Latin clergy sent to the Crusader East under the watchful eye of the ever-vigilant pope.

The clergy of the Latin Church in the Crusader States continued to maintain an important role as patron of the arts in this period. What we would like to know more about is the patronage of the new mendicant orders – the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites – who also began their active role at this time, but for which we have little direct evidence so far. We would also like to know about how the Latin liturgy was changing, apparently making a new and more important place for holy icons, not only in terms of private devotions, but also in terms of public services.

The patronage of laymen, whether royal and aristocratic, whether soldier or merchant, whether individual or in groups, like the confraternities and even the commune active in Acre, is still somewhat unclear. The minting of coins obviously continued, but the choices made in the design of coins seem to be conservative and there was more emphasis on continuity of familiar types than in the kind of innovation we have seen earlier. Finally, the patronage of textiles and pottery is particularly difficult to assess because of the lack of evidence. It remains to be seen whether the lack of evidence should be interpreted as a diminution of production or of import–export activity.

We began this chapter with a series of question. What kind of responses can we give here in our concluding remarks?

1. In regard to the tremendous amount of architectural work done in this period, we can identify much of the new work at the new castle sites, but again it is problematic to see the work done in the building campaigns of 1225–44 on most of the urban fortification projects.
2. It is surprising that John of Ibelin is seen as a patron mostly only in his coinage in this period, whereas before this period we recall the magnificent Ibelin palace in Beirut as a work of special distinction. However, during the time of the civil war we find comparatively little otherwise to associate with him, despite the fact that as the mayor of the commune of Acre he must have played a central role in Acre developments in the arts. As for Frederick II, he was mostly in evidence in a political role, which translates to seals and coins in the arts. His patronage of manuscript illumination is just as mysterious in the Latin East as it is difficult to identify in Germany and the kingdom of Sicily. The fact is that we know of no major work of art commissioned by him in the Crusader States, other than urban fortification projects that he led, as, for example, at Jaffa. It seems odd, but Frederick II does not appear to have commissioned any major figural work of art while he was in the Holy Land, 1228–9.
3. The establishment of the commune of Acre between 1231 and 1243 clearly had an important impact on the political, economic, and military life of the city. It must have played an important role in making artistic activity possible in the city as well, although other than the possible commissioning of a seal for the commune, we know of no work the members of the commune corporately patronized. We could expect there might have been special commissions for their confraternity for related chapels and charitable activities, but as yet we lack the specifics. We can also expect that the commune would have had an impact on the architecture of the city and we can hope that the ongoing archaeological work in Acre will give us new and important information on how the architectural fabric of the city was changing during this time.
4. Given how important the Latin Church continues to be for the ongoing artistic activity in the Crusader States, we need more information on the possible individual commissions of major figures, like the patriarch of Jerusalem and the most prominent bishops. We also need more information on the emergence of the new mendicant orders, as they were established and began their work in the Crusader States. The Latin Kingdom is especially important for this because of the significance of the Holy Land for the Carmelites, whose order was founded there; for the Franciscans, whose founder came to the Holy Land during his career; and for the Dominicans, who began to appear in ecclesiastical positions of importance in greater numbers as the years went by. The rapprochement between the Latin Church and the Orthodox churches continued to be of special importance as well, because of the clear indications that Eastern influences were growing in terms of observances, services, and devotional practices.
5. The interaction between the Latin Kingdom and the Kingdom of Cyprus during this period was considerable, especially during the time of and because of the civil war. It is possible to see that some artistic activity was affected by this situation, as in the appearance of Cypriot-based styles in Sinai at St. Catherine's. Once Cyprus freed itself from the overlordship of the Holy Roman Emperor, it became more independent briefly. However, the long-term trend was for Cyprus to become more closely tied to the Latin Kingdom, particularly when, after the demise of the last Hohenstaufen king of Jerusalem, the kingship of Cyprus and Jerusalem was unified in one person again.
6. Finally, the period 1225–44 saw perhaps the most diplomatic activity of any comparable length of time in the Latin East, especially between Frederick and the sultan of Egypt, on the one hand, and between the various Muslim rulers of Damascus, Aleppo, Kerak, and Cairo and the various Crusade leaders on the other. This activity suggests that diplomatic interchange was more or less continuous, and intense some of the time. The level of diplomatic activity suggests that there was a significant amount of art exchanged as gifts, about which we wish we knew much more. There is no doubt that this is an important aspect of Crusader artistic production and interchange to be investigated in the future. Greater knowledge of these developments will not only increase our information about what art the Crusaders were capable of producing for use in diplomatic exchange, but it will also give us a way of identifying what Muslim art the Crusaders came to possess and what impact that art may have had on them. By the 1240s, mostly small signs of Muslim artistic influence on the Crusaders had only begun to be seen, but this was a development that would increase and expand in the second half of the thirteenth century.

In sum, we can look back on the whole period after the Third Crusade and offer some reflections observed in the broader perspective of Crusader artistic developments between 1098 and 1291. There clearly seems to have been a striking amount of military architecture produced during this period on the part of the Franks in the Crusader States, just as we saw after 1192. The amount of ecclesiastical architecture is very little documented, but the likelihood is that there was a considerable production. The problem is that it must have included a great deal of work in the form of convents, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical establishments in the major cities of the Latin Kingdom such as Acre, that is, in the form of living quarters and religious domestic dwellings that do not, or did not in these cases, produce much of an artistic presence. Our statement of likelihood is based on the very substantial presence of religious organizations of various types transplanted to the coastal cities, especially to Acre, and on the arrival of the mendicant orders in the Latin East during these years.

What is most problematic, however, is the peculiar and striking lack of identifiable figural art, excepting the various examples noted, from this entire period, 1192–1244. To some extent this cannot be simply the accident of later destruction or conservation. To some extent this sharply reduced production must be the result of a major change in patronage that was set in motion by developments in the kingdom. Whereas the ecclesiastical and the courtly art identified in the twelfth century before 1187 depended on a strong monarchy and a vigorous church hierarchy, the circumstances for church and state patronage changed dramatically after 1192. Just as the constitutional challenge to the monarchy grew in strength on the part of the Crusader lords in the first half of the thirteenth century, the royal presence in the Latin Kingdom also diminished in favor of regencies for absentee rulers. No doubt the weakness of the Crusader kings and their absence after 1228 is an important index to their lack of artistic commissions at a time when the barons were developing a strong taste for art. The church hierarchy is harder to account for, but their disorganization, their turnover, and to some extent, the nature of their responsibilities in the new circumstances must also have conditioned their reduced commissions as well. Although they sought to replace lost, missing, or destroyed liturgical books and objects, and attempted to set up new establishments, for example, some works appear to have been produced at very modest practical levels, some works seem to have been imported from the West, and in any case few luxury works are known to have been commissioned or to have survived. There can be no doubt that more remains to be learned about Crusader art between 1192 and 1244, but we can surely see that this was not a flourishing period for the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land.

PART TWO

1244–1291

For such a long time now the faithful of Christ have worked anxiously for the liberation of the Holy Land, not without the spilling of much blood. But this kind of labour has not resulted in the liberation we desired, perhaps because the sins of the Christian people demand it, and there has been no help in it, not the slightest; there has been only hindrance, except in so far as it is seen to have been a means of the salvation of souls, because that land is a great ladder to the heavenly kingdom.

Innocent IV (21 July 1248)

6

TURMOIL IN THE HOLY LAND: 1244–1268

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: HOHENSTAUFEN KINGS, IBELIN *BAILLIS*, LOUIS IX, ITALIAN MERCANTILE WARFARE, AND MONGOLS VERSUS MAMLUKS

INTRODUCTION

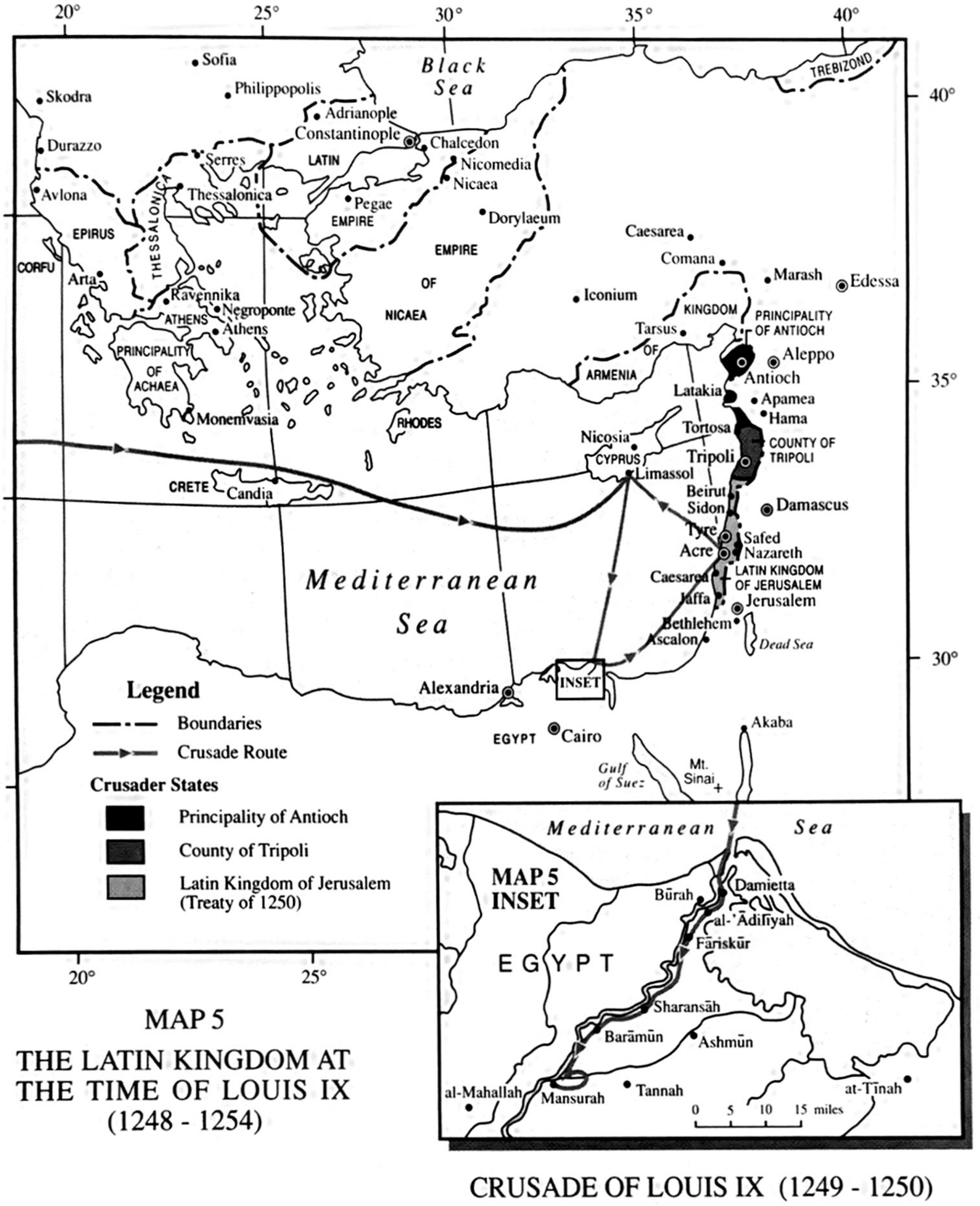
Members of the Hohenstaufen dynasty were kings of Jerusalem from 1225 to 1268, but only Frederick II, who wore the crown very briefly, between 1225 and 1228, ever visited the Latin Kingdom. His son by Isabel of Brienne, Conrad, reigned from 1228 to 1254. With his father serving as regent after 1228, during the civil war (1231–6) and beyond, to 1243, Conrad, who resided mostly in Germany, certainly never set foot in the Near East. When Frederick II died on 13 December 1250 in Apulia, Conrad also became emperor of Germany and king of Sicily as Conrad IV, but he was never crowned.[1] He died four years later, in May 1254, while fighting papal forces in Italy, having been excommunicated by the pope.

Conrad's two-year-old son, known as Conradin, the Hohenstaufen duke of Swabia, thereby succeeded Conrad IV as nominal German ruler and as absentee king of Jerusalem. With Conradin in his minority, in the West, it was Manfred, Frederick II's illegitimate son, who carried on the war in southern Italy. In the Near East, the Hohenstaufens' absence on the part of both Conrad and Conradin left a vacuum that had been filled in principle by a regent who was his closest eastern heir. After 1243, when Conrad had reached his majority in the West, the Crusaders nonetheless exercised the legal principle that "a king who had come of age would be treated as though he was still a minor until he came East to be crowned and entered personally into the feudal contract with his vassals."[2] Therefore, King Henry I of Cyprus had claimed the regency after the death of his mother, Alice, in 1246, but the situation was more problematic when King Henry died in January 1253. In these circumstances, Conradin's nominal rights were protected, but Plaisance of Cyprus, the youthful widow of Henry I, now acted as regent for the Kingdom of Cyprus and claimed the titular regency in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. She was not officially recognized in the Latin Kingdom until 1258, however, because even she did not come to Acre to receive the oaths of allegience from the barons there until then. As Jonathan Riley-Smith succinctly characterized it,

> the law laid down that the regent should be the child's surviving parent, provided he or she came to Palestine to receive the fealty of the vassals of the Kingdom. If a parent could not make the journey, the child's nearest relative of the royal line in the East would be given the regency. It will be noticed that to relationship to the heir had to be added presence in the kingdom, both rules being reflected in the phrase *dreit heir apparent.* If no relative came to the East to claim the regency, the choice of regent lay with the High Court, a body consisting not only of all tenants-in-chief of the crown, but, by the *Assise sur la ligece*, of all rear-vassals as well.[3]

In the meantime, however, she sought to advance the claims of her infant son, King Hugh II of Cyprus, who was next in line as heir to the crown of Jerusalem after Conradin.[4]

The absence of a strong ruler and the political turmoil in the governments of the Crusader Kingdoms of Cyprus and especially Jerusalem was a glaring reality during the years between 1243 and the 1260s. Papal activity further complicated the situation. Papal anti-Imperialist policies stretched even into the politics of Outremer with regard to how the law of the *baillage* was implemented in the Latin Kingdom with reference to Hohenstaufen claims and with regard to commercial rights of the Italian mercantile cities, depending on their Guelf or Ghibelline sympathies. After the new pope, Innocent IV, following the policy of his predecessor Gregory IX, formally deposed Frederick II as emperor, at the council of Lyon (17 July 1245), Innocent also attempted to enforce the negation of all imperial rights in the Crusader East. Then the figure of Louis IX emerged on the scene as the organizer and leader of the next great Crusade.


MAP 5

THE LATIN KINGDOM AT THE TIME OF LOUIS IX (1248 - 1254)

CRUSADE OF LOUIS IX (1249 - 1250)

20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
Sofia
Skodra
Philippopolis
Black Sea
Adrianople
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Durazzo
Serres
LATIN
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Avlona
Thessalonica
Pegae
EMPIRE
Dorylaeum
EPIRUS
THESSALONICA
EMPIRE
OF
NICAEA
CORFU
Arta
Ravennika
Negroponte
ATHENS
Athens
PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAEA
Monemvasia
RHODES
TREBIZOND
Caesarea
Comana
Marash
Edessa
Iconium
KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
Tarsus
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
Aleppo
Antioch
Latakia
Apamea
Hama
Tortosa
Nicosia
CYPRUS
Tripoli
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
Limassol
Beirut
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Safed
Acre
Nazareth
LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
Caesarea
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Ascalon
Dead Sea
CRETE
Candia
Mediterranean Sea
INSET
Alexandria
EGYPT
Cairo
Akaba
Gulf of Suez
Mt. Sinai
Legend
Boundaries
Crusade Route
Crusader States
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Treaty of 1250)
MAP 5 INSET
Mediterranean Sea
EGYPT
Būrah
Damietta
al-'Adiliyah
Fāriskūr
Sharansāh
Barāmūn
Ashmūn
al-Mahallah
Mansurah
Tannah
at-Tīnah
0 5 10 15 miles

Map 5

Between 1248 and 1254, the turbulent political situation in Outremer tends to be largely overshadowed by the presence in the Crusader East of King Louis IX of France, as reported both in the Crusader chronicles and in modern historiography about the Crusades. Even though he held no official political position in the Latin Kingdom, Louis was the leader of the Crusade for better and for worse between August 1248 and May 1250, and he was entrusted with major administrative responsibility in the Latin Kingdom while he resided there between May 1250 and April 1254. In fact, the reins of government in the Latin Kingdom were held by John of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf, who was *bailli*[5] until 1254, then briefly followed by John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa, from 1254 to 1256. John of Arsuf resumed his position as *bailli* through the War of St. Sabas, 1256–8, a bloody conflict among the Italian maritime republics in Acre, to which I return later.

At this point, let us examine the record concerning the crisis in Outremer and Louis IX's six years in the Near East to evaluate the political and military predicament of the Latin Kingdom and Louis's impact on both the politics and the artistic developments during this time, 1248–54.[6] These developments break down conveniently into the period of Louis's preparation for and carrying out of the Crusade expedition between 1244 and 1250 and then the time of his residency in the Latin Kingdom between mid-1250 and the spring of 1254.

THE LATIN KINGDOM AND LOUIS IX'S EXPEDITION TO THE EAST: 1244–1250

The repercussions of the fall of Jerusalem in August 1244 and the catastrophic Crusader defeat at La Forbie the following

October were serious for the Latin Kingdom. Crusader military manpower was so weakened that any sustained attack by Sultan Ayyub, now reinforced by the Khwarismians, could have wiped out the remaining Frankish holdings. Unlike 1187, however, when Saladin was in control of a unified Muslim situation, Ayyub had first to establish his suzerainty over his relatives in Damascus and farther north. The Khwarismians were also something of a problem because as mercenaries they wanted a reward for their services. Ayyub would not allow them into Egypt for fear of what havoc they could wreak, so he set them loose raiding the Crusader Kingdom. Eventually, when they got involved in the fighting over Damascus in 1245–6, they ended up on the wrong side, were soundly defeated, and disappeared from the scene.[7]

At this point, Ayyub was sufficiently in control to organize an attack on the Latin Kingdom in the summer of 1247. Just as in 1244 and 1245, the Franks were still unable to protect their outlying fortifications. So first Ayyub took Tiberias, Mount Tabor, and Belvoir. Then he concentrated an attack on Ascalon in conjunction with an Egyptian fleet that sailed up from the south. Despite generous responses to their appeals for assistance and unexpected help from the weather, the Crusaders were only able to delay the Mamluk capture of the city. On 15 October, the Egyptian army took Ascalon. Once again they dismantled the fortress walls, walls that had been partly rebuilt several times, very recently by Thibaud of Champagne in 1240. Ayyub left Ascalon deserted and in ruins, no longer a Crusader bastion against Muslim assault from the south.[8]

With this important victory Ayyub paused to consolidate his gains, thereby giving the Latin Kingdom a much-needed breather. Despite the vulnerable condition of the Crusader States, help was on the way. A new Crusade was scheduled to leave for the Near East in 1248.

The Crusade of Louis IX: Preparations in France: 1244–1248

When word of the loss of Jerusalem to the Khwarismian Turks on 23 August 1244 reached western Europe in the fall, the pope prepared to declare a new Crusade to regain the Holy City. King Louis IX, although seriously ill with a malarial infection in the abbey of Maubisson near Pontoise, vowed to take the Cross in December 1244, even before the Crusade was officially proclaimed. The Noailles Continuation describes the dramatic events:

> In France King Louis was taken very ill, so much so that he lost all power of speech and was thought to have died. His mother Queen Blanche, his wife and his brothers broke out in lamentations, thinking him dead, and they sent for clergy to conduct his funeral service. Then at that moment he breathed, opened his eyes, looked round him and said,
>
> "Fetch the bishop of Paris." In joy and happiness, all their grief changed to delight, those who were with him sent for the bishop. When the king saw him, he said,
>
> "My lord bishop, give me the cross for the Holy Land beyond the sea." When the queen mother, his brothers and the queen his wife heard that, they knelt to him and said,
>
> "My lord, in God's mercy, wait till you are better! Then you can do what you like." This made him angry and he said,
>
> "You can be sure I shall neither eat nor drink until I have the cross for Outremer on my shoulder." Then he called the bishop of Paris back to him and asked him again for the cross. The bishop did not dare refuse, so he took a piece of silk ribbon, folded it into a cross, knelt down weeping in front of the king and offered it to him. The king took it, kissed it, held it to his eyes and then had it fastened to his shoulder.
>
> "Now I am cured," he said. You may be sure that the weeping and lamentations inside and outside his bedroom were as great as when they thought he was dead.
>
> "When the king was up and better, he had letters written and sent to inform them in Syria that he had taken the cross; let them take comfort, defend and equip their cities and castles, for with God's help he would soon be in the Holy Land."[9]

The Rothelin Continuation also reports the circumstances, slightly differently and in some colorful detail, but without the references to Syria.[10]

So well-known did this incident become that after his canonization proceedings, conducted between 1272 and 1297, images of the king receiving the Cross in his sickbed became popular in the illustrated continuations of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*, dating mostly *c.*1300 and later.[11] As William Jordan has pointed out, however, this incident was seen quite differently in 1244 when Louis's vow was considered something of an aberration by many in France, an ill-chosen course of action that could have a dire impact on the kingdom if carried out.[12]

Six months later, in June 1245 at the Council of Lyon, Innocent IV formally issued the call for a new Crusade in his bull "Afflicti corde":

> Pierced to the heart as we are at the deplorable perils of the Holy Land, and especially at those which are known to have recently happened to the Christians living there, we desire, with our whole heart, to release it, by God's assistance, from the hands of the wicked, and, with the approbation of the sacred council, we determine, by means of the Preachers and our special messengers, to intimate to all true Christians who have made arrangements to cross the sea, that they are to prepare to assume the cross, and to meet at a convenient time for this purpose, and at suitable places, whence they may proceed to the assistance of the Holy Land, attended by the divine blessing as well as that of the Apostolic See.[13]

Compared with earlier calls for a Crusade, this bull is rather dull and matter-of-fact. But no matter, there could not have been a more motivated, serious, organized, or devout leader than Louis IX for such an endeavor. This is underlined by the story told by Mathew Paris about his vow. After Louis IX had recovered from his illness and he was again in good health, his mother, Blanche of Castile, and the bishop of Paris, William d'Auvergne, attempted to dissuade him from the vow he had made under the difficult circumstances of his illness. "My lord king, remember that when you took the cross, making so important a vow hurriedly and without advice, you were ill and, to tell the truth, your mind was wandering. Blood had rushed to your brain so that you were not of sound mind and the words you then uttered lacked the weight of truth or authority."

> To this the king, no little moved, replied: "You claim that the change in my senses was the cause of my assuming the cross; there now, as you wish and have argued, I shall lay down the cross, handing it over to you" and, raising his hand to his shoulder, he ripped off the cross with the words, "Lord bishop, here is the cross which I assumed; moreover, I resign it to you." At this, all those sitting around expressed their

> intense joy, but the lord king, altering his tone of voice and countenance, said: "My friends, certainly I am not now deprived of my reason or senses, nor am I powerless or infirm. Now I demand back my cross. He who ignores nothing knows that nothing edible will enter my mouth until I have again signed myself with it." When those present saw this they recognized that the hand of God was here. . . . We have recorded this business fully and exactly so that everyone appreciates the constancy of the most Christian king of the French in the service of Christ.[14]

It is in this episode reported by Matthew Paris that we truly glimpse something of the personal fervor which the king expressed for the Crusade. Not only was Louis IX totally committed to the Crusade, but he was also ardent in his zeal. In him the fire of crusading as an act of love burned brightly.[15] In the history of crusading, there had rarely if ever been one so dedicated to the cause.

As a public demonstration of his firm commitment to the new Crusade, Louis called a great assembly in Paris on 9 October 1245. Here Eudes of Châteauroux, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, preached the new Crusade and many important French churchmen and lords took the Cross.[16] Inside French territory, Louis vigorously recruited French barons, an initiative that was especially successful with rebellious lords in the south.[17]

Louis's idea of this expedition, however, was that it be a truly European Crusade. To this end, he sought the support of the great rulers and attempted to engage the attention of the pope away from his obsession with Frederick II and the empire. Louis IX steadfastly pursued his cause based on two principles, as Jordan has described them: "First, where Louis had influence, he should use it to bring concord to intra-Christian rivalries. Second, where it was possible he should turn the attention of other princes to the crusade."[18]

Despite his best efforts, however, he did not succeed in attracting Henry III of England, Frederick II, Haakon of Norway, or any major Spanish rulers to join the Crusade. Even the king's gesture of protecting the pope from the menace of the emperor, by allowing him to take up residence near the "borders" of France, at Lyon, did not deter Innocent IV from his struggle against Frederick II. Despite these setbacks, it is a dramatic demonstration of his resolve and his devotion to the Crusade that even if he could not bring peace to the European world, he never wavered from his dream of conquering Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Fortunately King Louis was much more successful within France in planning, organizing, and financing the Crusade than he proved to be in attempting to win aid from his peers. To accomplish the goal of organizing the Crusade in France and to provide a solid basis on which to rule – for himself and for his regent, Queen Blanche – Louis sought to reform his government. Although the central government – the chancery, the financial branch, and the judicial arm – was, relatively speaking, efficiently controlled by the king, the means of transmitting the king's policies and important information to the provinces and his ability to collect taxes from these outlying territories were inadequate. What was needed was to root out dishonest officials and to establish reliable regional administrators, that is, dependable *baillis* or senechals, in place. This Louis proceeded to do in 1246 in conjunction with the appointment of mendicant *enquêteurs*, Franciscans and Dominicans, who were sent out "to collect and adjudicate complaints about the activities of royal officials."[19] These *enquêteurs* appear in the written records during 1247. Louis's decision to recruit mendicants for this difficult job can be explained by his need for honest and efficient functionaries, by the fact that these friars represented the new wave of Christian piety that he wished to promote, and by special arrangements with the heads of the orders who were apparently willing to support this venture.[20] Jordan assesses the results of these efforts as follows:

> Louis's accomplishment before the crusade was distinguished: by the end of 1247 and increasingly thereafter his demands on his kingdom could be made through men whose fundamental loyalty was to him, who owed their positions directly to him, and who were dealing with a population that for the first time, as a result of the friar-*enquêteurs*, may have desired genuinely to help him in the great crusade he planned. When Louis had first sworn the crusader's vow in December 1244, it is unlikely anyone would have ventured to believe that these developments were possible.[21]

These reforming efforts affected the preparations for the Crusade in a number of ways. Not only was royal administration made more efficient and honest, so that injustice and the profits of injustice could be eliminated so far as possible, but Jean Richard points out that by this royal example a spirit of moral preparation, moral reform in effect, was also widely engendered in those taking the Cross.[22] Jean de Joinville, for example, tells the story of how he prepared by calling a meeting of his men on the Friday after Easter, 1248. At this gathering he spoke: "My friends, I'm soon going oversea, and I don't know whether I shall ever return. So will any of you who have a claim to make against me come forward. If I have done you any wrong I will make it good." Then he left the court in order not to influence their deliberations and afterward agreed to whatever they recommended, without objection.[23]

One essential need for the Crusade was, of course, raising a well-organized army. As the result of vigorous recruiting, it was possible to get many barons and many prelates to take the Crusader vow, even if a surprisingly large number were eventually unable to fulfill their obligation. Nonetheless, by 1248, Louis commanded an army of approximately fifteen thousand knights, mounted sergeants, and infantry. The king accounted for about half these men himself, and other leaders provided the other half.

The army that was raised would then need to be provisioned and transported. Arrangements had started as early as 1246 to contract for ships from Genoa and Marseilles. Port facilities had to be located and supplies had to be acquired, transported, and stockpiled. Agents were sent out to make careful arrangements for the provisions in France and in Cyprus. Jean de Joinville was impressed with the abundant food and wine the Crusaders found waiting for them on Cyprus.[24] He notes that the wine barrels were stacked so high as to look like barns, and the grain was heaped to form mounds that looked like independent hills. By any standard, and no matter how much fraud and pilferage there may have been, establishment of a thousand-mile supply line that adequately provisioned the troops was a remarkable achievement.

As his point of embarkation, Louis decided to use the port of Aigues-Mortes, a new town the king had acquired from the abbey of Psalmodi in 1240. Aigues-Mortes, south of Nimes and east of Montpellier, in the marshy lands surrounding the delta at the mouth of the Rhone River, had the advantage of being under royal control, and it had at the time a natural harbor. The king no doubt wished to avoid the problems that had beset earlier expeditions when dealing with established maritime powers, such as what had happened with the Fourth Crusade at Venice, but Aigues-Mortes had its disadvantages as well. The town was small, it was not an established commercial center, and it was not used to handling the provisions for such a large fleet. The local water was brackish, and all freshwater supplies had to be transported in for the army. Furthermore, the town walls and the harbor had to be built de novo, the inner harbor of the port was prone to heavy silting, and there were strong winds that buffeted the ships during outfitting and loading. Despite these problems, the town walls were largely constructed – made of wood with only the massive Tour de Constance[25] built of stone – and the harbor put in functioning order; supplies were gathered, and the ships arrived, while the task of raising money went forward.

To finance the crusade, the Council of Lyon in 1245 had levied a tax of one-twentieth of ecclesiastical revenues, an amount that was increased to one-tenth of revenues in France. Although little money was collected outside of French territory,[26] in France significant money was raised, and the tenth was extended for five years. Strayer estimates that the French tenth yielded about 190,000 livres per year, or 950,000 livres for the five-year period.[27] Overall the Crusade was officially estimated to have cost the king 1,537,570 livres,[28] which demonstrates that the French clergy ended up paying the largest part of the expenses. When looked at in comparison to the annual revenues of the crown at 250,000 livres tournois in this period, most of which was committed for domestic use, it is clear how important the financial support of the Church was. It is also evident that the king's newly reformed administration was successful in collecting its revenue more efficiently, and even finding new sources of revenue to pay for unforeseen expenses.[29]

Sainte Chapelle in the Context of Crusade Preparations

It should not be overlooked that during the entire period of preparation for the Crusade in France, Louis IX was involved with his most important royal artistic commission in Paris during the 1240s: the construction and decoration of Sainte Chapelle on the Ile de la Cité.[30] Commissioned to hold the holy relics of the Passion of Christ, which Louis had recently acquired from Baldwin II, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, and other sources, Sainte Chapelle was a declaration of royal ideology, programmatically linking the Capetian dynasty with the Holy Land. Branner argued that the building project was begun in late 1241, after the second shipment of relics had arrived in Paris in September.[31] A papal bull from May 1244 granted the king permission to found a college of canons for the chapel. When it was dedicated on 26 April 1248, complete in all its details, Sainte Chapelle was clearly a major artistic statement of royal presence by the current king in Paris. Even more significantly, it also presented a program of symbolism and narrative illustration that linked the Capetian dynasty with the Holy Land and the anointed Old Testament kings, especially Solomon.[32]

Briefly stated, we can think of this program in terms of the following components. In the architecture, "one aspect of Louis's strategy was to rival Byzantium by delineating a new Holy Land within the confines of the palace complex in Paris, another was to create in architecture a Christian and Capetian equivalent to the building complex of King Solomon in Jerusalem, including the great *Templum Domini.*"[33] And "the relics of the Passion symbolized that earthly Jerusalem which it was Louis's deep desire to reconquer for Christ."[34] The list of relics is long and impressive.[35]

The lavish interior figural decoration of Sainte Chapelle included frescoes, sculptures, and stained glass, intended to provide a setting for the presentation of the holy relics. The frescoes consisted of a series of forty-four quatrefoils depicting Christian martyrs who gave their lives for the faith.[36] These images, which emphasized the human sacrifice and celestial rewards of martyrdom must have had special resonance for the king as he prepared for his Crusade.[37] The sculptures consisted of the Twelve Apostles standing as pillars of the church, at the bases of the buttresses along the side walls. Although by the thirteenth century, comparatively speaking, such apostles were a familiar metaphor in sculptural programs, these apostles contain special significance here. "Each apostle holds in his hand a disk containing the ceremonial cross of consecration that is normally inscribed onto church walls at the time of the dedication. By carrying this attribute, a striking and unusual iconographic detail, the apostles are not only an eternal presence in the celestial Jerusalem, they are also active participants in the ceremony consecrating the new Holy Land in Paris."[38]

The stained-glass program is clearly strongly related to a series of densely illustrated Bible manuscripts done in Paris between 1215 and the 1240s, including the *Bibles Moralisées* and the Morgan Old Testament Picture Book, Morgan MS 638. In the 1,100 scenes found in the stained glass, there is enormous emphasis on Old Testament imagery (650 scenes), with a focus on "aspects of biblical kingship, including the orderly succession of the rulers of the chosen people, the defense against idolatry, and the necessity of holy war to achieve the objectives of the faith." In this imagery "the biblical heroes are presented in contemporary dress, many in the guise of French crusaders. Such an artistic conception is most readily understood in the context of the Crusades; the Franks, viewing themselves as the rightful descendents of the Old Testament heroes, were comparably engaged in a battle for rights to the Holy Land."[39] In the chevet, a Christological cycle links the Old Testament stories to the New Testament events that lead up to the Incarnation and the Passion. The New Testament scenes provide a narrative setting for the four lancet windows that depict the history of the relics of Christ's Passion. "Within the relics narrative, the French king is presented, like his predecessors Helena and Heraclius, as a savior of the Passion relics. Yet because he is portrayed in the standard dress of a French monarch, Louis is indistinguishable from the biblical kings depicted throughout the stained-glass program.... Louis IX had assumed the mantle of biblical kingship and was nothing less than the legitimate heir to the rule of David and Solomon."[40] The history of the relics windows in one sense form the climax of this cycle of scenes in stained glass, a climax centered on King Louis IX.

"Frenchmen, from the first moment they received the relics, considered them something which gave their kingdom a special connection with the heavenly kingdom, but . . . the relics did not find their true place in the religion of French monarchy until Louis IX swore the crusader's vow. So deep was the association, indeed, in men's minds, that the legend grew up and was memorialized in art that Louis, the crusader, had personally brought back the relics of the Passion from the Holy Land."[41]

How is it possible that such a remarkable commission was underway at the same time that such vigorous attention was being given to the direct preparations for the Crusade? The construction of the Sainte Chapelle has been estimated at 40,000 livres tournois, a substantial sum, and the total cost of the entire project, including the payments made to Baldwin II for the holy relics of the Passion, has been put at 100,000 livres tournois. We know little about certain details of exactly when these payments were made and for what, but the impact on royal commissions is clear. Jordan quotes and summarizes Branner's findings:

> "During the Crusade of 1248–1254 most building operations in the capital were suspended or slowed down." He also demonstrated that, at practically every major construction in northern France with which the monarchy had associated itself and invested its resources, reductions in outlays can be associated with Louis's preparations for the crusade. And no new efforts were undertaken once he took the vow. It was crusading projects, like the building of Aigues-Mortes, which consumed these savings in a dramatic trade-off.[42]

In sum, far from diverting Louis from his labors for the Crusade, Sainte Chapelle provided the king with a magnificent vehicle for an artistic statement of his ideals in relation to the Crusade. The fact that it was given this attention at a time when other projects deemed less important for the Crusade effort were slowed, stopped, or even terminated,[43] puts Sainte Chapelle in a special category of importance. Sainte Chapelle demonstrated that, by pursuing its construction and decoration in the midst of preparations for the Crusade, Louis IX viewed certain art and architecture to be an integral part of his royal Crusade agenda. As we shall see, what he achieved in Paris and at Aigues-Mortes in the 1240s has strong parallels with what he also achieved mutatis mutandis in the Latin Kingdom from 1250 to 1254. The cost of his projects in the East would be even more expensive, however: There was more construction than the king could have imagined, and there were unforeseen expenses.

A "HISTORY OF *OUTREMER*" FROM THE ROYAL PARISIAN ATELIERS

Sainte Chapelle was the largest and most important monumental and somewhat public artistic statement pertaining directly to Louis's upcoming Crusade, but more privately there was also evidence of the king's interest at court, in terms of manuscript illumination. The earliest extant illustrated "History of *Outremer*" manuscript from western Europe is Paris, B. N. MS fr. 9081, a codex containing William of Tyre's text translated into Old French.[44] This manuscript contained originally twenty-two historiated initials, of which four have been cut out and are now lost. We can see from those that remain, however, what a remarkable cycle of miniatures this manuscript contains. We can also see that the style of the miniatures in this manuscript places it in Paris in the context of the workshop(s) that a few years earlier had executed the *Bibles Moralisées*, shortly before 1240. Finally, we can observe that this beautifully executed codex, with charming historiated initials decorated in the manner of the *Moralized Bibles*, is supplied with captions to identify the very detailed images for the aristocratic reader. What are the special features of this illustrated codex that pertain to Louis's upcoming Crusade, and what is the special significance of this manuscript?

The unusual nature of this illustrated cycle is apparent when considering the specific detail given to the scenes, with royal and aristocratic figures specified consistently. Seemingly ordinary scenes are depicted with great sensitivity for visual narration, and the choice of scenes to be illustrated is extraordinary and fascinating. Chivalric behavior is recognized, as at Book 10 where King Baldwin II cares for the captured wife of an Arab emir. The majority of scenes are unconventional when compared with the standard cycles in French manuscripts which appear later on. At Book 12, for example, we find the king granting the founder knights of the Templars living quarters, unique in all of the illustrated "History of *Outremer*" manuscripts from the East or the West. The artist's storytelling ability is exemplified also at Book 19, where Crusader messengers come to Cairo. There at the caliph's palace, the sultan kisses the foot of the caliph while the messengers looks on. We are charmed by the narrative, which although true to the story in the text, represents all the figures as French – the sultan is a French noble, the caliph is a French king – and do things in a French manner. Obviously the French artist conceived of the kissing of the caliph's foot as the most remarkable part of the ceremony and duly recorded it. Historically, according to William of Tyre's text, however, the most unusual feature of this audience was the caliph's willingness to set aside Muslim custom, bare his hand, and shake hands with Hugh of Caesarea as an equal, signifying his agreement to the terms of the treaty renewal.

The narrative cycle in the historiated initials is filled with picture after picture like this, and these pictures are given captions at the bottom of the page to inform the reader of their contents. Thus these captions ensure the reader's understanding of the detailed and accurate visual presentation in the images. No doubt these captions were first intended to be used for the artist as guides to his painting, but their language and the fact that they are written in such a bold, clear bookhand, not to mention the fact that they were retained when the manuscript was completed, is evidence for their unusual function.[45]

Both the extraordinary program of decorations and the unusual captions that are provided for the narrative cycle, when combined with the fact that stylistically this codex is illustrated in the manner of the Toledo and Oxford/Paris/London *Moralized Bibles*, indicate that this codex was a commission from someone at the royal court. We cannot say directly and specifically perhaps that the king himself commissioned this book, but it was clearly commissioned by someone who was thinking seriously about the upcoming Crusade and wished to know about the Crusaders in the Holy Land. That person could very well have been Louis's mother, Queen Blanche of Castile. Either she might have commissioned this wonderful book for herself or someone could have commissioned it for her, in either case with a view to her son's upcoming expedition. Certainly her patronage of the *Moralized Bibles* can link her to a book done so faithfully in the style of those huge Bibles, not to mention the excellent quality of this "History of *Outremer*" manuscript and its miniatures, and the special deluxe feature of its captions. Finally, the specific and detailed content of these pictures, with emphasis on the Crusader kings, nobles, and knights of French ancestry, clearly provides a focus on the special contribution of French Crusaders to this cause.

In conclusion, then, we have at least glimpsed what a detailed and interesting survey of events in the history of the Latin Kingdom pertinant to French royalty is provided by this manuscript in terms of its miniature cycle. Even though we cannot definitively connect this book directly to the king or his mother on documentary grounds, it clearly provides evidence of heightened awareness for the upcoming Crusade at his court. And we should not overlook the fact that this manuscript also has special significance. It is one of the first extant examples of a decorated secular book in the vernacular Old French from Paris, marking a new departure with the appearance of illustrated secular literature, patronized and supported apparently at the royal court in Paris. How fitting such a work was apparently commissioned during the time of preparation for the Crusade, in 1244–8, contemporary with the Sainte Chapelle.

Louis IX Sets Out on the Crusade: 1248

In discussing the emotional, material, and spiritual aspects of King Louis IX's preparations for the Crusade, William Jordan provides a welcome *aperçu* of the ceremonial acts that formed an essential part of the royal departure. The first of these *acta* was a ritual tour of the royal domain, starting with the northern part in the winter months of February, March, and early April. This *tournée* was, of course, the opportunity for the king to dispense justice and to present himself to his people as their king and as royal Crusader, sometimes in dramatic fashion. Jordan conjures up one such ceremony at Chambly, north of Pontoise, on 8 March 1248.

> The king's visit is supposed to have been the occasion of the very first celebration of *Bois-Hourdy*, a festival replete with torchlight parade and bonfire. If we let our imaginations go, we shall conjure up a picture of the king leading this procession – perhaps it has come together from various neighborhoods to the central square; and at the moment when the torches are put to the straw for the bonfire, the royal visitor is illuminated: soon he will take leave of this town and his kingdom to do battle with the enemies of Christ.[46]

Toward the end of April when this part of the *tournée* was accomplished, Louis was back in Paris to dedicate Sainte Chapelle. The dedication was important, but it was only the midpoint of his royal progress; Sainte Chapelle would have an even more significant function later on in the departure rituals. At the end of April and in early May, Louis completed his *tournée* with visits to the southern part of the domain: Etampes, Toury, Châteaudun, and Perseigne. On his return to Paris after the progress was concluded, Sainte Chapelle assumed its new role as a major ceremonial site for a French royal crusader. Jordan reconstructs the components: an exposition of the holy relics of the Passion, the granting of additional indulgences, and the presentation of a precious relic – a thorn from the Crown of Thorns of Christ – to delegates from the king of Castile.[47]

After the focus on Sainte Chapelle, the king turned his attention to the Cathedral of Notre Dame. There his Crusade pilgrimage formally began. The Minstrel of Reims describes a memorable scene:

> When the king had made ready for his journey he took his wallet and his pilgrim's staff at Our Lady's in Paris; and the bishop sang mass for him. And he set forth from Our Lady's – he and the queen and his brethren and their wives, unshod and barefoot; and all the congregation and the people of Paris convoyed them so far as Saint-Denis, with weeping and with tears. And there the king took his leave of them and sent them back to Paris, and he wept bitterly when he parted from them.[48]

Almost every crusader's departure from his loved ones was extremely difficult and very emotional, and Louis's was no exception:

> The queen his mother tarried with him and accompanied him yet three days, in despite of the king. Then he said unto her: "Fair, sweetest mother, by that faith that ye owe me, turn back incontinent. I leave you my three children for to guard – Lewis, Philip, and Isabel – and I leave you to govern the kingdom of France; and in sooth know I that they will be well guarded and that the kingdom will be well governed."
>
> Then answered him the queen, weeping: "Fair, sweetest son, how can it be that my heart shall suffer the severing of me and thee? Surely it will be harder than stone if it divide not into two parts; for thou hast been to me the best son that ever mother had."
>
> And on these words she fell down in a swound; and the king raised her up and kissed her, and he took his leave of her, weeping. And the queen swooned yet again and remained a long time in a swound; and when she was come again to herself she said: "Fair, tender son, never shall I see thee more; that my heart telleth me."[49]

Sad to say, her intuition was correct.

The king put aside this sorrowful parting and now made his way in short stages southward, via Sens, Vézelay, and Lyon, to the new royal port of Aigues Mortes. There he embarked in his ship, the *Montjoie*, for the Near East on 25 August 1248. He arrived in Limassol on Cyprus, 17 September 1248, and established camp to wait for the army to assemble. Shortly thereafter, Jean, sire of Joinville, arrived on Cyprus as well. Joinville would later become the king's friend, vassal, and trusted advisor during the Crusade, and much later he became the king's biographer. According to Jean de Joinville, Louis would have sailed on to the Holy Land immediately after his arrival at Limassol, but his brothers and the other barons there prevailed on him to wait for the army to gather. It would be a long wait, from mid-September 1248 until the end of May 1249.

The Crusade of Louis IX – Preparations on Cyprus: 1248–1249

Although the wait would prove onerous for Louis once he arrived in Cyprus, he was given a warm welcome by King Henry of Cyprus and his most important nobles.[50] As mentioned earlier, an impressive amount of supplies had been gathered. The French king and his army camped near Limassol for nearly eight months,[51] where they were well provisioned but also where sickness broke out, causing many deaths. Fortunately, stragglers and others joining the army late reinforced its ranks and enabled Louis to maintain his troops at full strength.

For his own part, Louis IX immediately became actively involved in Near Eastern affairs, both in an effort to prepare for the upcoming military expedition and to promote the Christian faith, effectively continuing the preparations he had begun in western Europe. The first encounter mentioned by Joinville concerned two envoys sent to Louis IX by the Mongol general in the Middle East, Elijigidei; they arrived in Kyrenia on 11 December. The king and his entourage met with these envoys in Nicosia on 20 December 1248, where he was staying in the royal palace as the guest of Henry I. The envoys carried a letter to the king, which brought greetings from Güyük Khan, king of the world, wishing the Christians success in their battle with the Muslims.[52]

The Rothelin Continuation reported the message brought by the envoys to be that their king was Christian, as were many of his subjects, that Elijigidei would support the Crusaders to avenge the depredations of the Khwarismians on the Mongols and that in the spring the Crusaders should attack Egypt just when the Mongols would attack the caliph of Baghdad.[53] Joinville also records a much briefer description of this message, without the erroneous claims that the Mongol leaders were Christians, but with the same Mongol willingness to aid the Crusaders against the Muslims. The purpose of this message,[54] written as soon as Elijigidei had heard that the Crusaders had landed on Cyprus, was perhaps twofold. First, the Mongols wanted to establish favorable relations with the Crusaders, whose military presence they respected. Second, the Mongols quite possibly wanted to enlist Louis's aid in getting the Latin clergy to give greater autonomy to clergy of other rites in the East, a policy first declared by Ghengis Khan that the pope had thus far refused to honor.[55]

Whatever the official written and informal verbal contents of the message may have been, Louis IX was favorably impressed and interested in sending a reply to the Mongol prince. To this end he enlisted an experienced papal emissary, Andrew of Longjumeau, a Dominican, to lead a diplomatic mission both to Elijigidei and to Güyük Khan. Andrew may be the same person who carried the Crown of Thorns to Louis from Constantinople in 1238; in any case he knew both Arabic and Syriac. He was accompanied by two other Dominicans, William of Longjumeau, his brother, and John of Carcassonne, along with two priests and two soldiers. They set out from Nicosia on 27 January 1249.[56]

It was an impressive group, and Louis gave them diplomatic gifts to carry to the Mongols. These gifts consisted of "a tent arranged for use as a Chapel – a very costly gift indeed, for it was made throughout of fine scarlet cloth." The Old French then continues:

> Et li roys, pour veoir se il les pourroit attraire à nostre créance, fist entaillier en ladite chapelle, par ymaiges, l'Anonciacion Nostre-Dame et touz les autres poins de la foy.[57]

This passage is rendered quite differently in the translations; first, the version by M. R. B. Shaw:

> Moreover in the hope of making our religion appear attractive to the Tartars, the king had ordered for this chapel a series of little figures carved in stone, representing the Annunciation of our Lady, and all other subjects relating to the Christian faith.[58]

Second, the version by R. Hague:

> To see if he could attract them to our faith, the King had pictures embroidered in the chapel of the Annunciation of Our Lady and all the other articles of faith.[59]

The Old French would seem to refer to sculpture, "entaillier," and this is certainly the interpretation favored by my colleague A. Weyl Carr,[60] but the notion of embroidery images cut out to be placed in or attached to the chapel also seems possible.[61] Certainly images in embroidery would have been much more practical for travel. The envoys were also given fragments of the True Cross for both Güyük and Elijigidei,[62] along with other more worldly presents.

The purposes of this mission were to explore diplomatic possibilities on one hand, but it was also one of evangelization, to explain the Christian religion to the Mongols and to teach them about basic Christian beliefs. The purpose of the specified gifts was to serve these religious goals. The mention of these diplomatic gifts raises the question of how and where they had been acquired by the king. In the short time between the arrival of the envoys on 20 December and their departure on 27 January, these works were ordered and produced. There is no doubt that the relics would have most likely been in the possession of the king, and it would not be difficult to find fine scarlet cloth on Cyprus. But the images, whether sculpture or embroidery, would seem to have been done rapidly, and one wonders which artists were available in Nicosia to execute such a commission on short notice.

This embassy was not the only diplomatic mission to Louis IX on Cyprus. Joinville also reports that the empress of Constantinople, Mary of Brienne, wife of Baldwin II, arrived seeking aid for the Latin Empire. Louis IX and Marguerite received her at Limassol. Because her baggage had been left on her transport ship, which had broken anchor and been blown all the way to Acre, Mary was in need of clothing. Joinville supplied her with materials to make a new dress, including woolen cloth, satin, and ermine – materials apparently readily available on Cyprus. When Mary asked the king for assistance, Louis made it clear that his first priority was to fight the Muslims, but individual Crusader response to Mary's plea for support was generous. More than a hundred knights and nobles pledged to come to Constantinople, if possible, after Louis's Crusade was complete. Mary's husband, Baldwin II, would later visit the king in both Damietta and in Acre seeking assistance in his own words.[63]

During this fall and winter, Louis received other embassies. One came from king Hetoum of Armenia, bringing with it a lavish diplomatic gift in the form of a pavilion. This elaborate royal tent was said to be worth five hundred livres, and according to Hetoum had been given to him by the Turkish sultan of Iconium. Thus it is recorded that this diplomatic gift was recycled for later use. Also during this period Bohemond V of Antioch asked for and received military assistance against Turcoman raiders. In this way Louis IX could be seen to be active in attempting to promote peace in the Near East, just as he had attempted the same goal among his peers in the West during the time of, and indeed as part of his preparations for the Crusade.[64]

Besides the king, the papal legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, was also active during that winter. Eudes, the cardinal bishop of Tusculum, was a distinguished ecclesiastical figure. Formerly a professor of theology at the University of Paris, he became chancellor of the University in 1238. After being appointed the papal legate for the Crusade in France in 1245, he was in 1248 made apostolic legate for the entire Crusader East.[65] Having had wide experience in church administration in France before arriving in Cyprus, he proceeded to organize a council to reform the Latin Church on the island, and in March 1249 he issued a series of decrees to this end. Although Eudes was no doubt concerned with relations between Latin and Greek clergy to some extent, the fact was that he discovered there were fundamental problems with the Latin clergy that he had to address. Although some of the issues were routine, the kinds of things he had found in the West, other problems were basic and serious. The clergy needed schooling, theological and otherwise; some were even illiterate: "it is right for churchmen to be schooled in a scholastic discipline, so that . . . like chandeliers resplendent in the churches, they can show the life of truth. . . . " The clergy needed moral reform: "nothing shines more in the Lord's house than honest living in churchmen." Clerics were admonished to cease cohabitation with concubines! His decrees also addressed discipline, poor fiscal administration, the need for rural parishes and churches, absenteeism, and the conduct of church services. Clearly the Latin Church in the Near East needed better organization and leadership at all levels. Eudes, no doubt disgusted by what he found, would try to provide that leadership here, and later, when he arrived in the Latin Kingdom.[66]

The claim has been made that it was during this sojourn in Cyprus that Louis became involved with the sponsorship of the Cathedral Church of Haghia Sophia in Nicosia. Camille Enlart, in a famous and important study of Gothic art and architecture on Cyprus, proposed that in 1248 some of the king's masons worked on parts of Haghia Sophia, what Enlart identified as a third phase in the complicated history of this important building.[67] In fact, there is virtually nothing of the then-current Rayonnant Gothic style in the Church of Haghia Sophia, and recent opinion has asserted that "there are no signs of influence from masons attached to the court of Louis IX." Indeed, "it is reasonable to infer that, although Louis IX may have showered Cypriot churches with gifts, he did no building."[68]

Other time was certainly spent by the king and his men discussing strategy for the upcoming expedition. The master of the Knights Templars, the lieutenant master of the Hospitallers, and some Latin Syrian knights visited the army to discuss operational objectives.[69] Together they decided to attack Egypt. The Crusaders remembered that Damietta had been taken during the Fifth Crusade, and they thought they could enlarge on that victory. Unfortunately the Muslims were well-acquainted with Crusader strategy, and the sultan Ayyub moved troops into position to defend the Nile south of Damietta.

The Crusaders also arranged for their ships and supplies. When spring arrived and it was time to engage the ships, the Venetians were unavailable. The Genoese, on whom Louis IX was mainly counting, were in open conflict with the Pisans along the Syrian coast, but eventually, with the help of a truce between the warring parties, arranged by the *bailli*, John of Arsuf, the fleet could be put together. In mid-May 1249, operations began and the fleet began to assemble at Limassol. Joinville commented that "it was indeed a lovely sight to look at, for it seemed as if all the sea, as far as the eye could reach, was covered with the canvas of the ships' sails."[70] Alas, before the fleet could depart a violent storm blew up and scattered the ships. Louis IX finally sailed on 30 May.[71]

The delay in Cyprus produced negative and positive results. Over the winter of 1248–9 a number of Crusaders had died of sickness, including John of Montfort,[72] and a prime opportunity to attack Egypt while Sultan Ayyub had most of his army at Homs in Syria was lost. On the other hand, the longer the king waited, the stronger his army eventually became. Not only were there late arrivals from the West, but also other soldiers from the Near East – both from Syria and Frankish Greece – and more Templars and Hospitallers joined the Crusade army, in effect replacing those who died. By mid-May the army was fully assembled and when it was ready to sail, it was estimated to be about fifteen thousand men. The decision having been made to attack Damietta, the fleet finally sailed piecemeal at the end of May after a serious storm scattered the ships, and they anchored at the mouth of the east branch of the Nile on 4 June 1249.[73]

The Crusade of Louis IX – Damietta and Mansourah: 1249–1250

Upon arrival, as Joinville described it, the Crusaders "found the full array of the sultan's forces drawn up along the shore. It was a sight to enchant the eye, for the sultan's arms were all of gold, and where the sun caught them they shone resplendent. The din this army made with its kettledrums and Saracen horns was terrifying to hear."[74] In fact, the Muslim force was only a detachment, albeit a strong detachment, of the main army, which was camped to the south of Damietta with the sultan himself. Sizing up the situation shrewdly, Louis IX boldly decided on an immediate attack, a decision that, as Strayer characterized it, produced "the one completely successful operation of the crusade."[75] Landing on the west side of the mouth of the river, the Crusaders were able to get a large number of their men ashore at once with the use of small boats, and their commanders were able to keep the men together to withstand infantry and cavalry attacks. When Louis saw that the standard of St. Denis – his royal standard, the Oriflamme – was planted on the beach, he waded ashore in full armor to join his men. By the end of the day of 5 June, they had successfully established a beachhead.

After disembarking the king is reported to have sent a letter to sultan Ayyub which included the following words:

> You will be aware that I am the head of the Christian community, as I acknowledge that you are the head of the Mohammedan community. . . . I have given you sufficient demonstration (of our strength), and the best advice I can offer. Even if you were to promise me anything on oath and to appear before the priests and monks and carry a candle before me as an act of obedience to the Cross, it would not deter me from attacking you and fighting you on the land that is dearest to you. If this country falls into my hands, it will be mine as a gift. If you keep it by victory over me, you may do as you will

> with me. I have told you about the armies obedient to me, filling the mountains and the plains, numerous as the stones of the earth and poised against you like the sword of Destiny. I put you on your guard against them.[76]

Sultan Ayyub from his sickbed replied in his own letter:

> Your letter has reached us in which you threaten us with the size of your armies and the number of your warriors. Now we are a war-like race; never is one of our champions cut down without being replaced; never has an enemy attacked us without being destroyed. Fool! If your eyes had seen the points of our swords and the enormity of our devastations, the forts and shores that we have taken (from you) and the lands that we have sacked in the past and the present, you would gnaw your fingers in repentance! The outcome of the events you are precipitating is inevitable: the day will dawn to our advantage and end in your destruction.... We have recourse to God's word, for he declares most truthfully: "How many times has a small band defeated a large army, with God's support! For God is with the patient," [Koran, Sura II, 250] and to the words of the wise, according to whom: "The man of might is brought down in the end"; so your might will finally be brought down, and will bring catastrophe upon you. Greetings.[77]

Although the initial diplomatic exchanges indulged in saber-rattling and promised a fight to the finish, the first military encounter belonged to the Crusaders. Then, when the Muslim troops fled the beach, they crossed over to the east bank of the river and, surprisingly, marched back directly to the sultan's camp, leaving the city of Damietta to be defended only by local tribesmen. The citizens and the local soldiers, seeing that the sultan's men were retreating, then also abandoned the city. When the Crusaders discovered the city was empty and open, they occupied it without delay on 6 June 1249. Joinville exclaimed,

> Now let us declare that God Almighty was very gracious to us when he preserved us from death and danger at the time of our disembarkation.... Our Lord also showed us great grace in delivering Damietta into our hands, for otherwise we could only have taken it by reducing the enemy to starvation. This we can regard as certain, for it was in that very way that King Jean (of Jerusalem) had taken this city a little more than a generation before.[78]

Ibn Wasil's description of this debacle from the Muslim point of view is naturally very different. "On the morning of Sunday, 23 safar, the Franks appeared before Damietta and found it deserted, with the gates wide open. They occupied it without striking a blow and seized all the munitions, arms, provisions, food and equipment that they found there. It was a disaster without precedent.... There was great grief and amazement, and despair fell upon the whole of Egypt, the more so because the Sultan was ill, too weak to move, and without the strength to control his army, which was trying to impose its will on him instead."[79]

Ibn Wasil's assessment was, of course, negative:

> The behaviour of the people, of Fakhr ad-Din and of the troops was shameful: if Fakhr ad-Din had prevented their flight and stood firm, Damietta would have been able to defend itself, for when the Franks attacked it the first time, in the reign of al-Malik al-Kamil [1219], it was even worse provisioned and armed, yet the enemy failed to take it for a whole year.[80]

Ibn Wasil is, however, putting too much blame on the Kinanites tribesmen and the citizens, and deflecting criticism from the army and especially the elderly vizier Fakhr ad-Din, who commanded the army detachment for the ill sultan. Ibn Wasil even credited Fakhr ad-Din with cutting the bridge crossing from the west bank of the Nile, where the Crusaders were camped, to the east bank where the city of Damietta was located. Joinville, however, has a different story. He observes soberly, "The Turks had acted very unwisely in leaving Damietta without cutting down the bridge of boats, for had they done so it would have greatly hindered us."[81] The Crusaders, having taken the city of Damietta so precipitously, now failed to follow up this success by launching an immediate attack on the dispirited Muslim army upstream.

On 23 June, seventeen days after the Crusaders entered the city, Jean Sarrasin writes the following in his letter to Nicholas Arrode in Paris. Stating that Louis IX made his formal entry into Damietta on 12 June, he says:

> the king entered Damietta at prime in a great procession and with great humility. He had the town's chief mosque, indeed all the mosques, destroyed and used to build churches dedicated in honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ. We felt sure we would not leave Damietta until the feast of All Saints because of the rise of the river of Paradise which runs there and is called the Nile. No one can go to Alexandria or Babylon or to the Cairo when it has flooded across the land of Egypt. The floods, it was said, were not due to recede until then.

Then at the end of the letter there is this straightforward statement:

> Thirty years ago the Christians took the city from the Saracens with great toil and labour, and lost it again the same year when they moved to go and lay siege to the Cairo, and the river rose and flooded all around them so that we could go neither forward nor back. For this reason we think the army should not move until the river has dropped and returned to its bed.[82]

Interestingly, Louis IX's own letter, written in Acre in August of 1250, makes no comment on why the Crusade waited to march on Cairo after taking Damietta. There seems to be no doubt, however, that the disaster visited on the Crusader army that had been trapped in the Nile during flood season of 1221 was very much on everyone's mind, a scenario that Louis and his army clearly wished to avoid in 1249.

If the argument from the king's letter *ex silencio*, and the indications from other sources suggest that there was no serious discussion of an immediate march on Cairo and that the king resolutely chose to wait until after the flood, the fact is that Louis was also determined to wait for the arrival of his brother, Alphonse of Poitiers, with more troops.[83] Of course, there were other things that had to be taken care of as well. The queen, Marguerite, the countess of Artois, the countess of Poitiers, and other notables were installed in houses in the city, while the king and his army encamped outside its walls.[84] Taking possession of the spoils and their distribution proved to be a somewhat contentious issue, as usual, but with the best interests of the Crusade in mind, the king decided to handle the food supplies his way, with centralized control, not the traditional Crusader way.[85] In effect, Damietta now became the new Crusader supply depot where materiel from

Aigues-Mortes, Cyprus, and their new conquest was stockpiled. The king also had to organize the defense of the army and the city to protect against continuous Muslim raids. Clearly Louis was thinking for the long term, proceeding deliberately, carefully, decisively. Ecclesiastically, Damietta was now established as the seat of a Latin archbishopric. The main mosque of the city was converted to become the cathedral. It was dedicated to Notre Dame by the legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, and the king eventually personally endowed it at the beginning of November.[86]

After some months had passed since the Crusaders took the city in June, Alphonse of Poitiers still had not arrived and there was genuine concern for him and his men. The legate proclaimed public prayers for his safe arrival, with processions on three successive Saturdays in October. After two of these processions, Alphonse and his men finally appeared, on 24 October, arriving providentially after a major storm along the coast. Now plans for the Crusader advance into Egypt could move ahead. A council was held to determine strategy. Although a majority of the leaders advocated an attack on Alexandria, to blockade Cairo and force the sultan to terms, Robert of Artois passionately argued that the army must attack Cairo directly. "It was the chief city in the kingdom of Egypt, and if you wished to kill the serpent, you must first crush its head."[87] Weighing these options, Louis IX decided to march on Cairo directly.

On 20 November the Crusader army set out on the right bank of the Nile flanked by its fleet in the river. The queen and the patriarch of Jerusalem remained in Damietta with a strong garrison. The Nile waters were down, the Crusaders were well-organized, and three days later, 23 November, the sultan Ayyub, who had been in such poor health, died. His widow, the famous and valiant Shajar ad-Durr, quickly moved to control the situation, shrewdly concealing his death and organizing power among his son, Turanshah, currently in Syria; his vizier, Fakhr ad-Din, still commander of the Muslim army; and herself, but when news of Ayyub's demise finally did leak out, the Crusaders were heartened, and saw victory over this sultana and her aged general in their grasp.[88] Unfortunately, other obstacles stood in the way of their success.

Although Louis had avoided the perils of the Nile Delta during the flood season, he still did not have an adequate understanding of the complex geography of the canals and waterways branching off along the winding and powerful river. The Crusader advance was painfully slow, the result of the necessity of crossing numerous streams and larger branches while bringing the fleet up the river in an orderly progression. Joinville commented on the process of damming one of these little streams while under attack from Muslim cavalry.[89] The Rothelin Continuation described the advance:

> They travelled upriver slowly and by very short stages each day, because they were moving into the teeth of a fierce wind, and the ships and other vessels could not be brought on without immense labor, but they could not leave them. The king and the others on land travelled safely, but from Damietta to Mansourah, not more than eighteen leagues, it took them over thirty-one days. They left Damietta on 20 November and reached their goal on the day of St Thomas the Apostle, the fifth day before Christmas.[90]

Because the distance from Damietta to Mansourah along the right bank is approximately thirty-eight miles, this means the army was making only a little over a mile a day on average. The winding course of the Nile in this region is today nearly the same as it was in the thirteenth century, but the minor canal system is probably completely changed, so it is difficult to estimate how many subsidiary waterways the army had to cross.[91] In any case they made their way to the first major branch of the Nile, the Bahr as-Saghir, that branched off to the east toward Tannis, flowing into Lake Manzala. Camping there, they were on a triangular point of land across from the main Muslim army bivouacked just east of the town of al-Mansourah. Here the news of the sultan's death was confirmed and the Crusaders remained confident.[92] (Map 5)

At that point the Crusaders made a serious attempt to build a causeway over the Bahr as-Saghir. For over a month they worked unsuccessfully under constant attack. The Rothelin Continuation cited three reasons why the causeway could not be completed: "when the river was made narrow like that, the current ran so fiercely through the gap that no material could be held in place, but was swept downstream," "the Saracens flung so many huge heavy stones against our engines that they shattered most of them," and "the Saracens shot innumerable darts, arrows, and crossbow bolts alight and blazing with Greek fire."[93]

Joinville gives a vivid description of the latter: "This is what Greek fire was like: it came straight at you, as big as a vinegar barrel, with a tail of fire behind it as long as a long spear. It made such a noise as it came that it seemed like the thunder of heaven; it looked like a dragon flying through the air. It gave so intense a light that in the camp you could see as clearly as by daylight in the great mass of flame which illuminated everything."[94]

So harrassed from the rear by Muslim cavalry and bombarded by projectiles, some containing Greek fire, the situation worsened. Help only arrived in the form of a "Saracen deserter,"[95] who was willing to show the Crusaders the location of a ford across the Bahr as-Saghir downstream, to the east. Seizing this opportunity, Louis carefully planned a surprise attack on the Saracen camp.

Very early on the morning of 8 February, Shrove Tuesday, 1250, Louis and his three brothers led a large force to the ford, leaving the duke of Burgundy with others to guard their camp. The Crusaders were able to cross successfully, but because of the difficult terrain at the ford, progress was slow at first. The vanguard had not completely formed ranks when Robert of Artois attacked the Muslim camp. The Egyptian commander, Fakhr ad-Din, was killed before he could put on his armor; no one was spared. "It was sad indeed to see so many dead bodies and so much blood spilt, except that they were enemies of the Christian faith."[96]

At this point in the attack, blame for what happened next is assigned differently by the sources. The Rothelin Continuation reports that Robert d'Artois, seeing the Muslims running in defeat toward Mansourah, would not delay, and he attacked with his men and the Templars after them.[97] Joinville says the Templars were angry that Robert d'Artois had attacked the camp before they were able to cross the ford and form the vanguard; now they thought they would be shamed if they let Robert get in front of them again, so they rushed after the Muslims into the town of Mansourah.[98] The *Annales de Terre Sainte* says both Robert d'Artois and the Templars fought the

Muslims in Mansourah.[99] Louis's letter only says that after the camp was overrun, "our men then scattered; some of them crossed the Saracen camp and reached a town called Massoria [Mansourah], cutting down any of the enemy they met on the way."[100] Whoever was to blame, it is clear that Louis IX had issued orders to stay in rank, to wait for the main army to assemble, and not to ride off on individual actions. Indeed, the Rothelin Continuation reports that ten knights admonished Robert d'Artois in the king's name to wait until the army could join the vanguard before he followed the fleeing Muslims, but he would not.[101]

The result of this lack of discipline would eventually prove to be disastrous, but it did not diminish the king's vigorous efforts to maintain good order in his army. The vanguard rode into Mansourah chasing the fleeing Muslims. When they tried to turn back, other Muslims in the town threw posts and beams, "trez et merrien," down on them with deadly results. Robert of Artois, Ralph of Coucy, Roger of Rosoi, John of Cherisy, Erard of Brienne, William Longsword, and nearly three hundred Templars all died. Even Joinville, who tried to ride to their aid, was nearly killed. When the king arrived at the former Saracen camp with rest of his army, he made a memorable impression on Joinville. "Never have I seen so fine a man in arms; he towered head and shoulders over his people, a gilded helmet on his head, and in his hand a sword of German steel."[102] As soon as the Muslims saw the Crusaders, they counterattacked with "a tremendous noise of horns, bugles and drums . . . , men shouted, horses neighed, it was horrible to see or hear."[103]

In the ensuing battle, the Crusaders suffered heavy losses, but Louis ably commanded his men with strict discipline and they held their ground against fierce attack. In the end they succeeded thanks to infantry reinforcements, men with crossbows, who succeeded in throwing up a makeshift wooden bridge across the Bahr as-Saghir. At the end of the long day, the Crusaders occupied the place where the Muslims had been camped the night before. The Muslims retired to the town of Mansourah to the west. Jean de Ronnay, Lieutenant Master of the Hospitallers, brought Louis the news of his brother's death. He tried to comfort the king by recounting the deeds of their victory. "The King answered that God should be worshipped for all His gifts to him, and then great tears fell from his eyes."[104] The Crusaders had won a Pyrrhic victory. The Muslims also claimed victory. Ibn Wasil reports: "The victory over the Franks caused great joy and exultation. This was the first battle in which the Turkish lions defeated the infidel dogs."[105]

The Crusaders camped in this place near Mansourah and built defenses, a wooden stockade around their encampment made of material captured from the Muslims. The king immediately ordered that the makeshift wooden bridge across the Bahr as-Saghir be solidified, and a pontoon bridge was also constructed, so supplies and soldiers could be brought into the new camp as needed. During the entire time of Lent, 1250, they held their ground against heavy assaults. Louis's disciplined leadership enabled the Crusaders to fight off attack after attack. But the sustained fighting was taking its toll in manpower, and still the king was unwilling to consider a strategic retreat.

It was only after a particularly strong assault at the end of Holy Week, Maundy Thursday to Easter, 24–27 March 1250, that Louis finally began to realize that due to a series of new factors,[106] he and his troops were in serious danger. The Muslims were now led by the new sultan, Turanshah, only son of Ayyub, who had arrived from Syria to take command at the end of February. The upheaval among the Muslims over the transfer of power from Ayyub to Turanshah that the Crusaders had hoped for had not occurred, not yet at least. Crusader ranks had been thinned by attrition in battle caused by the heavy fighting. Crusader supply lines had now been cut by the appearance of a Muslim naval blockade downstream on the Nile, between Mansourah and Damietta. Convoys of food from Damietta were not able to fight their way past this blockade, and worse, the Muslims captured most of these ships and their supplies. Finally, conditions in the Crusader camp had deteriorated because of famine, followed by dysentery and disease.[107] Morale in the army was at a low point. "Men said openly that all was lost."[108]

At this inauspicious moment, sometime at the end of March or the first days of April, Louis apparently attempted to open negotiations with the sultan for a truce, along lines that had been discussed during the Fifth Crusade: an exchange of Damietta for Jerusalem.[109] But the sultan knew how desperate the Crusader situation was, and the Crusaders would not consent for the king to be surrendered as a guarantee for the return of Damietta. The sultan accordingly refused this offer. The Crusaders prepared to attempt a retreat to Damietta.

Before dawn on 5 April, the Crusaders withdrew across the Bahr as-Saghir with some difficulty[110] and began their retreat toward Damietta with ships full of wounded and those who were able, marching or riding along on the bank of the Nile. Despite the urging of his men, Louis refused to abandon the army and go to Damietta on his own, so he rode with the rearguard. Unfortunately the Crusaders neglected to cut their bridges over the Bahr as-Saghir, so as soon as the Muslims discovered their departure, they rode after the king and his army. Repeatedly the Crusaders were forced to fight off the attacks of the Muslims as they made their painful way along the river. Joinville describes how the king had been sick with dysentery in camp and now he could scarcely ride his horse.[111] In these circumstances, and indeed throughout the entire campaign, as Runciman says, "the King's own gallantry was beyond all praise." He was so ill, however, that the commander of his bodyguard, Geoffrey of Sergines, eventually had to take him to a cottage in the nearest village, which was near the town of Sharimshah. The army moved on.

The Crusader retreat moved swiftly, much faster than their advance in the previous November and December. They covered over half the distance to Damietta in just a few days. Nonetheless, the army was finally surrounded between Sharimshah and Fariskur, and the Bahri Mamluks were especially ferocious in battle.[112] Ibn Wasil called them "Islam's Templars" for their courage and audacity in this action.[113] Meanwhile the remnants of the fleet were captured, except for the ships carrying the papal legate, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and some other clerics.[114] The king was captured, along with his two brothers and several other nobles. Joinville had made it into one of the ships, but he was captured as well. After throwing his jewel box and jewels, and his relics with them, into the water, he was taken but saved from harm by being called "the kings's cousin." Then Joinville tells this interesting story:

> The chief emir in command of the galleys sent for me and asked me if I were the King's cousin. I answered that I was not, and told him how and why the sailor had said that I was. He told me that I had been wise, for otherwise we should all have been killed. Then he asked me whether I was any relation to the Emperor Frederick of Germany, who was then still alive. I answered that I thought my Lady my mother was his cousin, and he said that he liked me the better for it.[115]

The Crusader army was demolished or captured; all was lost.[116] The Rothelin Continuation comments:

> Thus by land and water and in various ways were lost all the Christians had assembled there against the enemies of our faith. And the unbelievers took their tents and pavilions, their horses, weapons and armor, clothes, chalices, books, gold and silver and all their other possessions, including even the king's seal.[117]
>
> Once he was captured, the "king of France and the great Frankish princes . . . were all taken to Mansura, where chains were put on the feet of the King of France and his companions. They were imprisoned in the house where the secretary Fakhr ad-Din ibn Luqman was living."[118]

Joinville was also brought back upriver to this place sometime later.[119]

It is concerning the time Louis was in prison in Mansourah having lost everything that a later story arose that appeared in works of art at the start of the fourteenth century – that is, shortly after Louis's canonization in 1297. The event is depicted in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (*c.*1325–8), fol. 146v, as part of the cycle of scenes for the Hours of St. Louis: A dove – the Dove of the Holy Spirit – brings the king his prayerbook in prison. It is the book identified as his breviary, which he had lost at the time of his capture and which is depicted here as bound in what appears to be a beautiful green material.[120] This miraculous event, sometimes also described with an angel bringing the book,[121] appears in both manuscript illumination and fresco painting. The opinion has been advanced that the scene in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux may have been based on an earlier fresco from the Convent of the Cordelières de Lourcine, founded by the widow of Louis IX.[122] This story further dramatizes the fact that the Crusader army, and the king himself, lost virtually everything except the clothes they were wearing when they were captured by the Egyptians in April 1250. The words that sultan Ayyub had written in his letter to Louis IX in June 1249 had now come to pass.[123]

At this point two momentous events took place within days of each other that would have the greatest importance for the future of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. First, Louis IX proceeded to negotiate a truce with the sultan; second, the sultan would die at the hands of his own army, putting the king's agreement and the surviving Crusaders in peril.

The sultan is reported to have made heavy demands on Louis IX in prison, and he was even threatened with torture. For several long weeks in April while imprisoned, Louis was serene and steadfast in his faith, clearheaded and shrewdly intelligent through it all despite his weakened condition. He made it clear that as he was not king of Jerusalem, and because Conrad, the son of Frederick II, was, he, Louis, could not discuss concessions in the Latin Kingdom. Furthermore, because Damietta was still in the hands of the Crusaders, which was garrisoned with the remaining part of their army, Muslim demands would have to weigh him as prisoner against Crusader possession of the city as part of any truce they made.

> After many words and much discussion a truce was arranged between the king and the sultan in the following terms:
>
> The sultan would set free all Christian captives who had been taken since the day the king arrived in Egypt, both in his own land and in the lands of those obedient to him, and all others who had been taken since the day the truce was made between al-Kamil, his grandfather, and Frederick, emperor of Rome,. . . .
>
> The Christians would retain in peace, freely and without any impediments, all the lands they held in the kingdom of Jerusalem on the day the king landed in Egypt, that is to say, cities and castles, towns, villages and fortresses with all their dependencies; also all the possessions the king and the Christians then owned in the city of Damietta would be held in perfect safety under the sultan's guard. . . .
>
> All Christians who remained in Damietta either because of illness, to sell their goods or to wait for ships, would stay safely in the city and could go away in safety and take all their property with them, by land or sea.

The sultan must ensure that all these conditions were fulfilled. . . .

> The king was bound to surrender and make over to the sultan the city of Damietta and eight times one hundred thousand Saracen bezants for his own release. . . .
>
> Also the king was obliged to set free all the Saracens in captivity who had been taken in the kingdom of Jerusalem after the truce was made and guaranteed between al-Kamil, the sultan's grandfather, and Frederick, emperor of Rome, was well as all those taken in Egypt from the time the king landed in the port of Damietta.[124]

Both the king and the sultan agreed to these terms for a ten-year truce.[125]

At this point, the sultan Turanshah apparently sent the captured mantle of the king of France, scarlet red and trimmed with ermine, to his commander in Damascus, the emir Jamal al-Din ibn Yaghmur, with a letter describing the victory.

> Praise is due to God, who has lifted our sorrow from us! Victory comes from God alone. . . .
>
> On Monday, the first day of this blessed year, God poured out his blessing on Islam's behalf. . . . On the Tuesday night the enemy abandoned their tents, their possessions and their baggage and fled to Damietta, pursued all night by our swords, beyond shame, crying out in anguish. When Wednesday morning dawned we had killed 30,000, apart from those who cast themselves into the waves. As for the prisoners, it is impossible to count them. The Franks took refuge in Al-Munya and begged for their lives, and this was granted them. We made them our prisoners, treated them honourably, and recovered Damietta with God's help and assistance.[126]

While these arrangements were going forward, Louis's wife, Marguerite, gave birth to their son, John Tristan, in Damietta.[127] Joinville tells the story, which he no doubt heard in detail later on.

> On the very day he was born she was told that the Pisans and the Genoese and those of other free cities had decided to leave the town. The next day she summoned them all to her bedroom, which they filled completely, and said to them,

> "For the love of God, sirs, do not abandon this town. You can see that if it were lost my Lord the King would be lost, too, and all the prisoners. If this does not move you, take pity on the weak little creature who lies here, and wait till I can rise from my bed."
>
> "Lady," they answered, "how can we do so? In this town we are dying of hunger." She told them that the famine was no reason for their leaving. "For I shall buy all the provisions in the town, and from now on I engage you all at the King's charges." They consulted among themselves and came back to her and agreed to stay.[128]

If the king had ever doubted the character, determination, or judgment of his wife or her devotion to him,[129] her impressive courage and heroic labors on his behalf during this incredibly difficult time in their lives must have won his admiration for her when he eventually learned what had happened.

Shortly thereafter, Turanshah was assassinated in the new camp he had recently set up just south of Damietta. The Egyptian army in effect revolted against the sultan who many of them reputedly held in contempt. The leader of this coup and the man who struck the first blow was the Bahri Mamluk who would eventually become the next great Muslim leader, Rukn ad-Din Baybars al-Bunduqdari. The assassination took place on May 2, even in the sight of the Crusader prisoners, just after the arrangements had been made between sultan Turanshah and King Louis.[130] Even in the face of this latest development, Louis maintained his calm. Nothing the Muslims could do would disturb his faith. As Joinville says,

> they said that the King was the most steadfast Christian you could find. They gave as an example of this that when he came out of his lodging he used to lie on the ground in the form of a cross and so made the sign of the cross with his whole body.[131]

Despite some dissent the emirs in the Muslim army decided to agree to the truce arranged by Turanshah in principle at least. The Rothelin Continuation reports that "all the emirs in the Saracen host, that is to say 122, swore on the law of Muhammad that they would keep steadfast faith with the king and Christendom and abide by the truce and all the conditions we have already described. The king and his nobles in their turn promised just the same to them as they had done to the sultan. Under this second truce a specific day was named for the surrender of Damietta to the emirs and for all captives on both sides to be set free."[132]

Joinville and the Rothelin Continuation describe in some detail the problems and difficulties that arose during those tense final days when Damietta was turned over to the Muslims, and the king was released with his men on 6 May 1250. Repeatedly the Muslims broke provisions of the truce. "By the terms of their oath the Saracens should have looked after the sick; they killed them all. The King's engines of war, also, which they should have kept for him, they broke to pieces; nor did they keep the salt meats, as, not being eaters of pork, they should have done. They made a pile of the engines, another of the salt meat, and another of the new corpses, and set fire to them. The blaze was so huge that it lasted all the Friday, Saturday and Sunday." This was the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday after Ascension Thursday, 1250. To say that even the king's life was briefly in danger at one point before he was finally released would not be an exaggeration.[133] Contrary to the truce, only four hundred Crusader prisoners were liberated at this time; the overwhelming number remained in Muslim prisons. By Sunday evening, the money, which Louis had sworn to pay the Mamluks, was in their hands, 400,000 bezants, what Joinville calls 200,000 livres tournois. This was half the money owed, but Louis had lived up to his side of the arrangement; now the king was determined that the remaining provisions of the truce that could be honored by the Muslims, would be honored. But for the present he was free and Louis could set sail for Acre.

"Our galley then got under way, but it was a good league before any of us spoke to the other."[134] Only when the last of the royal hostages was released, Alphonse, count of Poitiers, did everyone breathe freely. But it was not a pleasant voyage. Although they were now free, everyone on these ships no doubt went over the Crusader defeat in their mind, and thousands of prisoners had still not been liberated from Muslim prisons. The trip was stormy, and all on board were physically exhausted. Many, like Joinville, were sick for the entire six days they were at sea. No arrangements had been made for the king on shipboard. He was forced to sleep on bedding the sultan had provided him and wear the clothes he had been given in prison, clothes of "black satin, lined with ermine and grey squirrel, and with a profusion of buttons of solid gold."[135] This is how the king of France would have looked when the people of Acre got their first glimpse of him.

THE LATIN KINGDOM AND KING LOUIS IX IN RESIDENCE: 1250–1254

Introduction

When Louis IX arrived in Acre on 13 May 1250, the Latin Kingdom was theoretically ruled by a king, but Conrad, the Hohenstaufen heir to the throne, had never set foot in the Near East, and the acting regent, king Henry I of Cyprus, resided in Nicosia. In fact, the Latin Kingdom was an assemblage of lordships, including Beirut, Caesarea, Haifa, Jaffa, Sidon, Toron, and Tyre, with Acre under the jurisdiction of the regent, who was represented in his absence by a *bailli*, normally elected by the great lords. The Latin Kingdom was joined by the two independent Crusader states to the north, the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch, divided by the Muslim territory of Latakia. At this moment, both were ruled by Bohemond V, count of Tripoli and prince of Antioch. Bohemond, married to Lucia de Segni, a distant relative of two popes, was on good terms with Rome, but had allowed the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch to live in the city as a scheme to encourage uniate churches who would submit to papal authority. This experiment proceeded with Antioch essentially governed by its commune, whereas Bohemond preferred to live in Tripoli, yet another example of the seemingly ubiquitous absentee phenomenon at this time. Bohemond in Tripoli sought to distance himself from his neighbors and their problems in the Latin Kingdom to the south. The Latin Kingdom meanwhile was not particularly pleased with the deference shown to the Greek Orthodox in Antioch.[136]

The Kingdom of Jerusalem was, therefore, as Jean Richard has described it, "a political chess-board" on which Louis IX would have to operate.[137] At the time of his arrival in Acre, Louis had no political authority in any of the lordships of the

Latin East, but he was esteemed as being an outstanding and pious leader. The city of Acre on the other hand had a terrible reputation, loudly voiced by Jacques de Vitry, and later reiterated by the legate, Eudes de Châteauroux.[138] Louis would bring moral and political leadership to this city, which was seen as not only sinful but also, in the words of Jacques de Vitry, as "a monster or a beast with nine heads each one at odds with the other."[139] Louis also had certain important resources: He had a sizeable military force, and he had access to substantial financial assets. Furthermore, as he himself eventually clearly saw it, Louis realized that he had important responsibilities. As part of the treaty covering his release, the Muslims had agreed to liberate about twelve thousand Crusader prisoners still held in Egypt. Louis was determined to see that the sultana, the remarkable Shajar ad-Durr, and Aybeg, who was the new Mamluk commander of the Egyptian army and eventually the new sultan, complied with these terms they had ratified, but it was to take nearly two years of negotiations to accomplish.[140]

Louis IX in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: May 1250–April 1254

When the ships on which King Louis IX and his men set sail approached St. Jean d'Acre,

> all in that city went to meet the king in a great procession. The clergy were solemnly vested and bore reliquaries and crosses, holy water, censers and other things appropriate to Holy Church. Knights, citizens, sergeants, ladies, girls and everyone else were all as splendidly dressed and adorned as they could manage. All the bells in the town were rung and had been ringing in the whole day long from the moment they were seen coming across the sea. They went right down to the harbour where he came ashore in order to meet him and do him honour. Then straight away they led him and those with him to the high church of the city. Many tears were shed in compassion and for joy that the king, his brothers and companions, had been saved from the great blow Christendom had suffered. Then they escorted the king to his residence and all the great men of Acre gave him very handsome gifts, rich and precious.[141]

When Louis IX disembarked safely in Acre on 13 May 1250, he could not fail to have been impressed at the warmth of his welcome, and his first major and difficult decision, after several weeks of recuperation from his ordeal in Egypt, was to decide how to proceed. It is clear that the king had been searching his soul over the situation from the time of his imprisonment in Egypt, trying to answer the question of how and why his Crusade had failed. The answer he was forced to face was that it had not succeeded partly because of his own personal failures as its leader. As he was gradually able to recognize this inescapable fact, he courageously sought to find the right thing to do under the circumstances. In June 1250, he was at a tremendously important turning point, one that was significant for himself personally and one that was to be momentous for the Latin Kingdom, for the Kingdom of France, and indeed for all of Christendom.

In the early part of June his personal decisions were being made. He devoted himself to intensive penance for what he had done that turned out badly, and for what he had failed to do. He was a changed person because of his experience on the Crusade. He had acquired a new spiritual depth and devotion won from his adversity.[142] He was more determined than ever to do the right thing, to bring aid to the Holy Land according to his Crusader vow. To the extent possible he wished to right what, because of him, had gone wrong.

Louis may not have intended to stay very long in the Holy Land at first, but he explored his second decision – what to do next – with great openess, candor, and generosity. Jean de Joinville reports that there was vigorous debate during the week of June 17 to June 24. The king revealed to his surviving brothers, Charles and Alphonse, and to Joinville himself, his trusted confidant, that the queen mother had sent an urgent message, imploring him to return to France for the good of his kingdom. Joinville also pointed out that resident Crusaders had told the king that if he were to go away now that he was there, the Holy Land would be lost, because no one would dare to stay where there were so few remaining. Various arguments were advanced: Some said that the king should go home, procure men and money, and return fully prepared to fight again; others said he should stay in the East for a year. Joinville himself argued that the king should draw on his own money – Louis had only spent Church funds so far, so Joinville claimed – and that way he could attract knights from overseas and from the Morea – Joinville specifically mentions Frankish Greece as a possible source of manpower! That way, he said, the king could hold the field for a year, and "he will be able to deliver those poor prisoners who have been taken captive in the service of God and of himself, and who will never be set free if he goes away."[143]

Louis weighed his options after these discussions, and then he reported his decisions, first to the Crusaders in Acre,

> My lords, . . . I sincerely thank all those who have advised me to return to France, as also those who have advised me to remain here. But I have come to the opinion that if I stay there will be no danger of losing my realm, since the Queen Mother has people enough to defend it. I have also considered that the barons resident in this country tell me that if I leave here the kingdom of Jerusalem will be lost, for no one will dare to remain after I have left. I have therefore decided that I will not on any account abandon the kingdom of Jerusalem, which I came here to re-conquer and defend. So I have finally determined to remain here for the present.[144]

As Strayer remarked, "the moral greatness of Louis never appeared more clearly than in this decision to remain overseas."[145]

Then the king wrote a long letter that he apparently delegated his two sons to take home with them, sealed with his new seal.[146] Louis was not happy about the situation, far from happy in fact. Matthew Paris described his piteous condition:

> The king himself remained sad and inglorious at Acre, and swore in the bitterness of his heart that he would never return to sweet France in such a state of disgrace; for who can, without sighs and tears of sorrow, describe his grief and lamentations when, his third brother Robert being dead, and himself defeated, he now trusted two others in an inglorious condition to the billows of the ocean.[147]

Nonetheless, he sent Alphonse and Charles, who in any case had refused to stay, back to France with his letter. In the text he described the events of the Crusade from the time of his capture of Damietta to the treaties and truces he had to enter into because of his capture and the ransom that had to be paid for his release and the release of the Crusader prisoners. Furthermore, he officially took responsibility for what happened, and proclaimed how he had decided to deal with the situation. He ended with a fervent plea for support. It is a remarkable document and worth quoting certain notable passages here:

> Louis by the grace of God King of the French, to his dear and faithful prelates, lords, knights, citizens, burgesses, and to all else who live in his Kingdom to whom these letters shall come, greeting.

After explaining the unfortunate events of the Crusade, and the fact that the terms of the treaty of surrender are not being kept, he straightforwardly states the following:

> After the truce and our own release, we were confident that the part of the Holy Land occupied by the Christians would be at peace until the truce expired, and had intended and planned to return to France. We were already preparing our passage when we realised from what we have been telling you that the emirs were openly violating the truce, and in spite of their oaths did not shrink from deluding us and Christendom. We accordingly summoned an assembly of the barons of France, of the Temple, of the Hospital of St. John, of the Teutonic Order of St. Mary, and the barons of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and consulted with them as to what we should do.
>
> The majority thought that if we were obliged to return at this moment, we should be leaving the country exposed to complete loss; it was now unhappily reduced to a miserable state of weakness, and our departure would leave it open to the Saracens; we should also have to count as lost the Christian prisoners who were in the enemy's hands, and give up all hope of their release. On the other hand, if we stayed in Palestine there was hope that time might bring some improvements, the release of prisoners, the retaining of castles and fortresses in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and other advantages for Christendom, especially since trouble has arisen between the Sultan of Aleppo and the rulers of Cairo. Already this sultan has collected his forces and seized Damascus and some castles belonging to Cairo. It is said that he is to invade Egypt in order to avenge the death of the Sultan whom the emirs killed, and make himself master, if he can, of the whole country.
>
> Although many dissuaded us from prolonging our stay overseas, these considerations, our pity for the miseries and sufferings of the Holy Land we had come to help, and our compassion for the hard lot of our prisoners in captivity, determined us to delay our return and stay some time longer in the Kingdom of Syria, rather than entirely to abandon the cause of Christ and leave our prisoners exposed to such dangers.

In these statements, Louis not only obviously explains the reasons[148] that compel him to stay, but he also shows that he is developing a program, a specific agenda of what he can do to help the Holy Land. So he concludes his letter with a strong plea for aid and support:

> We have, however, decided to send back to France our very dear brothers the Counts of Poitiers and Anjou, that they may comfort our very dear mother and the whole Kingdom. As all who bear the name of Christian would be full of zeal for the task we have undertaken, and you, men of the Church, in particular, who are descended from the blood of these whom Our Lord chose as a special people for the deliverance of the Holy Land which you should count your own by right of conquest, we summon you all to the service of Him who on the Cross served us, and shed His blood for your redemption, that your hearts may be in Christ Jesus.[149]

At this point Louis reaches a fervor and intensity in his message that seems comparable to what Urban II must have said at Clermont in 1095.

> For this vile people, not content with the blasphemies it vomited against the Creator in the presence of Christian men, beat the Cross with rods, spat on it and trod it under foot in hatred of the Christian faith. Come, then, knights of Christ, own soldiers of the Pope of the Living God, take up your arms and be strong to avenge these outrages and insults; imitate the example of your ancestors, who of all nations were distinguished by their devotion to the exaltation of the faith, and their loyal obedience to their worldly masters, and filled the world with the report of their high deeds. We have led the way for you in God's service. Do you follow us, and although you come later you will receive with us from the Lord the reward which the husbandman in the Gospel gave equally to those who came at the end of the day to work in his vineyard and to those who came at the beginning. Those who come, or send effective help to us or rather to the Holy Land, while we are still here, will earn, besides the indulgences promised to those who take the Cross, the respect and gratitude of God and of men. Hasten, then, and let those whom the power of the Most High shall inspire to come in person or send help, be ready to cross the sea in this coming April or May. As for those who cannot be ready for this first passage, let them at all events be ready for the St. John's day passage. The nature of the task calls for speed, and every delay will be fatal. Do you, prelates and other loyal servants of Christ, help us with the Most High by the fervour of your prayers. Order them to be said everywhere in your jurisdiction, that your prayers and those of other good men may obtain for us from the divine mercy the graces of which our own sins make us unworthy.
>
> Written at Acre, the year of Our Lord 1250, in the month of August.

Here we find that Louis was projecting a more substantial stay, at least well beyond the spring of 1251 and possibly longer. Mindful of the large number of soldiers who decided to return to France after the Crusade was over, he was by then calling for new reinforcements. He clearly saw the need for serious negotiations with the Mamluks over the issue of freeing the prisoners. Finally, he was plainly thinking of how he might help the Latin Kingdom militarily and reconquer Jerusalem and the territory lost in 1244.

Alphonse of Poitiers and Charles of Anjou sailed on 10 August for France with this letter and others of a more personal nature, no doubt sent by Louis to his mother and others.[150] Queen Marguerite and their new baby boy remained in Acre, along with a number of soldiers, at most something over a thousand men. Louis now was not only their leader, but he also had to meet all expenses for the Crusaders; no one had any money left. Once his French vassals had left for the West, Louis interacted continuously and directly with the local barons, ecclesiastical officials, and leaders of the military orders in pursuing policy. This enabled him to draw both on his and their experience of dealing with the Muslims. Fortunately, for the Latin Kingdom and for Louis, the assassination of Turanshah had generated a serious rift between the new Mamluk rulers in Cairo and the Muslims in Syria and Baghdad. Given that Louis was now recognized as the de facto ruler in the kingdom and the facts that Conrad had no intention of coming East and that Louis had the cooperation of the current *bailli* for King Henry of Cyprus and his regent, he now pressed on with negotiations for the release of the Crusader prisoners stipulated under the truce he had recently signed. Of course, he had his own part of the agreement to fulfill; payment of the other half of the ransom money. In the Latin Kingdom, Louis turned from the politics of war to the politics of diplomacy.

As Jean de Joinville points out, there were issues of honor and dishonor involved in Louis's decision to stay in the Latin Kingdom but there was a great deal of money involved as well. The total ransom that had been demanded for the king's liberation was set at 800,000 gold bezants, or 400,000 livres tournois. Half of that had been paid immediately to secure the king's release, and the other half was under negotiation while the king attempted to secure the liberation of Crusader soldiers still in Egyptian prisons. Eventually, another 208,750 livres tournois was allocated for this purpose. These are in fact huge amounts of money, which the king took full responsibility to deal with.[151] There would also be major expenditures for the soldiers that were serving under his charge – as one example, Joinville estimated that it would cost the king 3,000 livres tournois per year for himself, three other knights, and their retainers.[152] The Rothelin Continuation states forthrightly that the king "spent heavily in order... to send his envoys to the sultans and receive theirs,"[153] not to mention ambassadors sent to the Tartars, among others. How could these sums be raised? The king would once again have to face the reality of fundraising and financial planning as well as conducting a vigorous foreign policy. Clearly for the financial needs of his activities on behalf of the Latin Kingdom, he was counting on resources that could be raised in Europe and especially in France, in addition to church revenues. For his diplomatic activity, he opened serious discussions with both the Mamluk sultan and sultana in Cairo and the Ayyubid emir of Aleppo and Damascus. He also began his program intended to aid the Latin Kingdom internally.

In regard to the latter, one of his first initiatives must have been a campaign to strengthen the outer walls of the city of Acre, and especially to build the outer walls on the perimeter of Montmusard. If in fact this newer area of the city had been protected with a single wall by 1212 as the evidence seems to suggest,[154] the sources are unanimous in indicating that Louis IX sponsored a major expansion of the fortifications of Montmusard at this time. The Noailles Continuation says simply that the king strengthened the new part of the city.[155] No date is given, but this remark is associated in the text with the departure of the king's brothers for France on 10 August, so it is reasonable to suppose that construction began just as they were leaving – in other words, just about the time he wrote the long letter quoted earlier. Another explicit if much later source is Florio Boustrone, who states that Louis IX, "fortified [Acre] with walls and ditches... beginning from the Gate of St. Anthony [and continuing] towards the sea as far as St. Lazaro" in 1251.[156] This text is more explicit, and although again no particular date is given, the likelihood is that what construction Louis actually sponsored was finished in 1251, before the king left Acre to go to Caesarea during Lent. Other sources such as William of St. Pathus state that Louis IX strengthened a part of the city of Acre which is called Mont Musart and that he personally participated in the construction.[157] Apparently, however, not all of the walls along the outer perimeter of Montmusard were done when Louis decided to go home because the legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, was reported by Joinville to say that he intended to stay in Acre for a year after the king left. "I [Eudes] mean to spend all my money on fortifying the suburbs [le fors-bourc] of Acre, so that the Romans will see that I am not bringing back any money, and then they will not pester me to see what they can get from me."[158] It is likely the king also sponsored construction on the eastern walls of the old city, although the sources do not mention this in particular. The problems of exactly what construction was done, when it was done, and where these fortifications were located are still a matter of active discussion. I offer further comments on the controversy over the location of the walls later in the chapter "The Art of the Crusaders: 1244–1268."

It was fortunate that Louis had sorted out how he wanted to proceed by the end of July, because there were many problems to be dealt with both within and outside the Latin Kingdom, generating a high level of diplomatic activity. The Rothelin Continuation comments, "messengers came constantly from all parts to the king in Acre and every day brought him fresh information. The king was unfailingly pleasant, cheerful and resolute."[159] Louis now began a strategy of seeking out and organizing possible foreign allies while focusing on efforts to repatriate Crusaders incarcerated in Muslim prisons.

The first envoys to reach him came from the emperor, Frederick II, and the Ayyubid sultan of Aleppo, an-Nasir Yusuf, who had occupied Damascus in July 1250. Frederick purportedly was sending these envoys to sultan Turanshah to facilitate the release of the Crusaders, but finding that the sultan was now dead and Louis was already freed, the envoys returned to the West. An-Nasir Yusuf sought an independent accord with Louis against his bitter Mamluk rivals in Cairo; in return for an alliance, he even hinted that he might surrender Jerusalem to the king. In these favorable circumstances and in an effort to strengthen the Crusader army, Louis sent his royal armorer, John the Armenian, to Damascus to purchase horns and glue to make crossbows. Meanwhile Louis realized what a diplomatic advantage this Muslim split provided him in his negotiations with Cairo over the provisions of the truce and especially with regard to the remaining Crusader prisoners in Muslim jails. He withheld his decision on whether to enter an alliance with an-Nasir Yusuf until he determined how the Egyptians were going to honor the treaty they had made with him.

To pursue this issue, Louis sent John of Valenciennes to Egypt to exhort the Mamluk sultan to release the Christian prisoners. Up to this point the Mamluks had been rather careless in how they observed the terms of the truce. Now, in the face of the persistence of the king, they started paying more attention. John of Valenciennes was able to secure the liberation of some of the knights held in Muslim prisons. This included soldiers from the time of the Crusader defeat at La Forbie in 1244 as well as from the recent Crusade, along with the remains of Walter, lord of Reynal. The countess of Sidon, sister of lord Walter, had his bones interred in the Hospitaller compound in Acre. "She arranged that at the service every knight should give a candle and a silver penny at the offertory, and the King a candle and a golden besant, all at her own expense."[160] There must have been many such funeral services in these months, albeit perhaps not with such lavish arrangements, and many other important tombs established in the Hospitaller cemetery of St. Michael, in the cemetery of St. Nicholas, and in other cemeteries around Acre.

The Rothelin Continuation gives a list of the knights, soldiers, and others released, mentioning in particular the Master of the Hospital, William of Châteauneuf, who had been captured at La Forbie.[161] Louis IX responded in due course by sending his own envoys back to the Egyptians with rich gifts, and he released some three hundred Muslim slaves. The exchange of prisoners was clearly underway. The king even "paid out large sums" to buy Muslim slaves from their Christian owners so that he could send them back to Egypt and ensure the release of more Christian prisoners. Louis also increased the pressure on the Mamluks, however. He boldly proposed that he would make no further arrangements with the Egyptians unless they agreed to the following three remarkable conditions: first, that the heads of all Christians that had been hung around the walls of Cairo be given to him for Christian burial; second, that all Christian children who had been captured and converted to Islam be returned; and three, that the king be released from his obligation to pay the remainder of his ransom. The Mamluk reaction was tentative, probably because of the internal power struggle still in progress over the sultana, Shajar ad-Durr, behind the scenes. Eventually they decided to send an embassy with "about fourscore and ten enslaved Christian knights and 2200 men and women, as well as an elephant, a wild ass and rich and precious gifts."[162] But on the other matters there was no resolution as yet.

At this point it should be noted that the major sources clearly indicate vigorous diplomatic activity between Louis and the Muslims, both in Cairo and in Damascus. The fact is, however, that no one source contains a record of all the important aspects of the negotiations, nor are dates assigned clearly to the various embassies that are described in any detail. Thus we are forced to reconstruct as carefully as possible what was happening and when, between June 1250, the time that Louis arrived in Acre, and May 1252, when all the prisoners were finally released and a new truce was arranged between Louis and Aybeg, the Mamluk sultan. What seems clear in regard to the ongoing negotiations are the following factors. First, Louis IX was determined to free the prisoners. Second, the Mamluks in Cairo were somewhat disorganized in carrying out the terms of the original truce from the time of Louis's Crusade. This was caused partly by the power struggle going on there behind the scenes, and partly by the fact that several figures assumed major positions of power after May 1250, persons who had not been party to the original truce. Third, the dynamics of these diplomatic exchanges was a complex, interrelated, and ongoing process, in which what was going on between Cairo and Damascus was as important as what going on between the king and either one of the sultans.

In this world of Near Eastern diplomacy, therefore, besides being "cheerful, pleasant and resolute," Louis had to have a clear vision of the goals he wished to accomplish, had to be perspicacious and worldly-wise when receiving diplomatic envoys, and astute and clever when dealing with them. That he possessed all these qualities we see particularly in an encounter with an envoy who arrived from the "Old Man of the Mountain," as reported by Joinville. The Old Man of the Mountain was sheik al-Jabal, leader of a sect of Shiite Muslims, known as the Assassins, who controlled territory along the border of the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli with a series of castles in the rugged country east of Margat and north of Crac des Chevaliers. Sheik al-Jabal shrewdly sought to use the king to rid himself of an onerous tribute he currently paid to the Hospitallers and the Templars. When the sheik's envoy boldly attempted to bluff the king into revoking the tribute, something over which Louis had no jurisdiction in any case, the king, clearly understanding the ploy, asked the envoy to return later in the day. Louis then cleverly invited the masters of the two orders to join him and received the envoy again. Finding his strategy exposed, the envoy was ordered by the two masters to return to them the next day. When the envoy arrived, the masters commented that it was audacious of the sheik to attempt such a "peremptory message to the King, and added that it was only out of respect to the King, . . . , that they did not have [the envoy] drowned in the filthy waters of the harbour at Acre, to their Lord's shame."[163] They admonished him to return within a fortnight bringing the king appropriate gifts so as to win his favor.

Within the fortnight an embassy of the sheik arrived in Acre with suitable symbolic gifts and special presents. "Among other jewels which he sent the King were an elephant finely made of crystal, and an animal, also of crystal, called a giraffe; crystal apples, too, of different sorts, and games of backgammon and chess. All these were scented with ambergris, the ambergris being fastened to the crystal by fine golden filigree. As soon as the envoys opened the boxes which held them, the scent was so sweet that the whole room seemed full of fragrance." In response, Louis sent the sheik "a great abundance of jewels, draperies of scarlet, golden cups and silver bridles. With them he sent Brother Yves le Breton, who knew [Arabic]."[164] Here in the months after Louis has taken up residence in Acre, we get a tiny glimpse of the diplomatic gifts that were being exchanged, as an indication of the artistic production that was possible in Acre and elsewhere for such activities. Joinville also points out how interested Yves le Breton was in the sheik's books, which is to some degree an extension of Joinville's – and Louis IX's – interest in books, as well as the material on the Christian faith that they might contain.[165]

While these diplomatic efforts were going on in the summer and fall of 1250, the king in Acre and the Mamluk sultan in Cairo were engaged in other activities. The king clearly had gotten his administrative machinery up and running, including his chancery, and we can imagine that he organized this with the cooperation of scribes working in Acre, who were employable both for their skills in writing and in illumination. It is during this period, when the king is establishing his residence, organizing his court and administrative functions, and starting to conduct diplomatic business while helping to fortify Acre and strengthen the Crusader army, that he would have actively sponsored local craftspeople and artists. As we have seen, in conducting diplomatic interchange, the king has had to commission diplomatic gifts. To arm the troops he has caused materials to be bought for military manufacture; no doubt he also had new armor produced for himself and for some of his men, and horses had to be acquired. In light of the fact that the supplies he had stockpiled in Damietta had mostly been destroyed or sent to Cairo, and none was recoverable, much of that materiel would have to be replaced. As noted earlier, he had begun a program of construction to strengthen the walls of Acre at this time. It must have been also during this period that he and others commissioned personal and ecclesiastical books in Acre, books such as Arsenal MS 5211, which I discuss in some detail later. Besides the things he acquired or commissioned in Acre, he had also no doubt ordered and started to receive further special items from Paris, royal and personal items, once it became clear that he would be staying in the Latin Kingdom for a time.

In Egypt, rather different developments were underway. Ibn al-Furat, writing long after 1250, describes what happened. Concerned about the fact that Damietta had fallen twice to the Crusaders and that it might even become a target for an-Nasir Yusuf, "they decided they should destroy its walls, raze it and blot out its traces. On Monday, twelve nights from the end of the noble month of Sha'ban in the year (6)48 (14 November 1250), the year with which we are dealing, masons, craftsmen and labourers were sent to Damietta. They destroyed it and built a city near it called al-Munshiya, which replaced it as a port and where they were secure from any Frankish attack because of its distance from the Mediterranean."[166] The destruction of Damietta was an important signal to both an-Nasir Yusuf, and his Ayyubid supporters, and to Louis IX that Aybeg was now firmly in control in Cairo at the head of the new Mamluk regime along with Shajar ad-Durr, after a period of transition in which there was dissension in the Muslim world over having a sultana, Shajar ad-Durr, who possessed so much power. Aybeg also wished to gain the diplomatic advantage in negotiations with the French king, so he promised to return the remaining Crusader prisoners and left open other possibilities for the future.

As the year was ending, far away in western Europe, Frederick II died on 13 December 1250, leaving his son, Conrad IV, as ruler in Germany. As we have seen, Frederick had had a major impact on the affairs of the Latin Kingdom, perhaps the most surprising of which was the arrangement of his ten-year truce with the Muslims, 1229–39. Unlike his father, Conrad IV had had no occasion to come East while Frederick was alive. Now that Frederick had died, Conrad would certainly not travel to the Holy Land; he had his hands full at home. This of course left Henry I of Cyprus still as the nominal Eastern regent, but because neither Conrad nor Henry would come to Acre to be recognized by the barons, the *bailli* administered the kingdom as before. Thus ironically, Louis IX, a king who had no official political position in the Holy Land, who had led the ill-fated Crusade into Egypt in 1249–50, continued to wear the mantle as de facto leader of the Latin Kingdom and the other Crusader States in Syria-Palestine.

1251: As the year 1251 opened, Louis IX was still in Acre, and now that it was clear he would be staying in the Holy Land for a more extended time, Queen Blanche, regent in France, successfully sought and obtained an additional tenth of revenue for two years to help finance his activities.[167] He also dealt with not only his financial arrangements, but also with certain monetary matters in the Latin Kingdom. The papal legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, was scandalized that the Latin Kingdom had been striking gold bezants that bore the name of Muhammed and the number of years from his birth. When he reported this to the pope, Innocent IV forbade the practice under pain of excommunication – his ban applied to both Acre and Tripoli. Even before the pope's decree arrived, the old *sarrazinas* gold coin used by the Franks for trade in the East was restruck in Acre with a new design. Having the same weight and alloy, with two-thirds gold content, these new Crusader bezants had a dramatically different design, no longer imitating the Muslim coins as before. There was a large equal-armed cross on the obverse and four smaller crosses at the beginnings of the inscriptions; two on the obverse, two on the reverse. The inscriptions, all still in Arabic, identified the coin as being "struck in Acre in the year... of the Incarnation of our Lord the Messiah. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one godhead." Then there was a message about the Christian religion: "We are glorified by the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, in whom is our salvation and our life and our resurrection, and in whom is our deliverance and pardon."[168] We can imagine that Eudes of Châteauroux may have composed this message himself! The earliest date found on these coins is 1251, and they are found struck until 1258, when they abruptly ceased.[169]

Louis himself continued his determined efforts to have the prisoners returned, but seeing that the Egyptians were certainly not keeping the truce, which they had made for the return of Damietta at the end of his Crusade, he now took a remarkable step. He sought to have his oath to keep this truce annulled. To this end he summoned the papal legate, the major ecclesiastical officials, and the high barons of the kingdom and submitted his request and the evidence that the Mamluks had "grievously and treacherously" broken their oaths with regard to this truce. After due discussion and consultation, the legate, with the consent of all present, "released the king from his oath to the emirs and declared that the king and Christendom were in no way bound to keep the truce with the Saracens... Thus the king and Christendom now had no truce with any Saracens."[170] Meanwhile he continued to negotiate with both sultans, the Ayyubid an-Nasir Yusuf and the Mamluk Aybeg, who were now at the point of open hostilities.

Just as an-Nasir Yusuf had conquered Damascus earlier, he intended to take Cairo as well and restore the Ayyubid dynasty in the tradition of his namesake, Saladin. From his new center of operations in Damascus during the late summer, 1250, he had sent a strong advance contingent of his troops to Gaza in preparation for an attack on Egypt. His plans came to nothing at first, when he became seriously ill and his soldiers were forced to retreat back to Damascus. By the start of December 1250, however, he had assembled an even larger army, which again marched to Gaza by the end of the month. In January he entered Egyptian territory. Finally, on 3 February 1251, the troops of an-Nasir Yusuf attacked the Egyptians near Kura', west of modern al-Zaqaziq, deep in the Nile Delta. The Syrian army won the initial battle, but an-Nasir Yusuf fled when Mamluks attacked him and some of his bodyguard deserted to the Egyptians in the midst of the action.[171] Even though his army lost relatively few men in this encounter and reassembled eventually back in Damascus, the result of this battle was that an-Nasir Yusuf lost the prestige of his previous string of victories, and his attempt to restore the Ayyubids in Cairo was effectively over. Even more significant was the fact that Louis IX could more clearly see how to apply pressure on the two warring sultans.

Once the construction at Acre was finished and the king was absolved of his vow, Louis took the opportunity to make a pilgrimage, the only pilgrimage to a major shrine he appears to have allowed himself to make during his time in the Holy Land. During the vigil of the Feast of the Annunciation, Louis left Acre for Sephoris, where he spent the night. The next day he passed Cana, visited Mount Tabor, and then approached Nazareth. As he reached the outskirts of the town, he dismounted and marched in on foot, wearing a hairshirt.[172] On 25 March, the Feast of the Annunciation, he attended Mass in the Church of the Annunciation, where the legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, celebrated the liturgy and delivered the sermon. Then Geoffrey de Beaulieu tells us that the king gave sumptuous gifts to the church.[173] What precisely these gifts may have been is not specifically known, just as this is not known from Louis's time on Cyprus. One wonders if he had had special manuscripts and/or metalwork produced in Acre to be given on this occasion. Unfortunately, because of the destruction of the church in 1263 by Baybars, essentially nothing is extant from the magnificent Crusader shrine of the Annunciation except the remarkable Nazareth capitals along with numerous fragments of figural sculpture commissioned in the 1170s and finished before Saladin captured the city in 1187.[174] Louis made the pilgrimage to Nazareth because it was under Crusader control but never attempted to visit Jerusalem or Bethlehem, not to mention other less exalted sites, which were still in Muslim hands.

It is interesting that following his account of the king's visit to the Nazareth holy site, Geoffrey of Beaulieu reports the following:

> While he was still overseas (in Palestine) the faithful king heard about a great Muslim sultan who diligently had enquiries made about all the kinds of books which would be needed by Islamic thinkers and had these works written out at his expense and stored in his library, so that the learned could have a copy of every book they required. The pious king... conceived the idea that on his return to France he should have copied at his expense all the books of holy writings which had been found to be useful and authentic in various monastic libraries, so that he, learned men and the religious in his household could study them to their profit and to the edification of their neighbours. On his return he carried out his plan and had built an appropriate and strong place in the treasury of his chapel (the Sainte-Chapelle) in Paris, where he industriously collected many original works, such as those written by Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory and other orthodox teachers.... He preferred to have codices newly copied than to buy those which had already been written out, saying that in this way he could increase the number and usefulness of the holy books.[175]

This passage is important as Jonathan Riley-Smith points out.[176] First, it gives evidence that Louis IX conceived the idea of a great library at Sainte Chapelle while in the Holy Land. If indeed he first mentioned it after his pilgrimage to Nazareth, it suggests that books he had seen at the church of the Annunciation, or the lack thereof, may have given him the idea. Be that as it may, his interest in having books newly made corresponds directly to the stimulus he appears to have given to book production in Acre while he had been there. Finally, it is significant that Louis's interest in books and learning are first attributed to him while he was in the Near East on Crusade and can be linked to his time there in residence in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It may not be overstating the case to say that whereas before 1248 Blanche of Castile was the main patron of illustrated manuscripts at the royal court in Paris, after she dies in 1252 and after 1254 when Louis returns home, he became the great patron of books and libraries there in her stead.

Also following his visit to Nazareth, at the very end of March in the season of Lent, Louis left Acre and went to Caesarea to fortify the city. Meanwhile Joinville was now engaged for a second year. In Caesarea, Louis "had the town enclosed with ramparts, ditches and sixteen towers."[177] In fact, the work at Caesarea is one of the best examples of construction done for Louis IX that still survives – at least partially – in the Holy Land, in contrast to the work at Acre or later at Jaffa, both of which are now almost completely destroyed. To build a complete set of new walls and gatehouses, Louis and his men resided in Caesarea more or less continuously between March 1251 and May 1252.[178] Their only significant departure was apparently a brief visit to Haifa nearby, where according to certain sources the king repaired walls and towers where they were damaged there.[179] Pringle suggests that the tombstone of John of Le Puy, "sergant dou puissant Roy de France," found in the wall of a house in Haifa in 1976, may possibly also date from this period.[180]

Just as in Acre, many messengers and visitors came to Louis in Caesarea.[181] In particular it was while Louis was there that discussions leading toward a new truce continued with the Mamluks. In regard to his own family, Louis and Marguerite received a new addition with the birth of a son, whom they named Peter. Peter, who, according to Joinville, was born nearby in the security of Chastel Pelerin, was the second of their children to be born in the Levant and eventually became the count of Alençon. He arrived in 1251, but the exact date is not known.[182] We may imagine that Peter was baptized in the cathedral at Caesarea when he and his mother joined the king there after her confinement. The cathedral seems to have been completed well before the arrival of Louis IX, but he might have sponsored repairs and surely made gifts to this important church, which had had such venerable bishops even in Early Christian times.

Other than these two additional events, the foray to Haifa and the birth of the new son, the sources are remarkably silent on the activities of the king for the rest of 1251, while he and his men worked in Caesarea. A letter that Louis wrote to his son Alphonse in August[183] described how the Crusaders were well situated in Caesarea, little bothered by the Muslims who were fighting each other. He renewed his request for more support from the West so he could continue to aid the Holy Land. Life in Caesarea must have been agreeable, situated on a splendid stretch of beach and away from the constant press of people and contentious politics in the big city of Acre. We can imagine the king reading his personal Bible and prayer books as part of his daily regimen of prayer, along with financial, political, diplomatic, and military work with attendant artistic interests, and his family life. We would like to know what he used for a personal chapel, and when he attended mass in the Cathedral of Caesarea.

Epitomizing this lack of information from the Holy Land, the Noailles Continuation succinctly – and not completely accurately – states: "In 1251 the king of France fortified Caesarea;

Peter [read: Nicholas] Larcat was made archbishop of Tyre; Bohemond [V] died; his son Bohemond [VI] became prince and count after him."[184]

1252: The Noailles Continuation continues: "In 1252 King Louis fortified Jaffa, and his mother, the lady Blanche, died. King Louis knighted Bohemond, prince of Antioch, at Jaffa. Julian, lord of Sidon, married the daughter of Hethoum, king of Armenia."[185]

Bohemond V died in January 1252. He left two children. Plaisance, his daughter, a young girl of about seventeen, had married Henry I of Cyprus a few months before. Bohemond, his son who was only fifteen years old, was to be his successor. He greatly impressed Louis, and certainly Joinville describes Bohemond with words of warm praise during his visit to Jaffa some months later, accompanied by his mother, Lucienne. It was on the occasion of that visit that Louis knighted Bohemond "with high ceremony,"[186] probably in the Church of St. Peter, the most important church in the city.[187] Moreover, Bohemond also requested that he be given in effect his majority rights to rule in Antioch as soon as possible. He wished actively to intervene and restore the authority of his dynasty there, counteracting the negative influence of his unpopular mother, the acting regent, who had largely abandoned Antioch for Tripoli.[188] The king was strongly interested in promoting the strength of the Crusader States overall as well as the Latin Kingdom, and this was an excellent opportunity to reintegrate Tripoli and Antioch, while reconciling Bohemond VI with his mother.

Given the king's interest in his young friend, Bohemond, it is perhaps not surprising that Louis not only knighted him, but also granted him the personal favor of quartering his arms with those of France, because he had Capetian ancestry. This is a rare specific indication of heraldic activity, almost all of which goes unmentioned, despite its obvious importance and growing prominence.[189] It was soon after this visit that Bohemond VI also apparently mints a new gold coin in response to the legate's complaint over Crusader coinage that imitated Muslim models. It is a gold bezant with the rare *Agnus Dei* design on the obverse, on which the motto, *Christus Vincit, Christus Regnat, Christus Imperat*, was used. The motto appears only later in France on gold coinage issued in 1266. The Crusader coin is an issue on the two-thirds gold standard currently found in coins from Acre and Tyre in the Latin Kingdom. Forceful arguments have been advanced attributing this rare and unusual issue, however, to Antioch by both Grierson and Jordan.[190] Thus this remarkable coin marks an especially close bond between Louis IX of France and Bohemond VI of the Principality of Antioch.

Meanwhile Louis continued his diplomatic negotiations, by which he in fact largely established and maintained his position as ruler in the Latin Kingdom. As his discussions with the Muslims continued, the Templars attempted to influence the king to favor an alliance with an-Nasir Yusuf in Damascus, partly because of their own cordial relations with the sultan. Indeed in one celebrated case, the Templars exceeded their authority in negotiations with Damascus, and the king had to step in. The Templars had arranged a land deal with the sultan on their own, and the Master of the Temple asked the king for his approval. As Joinville reported it, "the King was astounded that he should have been so bold as to negotiate or have any discussion with the Sultan without consulting him [first]."[191] Louis then required a public retraction of their treaty from the Templars in the presence of the sultan's emir, followed by a symbolic submission of the master and the knights to the king's authority. Finally Louis IX banished Brother Hugh, the Templar who had carried out this diplomatic mission, from the Latin Kingdom. This was a forceful show of strength on the part of the king, meant to demonstrate his authority de facto in the absence of any political position de jure. It was all the more impressive because the Master of the Templars was a personal friend of Louis's, who was the godfather of his son, Peter, who had been born in Chastel Pelerin the previous year.

Indeed, it is interesting that during the ongoing diplomatic activity between Louis and an-Nasir Yusuf, the sultan of Damascus himself, tried to sway the king by an offer of safe conduct for a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Jerusalem. Louis obviously would have liked to make this pilgrimage, but he realized this was a matter of state, not a personal decision, so, as was his custom, he called a council. No one was in favor of him accepting this offer. The members of the council reminded Louis of the example of Richard I before him. "They quoted this example to the King [Louis], to show him that if he, who was the greatest of Christian Kings, fulfilled his pilgrimage without delivering the city from the enemies of God, all the other Kings and pilgrims who came after him would feel that they were justified in making their pilgrimage in the same way as the King of France had made it, and would be little concerned with the deliverance of Jerusalem."[192]

Accordingly Louis turned down this offer, while he continued his attempts to arrange a new truce with the Mamluks, always with his goal of freeing the prisoners in mind. Eventually, in March 1252, a new agreement was reached. By the terms of this fifteen-year truce, all prisoners would be repatriated on both sides, and the sultan agreed to release the king from any further payment of the ransom money. By these provisions the sultan wished to ensure that Louis would not desert him for the sultan of Damascus. The Rothelin Continuation also mentions one new and peculiar provision, that "all renegade Christians, converted willingly or by force, were given leave to go freely back to the king and to Christendom." Finally, for his part of this alliance, Louis IX agreed to participate in a joint campaign with Aybeg against an-Nasir Yusuf.

The king's reward for this activity would have been the restoration of the territory of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to its full extent by military action. But an-Nasir Yusuf acted decisively to block this threat. As soon as he learned of the new alliance, he marched his troops once again to Gaza, effectively splitting the allies. Louis moved southward from Caesarea to Jaffa, but the Mamluks could not move out of Egypt. A stalemate resulted among the three parties over the next year. There was continual diplomatic activity. "The king sent numerous envoys to the sultan, and so did the sultan to him, but it all came to nothing. They did nothing whatever about returning the Holy Land as they had agreed." Louis in fact remained in Jaffa between May 1252 and June 1253, where he "had the town enclosed with ramparts, towers and ditches."[193] This, according to Pringle, constituted the entire wall system around the lower town.[194]

Jaffa was a more important port for the Crusaders than Caesarea, and it was now the southernmost fortified city in the Latin Kingdom along the coast, so the king's attention was justified. Joinville, however, makes it clear that the king invested not only his time, but also a great deal of money in the fortification of Jaffa. "It is impossible to reckon the enormous sums of money the King spent in fortifying Jaffa; it was beyond any estimate. He built a wall with twenty-four towers round the town, from the sea on one side to the other, and the mud was cleared out of both the inner and outer ditches. There were three gates, one of which, with a section of the wall, was made by the Legate." Joinville estimates that the gate and the section of wall cost the legate eight hundred livres tournois; the legate himself said it cost a good thirty thousand livres tournois. Joinville is no doubt more accurate in this case, and extrapolating his numbers we can estimate the overall cost of the work here at Jaffa sponsored by the king at something approaching twenty thousand livres tournois.[195] No doubt Louis was able to improve the fortifications at Jaffa significantly, but work was still not completed as late as the 1260s.

Here again, after discussion of the diplomatic embassies and the king's sponsorship of new military architecture, the sources largely go silent with regard to the king's activities while he was in Jaffa through the summer and fall of 1252. We must imagine the personal routine of the king to be continued while he was in residence here, as it had been set up in Acre and Caesarea before this, with his balance of spiritual, governmental, and diplomatic, as well as personal and artistic interests and responsibilities ongoing on a daily basis. The important anecdotal history by Joinville certainly supports this view, along with other narrative sources for the canonization of Louis IX, such as the works of William of St. Pathus and Geoffrey of Beaulieu. For example, at Jaffa, William of St. Pathus describes the king's generous bequests to the Franciscans. Louis IX founded "the church and the house of the Friars Minor... and had made ten chalices of gilded silver [and vestments] and other church ornaments for the ten altars which are there... and had books made for saying the divine service and for the study of the brothers, and provided the said house with beds and other hospitalary provisions which it needed."[196] On the basis of this kind of evidence we can assume that the king maintained his heavy schedule and energetic activities, which included artistic commissions, and which may have included occasional forays outside the city as needed. The question in the case of Jaffa, as with Caesarea and Haifa, is whether effectively all of the important artistic commissions such as manuscripts were produced in Acre for the king, or whether any of them could have been done for him in his then current city of residence.

1253: The Noailles Continuation records:

> In 1253 Saracens from Damascus appeared outside Acre. They destroyed [the mills of] *Doc* and *Ricordane*, took Sidon, killed 800 or more men and carried off 400 or more prisoners, masons and others. The king fortified Sidon once again.
>
> Henry, king of Cyprus, died, and so did... Walter, bishop of Acre, and Nicholas Larcat, archbishop of Tyre. After him Giles from Damietta was elected as archbishop. Hethoum, king of Armenia, travelled to the Tartars.[197]

As the year began, Henry I of Cyprus died, on 18 January 1253. Because the Hohenstaufen, Conrad IV of Germany, had still not claimed his crown, Queen Plaisance of Cyprus was recognized as having the right to act as regent for Henry's son, the infant Hugh II. Perhaps because Louis IX was still resident in the Holy Land, however, she did not come to claim the regency at that time; in fact, she did not come to Acre to be recognized by the barons until 1258, that is, long after Louis had sailed home and the destructive war of St. Sabas was over.

During the winter months of 1252–3, the disappointing response from the Mongols carried by Louis's first envoy to the Mongols, Andrew of Longjumeau,[198] had been replaced by more interesting news. A report had reached the Latin Kingdom that one of the Mongol princes, Sartaq, had converted to Christianity. Louis IX hastened to send two Franciscans, a Fleming, William of Rubruck, and an Italian, Bartholomew of Cremona, to explore an alliance with the Mongols against the Muslims. The king's interest reflected his hope in finding some kind of grand alliance that would win and safeguard the Holy Land. He provided the financial wherewithal and presented William with a Bible; Queen Marguerite is reported to have given him an illuminated psalter.[199] The envoys set out with a priest and an interpreter probably in March 1253.[200] Going by way of Constantinople, they embarked from there on 7 May 1253 and reached the Crimea later in the month. William eventually reached the Mongol prince in July, but although Sartaq showed interest in William's books, no alliance ever came of this visit, and William of Rubruck was not allowed to preach and evangelize in Sartaq's lands. William, of course, went on to Karakorum and met the great Khan, Mongka, recording his experiences in a memorable and important journal, but again his visit did not lead to an alliance.[201]

From the point of view of artistic commissions in the Crusader Kingdom, it would be extremely interesting to know what kind of Bible William had been given, that is, was it in Latin or in Old French and was it illustrated? Similarly, we would like to know about the illustrated psalter, which was presumably in Latin; what was its program of decoration? Certainly it garnered a lot of attention because of its gold illuminations.[202] Both of these books appear to have been personal gifts given to William of Rubruck, not diplomatic gifts to be given to Sartaq. Where were they done? The king and queen were in Jaffa when they gave these gifts to William. Could they have been done there, or were they commissioned in Acre and delivered there before William and his associates set out for Constantinople? Here again we have evidence of Louis IX offering books as gifts, just as he did to the Franciscans in Jaffa. The likelihood is that if the books were done in the Levant, they had been done in Acre. Certainly we know specifically in William of Rubruck's case that when the king also gave him letters to be delivered to the Mongol prince, William says specifically that he had translations of them done into Arabic and Syriac, in Acre.[203] St. Jean d'Acre was presumably the most important Crusader center, not only for scribal work, but also for illumination and for book production with parchment makers and binders.

Louis's time in Jaffa effectively ended when new developments in the Muslim world forced him to move northward. In April of 1253, the caliph of Baghdad had succeeded in mediating the hostilities between the sultans of Damascus and Cairo. In these circumstances, the army of an-Nasir Yusuf could finally leave Gaza. They marched up the coast past Jaffa, where they skirmished with the king's men, and then on to Acre, where they captured and destroyed two corn mills, Doc and

Recordane, outside the city, as recorded by the Noailles Continuation. Then they moved on to Sidon, which was held by a small garrison. Joinville reports that the Muslim troops entered the city, "killed more than two thousand of our people and returned to Damascus with the plunder they had taken. When the King heard the news he was greatly angered."[204]

In response to this situation Louis decided to move his army to Sidon and strengthen the fortifications there, leaving aside the project he preferred, a castle on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. As he marched northward, he camped at Arsuf, a securely fortified location along the coast. Here Louis proposed that he and his army could march inland and capture the important city of Nablus. Interestingly, the barons and leaders of the military orders advised him to send his army, but not to go himself, arguing that "if anything happened to him the whole country would be lost. The King replied that he would not allow them to go unless he accompanied them himself. The matter was left there, as the local lords refused to agree to his going."[205] The anecdote demonstrates with what esteem Louis was held and shows once again the reserve with which the local barons viewed Crusader army attacks inland that risked defeat and would be difficult to sustain even if successful.

So the Crusader army moved on to Acre where it camped again, and Joinville tells another enlightening story. Here at Acre a large group of pilgrims were on their way to Jerusalem from Greater Armenia. When they heard that Louis IX was camped at Acre, they requested an audience with the "holy King," but Joinville joked that he did not want to kiss Louis's bones just yet. Louis is reported to have laughed out loud but dutifully agreed to receive them. Here we see another demonstration of the king's widespread reputation. We also find evidence for the continuous phenomenon of Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem, even when Jerusalem was in Muslim hands and, as in this instance, it meant payment of "a heavy toll to their Saracen escort."[206]

As the army moved deliberately up the coast, they camped at Tyre. Here a council was held on the advisability of attacking the town of Baniyas to the east, near the headwaters of the Jordan River. Again the recommendation was made that a force could be sent, but the king should remain behind and not go himself. In this instance Louis agreed, perhaps because the local lord, Philip of Montfort, and the military orders were interested in this foray, while Louis wanted to move on to Sidon. The Crusaders skirmished with the Muslims at Baniyas without success, and then rejoined the king at Sidon. At Sidon, "we found that the King himself had had the Christians buried whom the Saracens... had killed. With his own hands he carried the rotting and stinking corpses to be laid in the earth in trenches, and never stopped his nose as the others did. [Then] he gathered labourers from all parts and set himself to refortifying the city with high walls and strong towers."[207]

Louis's personal participation in the work of his troops was quite celebrated, but none more than when he personally assisted in the burial of the dead defenders of Sidon with his own hands. This pious act was singled out in the formulation of the illustrations for the "Hours of St. Louis," which later appeared in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux in Paris by 1328.[208] Not surprisingly three of the eight scenes in these hours depict Louis on Crusade, two of which pertain to his expedition in 1248–54. The iconography of the miniature follows the details of Joinville's account, showing the king handling the dead without covering his nose, while all those around him try to avoid the stench.

Even though his more mundane work of directing the repair and strengthening of city defenses and of construction of new fortifications was not recognized as part of his exemplary works of mercy and charity or as evidence of his spiritual rectitude, found in the program of psalter illustration, nothing Louis did during these years aided the Latin Kingdom more. It may be surprising that he did not stop to work on the walls of Tyre at some point in his activities, but the fact that he did not seems to indicate that they had already been largely repaired after the serious earthquakes of 1170 and 1202.[209] Furthermore, at Sidon the need was urgent in light of the recent Muslim attack, the damage that had been done, and the number of Christians killed. Accordingly, the work at Sidon pertained to both the land castle, which was subsequently destroyed in modern times except for some surviving fragments, and to the sea castle, which had been started by German Crusaders in 1227.[210] Only the famous sea castle substantially survives, in which archaeological study has shown several phases, the second of which has been attributed to the time of Louis IX (Figs. 96–100, Chapter 5). When his work was done, Joinville commented that he had fortified Sidon, "with high walls and towers and with deep ditches on both sides, well cleaned out."[211]

When Louis had just arrived in Sidon, in June and July of 1253, certain important new developments occurred in his own family that would be important for his future in the Holy Land. On one hand Louis and Marguerite had a third child born in the Levant, Blanche, named for his mother, probably in June 1253. Marguerite had stayed behind at Jaffa to have the child, and sailed to Sidon after the birth as Joinville explains. This child further associated the king and queen with the Holy Land. Unlike the son, known as John Tristan, future count of Nevers, who had been born in the most difficult moments of his parents' time in Egypt, in Damietta in 1250, their two recent children, Peter, born in 1251, and the new infant Blanche, born in June 1253, entered life in happier circumstances in the Latin Kingdom. Louis was successfully carrying out his goals of aiding the Holy Land and freeing the prisoners. Naming their new daughter for his mother, was an especially touching gesture. Their first child, born in 1240, had also been a daughter named Blanche, but she had died in 1243. Louis was clearly dedicated to his family, but remarkably Joinville felt that he was not kind enough toward them. This opinion is expressed when Joinville tells of Marguerite's arrival with the new baby girl at Sidon, where he comments,

> I had been with him [Louis IX] then for five years without his ever, to my knowledge, mentioning the Queen or his children to me or to anyone else;"et ce n'estoit pas bone manière, si comme il me semble, d'estre estrange de sa femme et de ses enfans," that is, "and I do not think it kindly so to be a stranger to his wife and children."[212]

This new daughter enabled them again to demonstrate how much Louis especially loved and honored his mother. Unfortunately his mother could not have known because she had died in France in November of 1252. News of her death only reached Louis and Marguerite later in the summer of 1253 at Sidon.[213] The king was greatly saddened; for two days he could not speak because of his grief. He now had three children who would never know their grandmother. The king had numerous services held in her honor. Marguerite mourned openly as well, but when Joinville wondered at her show of grief over someone with whom she had had difficult relations in life, the queen said simply, "it was not for the Queen [Blanche] she wept, but for the sorrow of my Lord the King and for his daughter (who was afterwards the Queen of Navarre)" and who was now left alone in France.[214]

While Louis pondered how to proceed in the face of this news – profoundly sorrowful for him personally, and disturbingly disconcerting with regard to the political well-being of his kingdom – construction work at Sidon went on. Joinville, clearly suspecting that Louis would not be staying much longer in the Holy Land, prevailed on the king to allow him make his own personal spiritual journey:

> I asked the King to allow me to go on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Tortosa, which was a great place for pilgrims, being the first altar in the world to be built in honour of the Mother of God. There Our Lady used to work great miracles.

Tortosa was, along with Nazareth, one of the two most revered sites in honor of the Virgin in the thirteenth century. The great church there had been finished earlier in the century, as discussed earlier. Joinville would have no doubt taken some special gifts to the Virgin's shrine in the church at Tortosa, but unfortunately he does not mention them. What he does mention is that Bohemond VI "received us with all the joy and honour he could show us, and would have loaded me and my knights with gifts had we been willing to accept them. We would not, however, take anything except some of his relics, a number of which I brought back to the King."[215] We would like to know what these relics may have been and to have descriptions of their vessels, but even in the absence of any details, we can clearly see how important exchanges like this were and we can imagine how frequently they occurred. Plainly the Crusader metalworkers in the major cities would have been active continually in preparing works of this sort.

It is no surprise that Bohemond VI should have been so solicitous about and so generous to Joinville, given his warm relations with Louis IX. What is again problematic is that although Joinville fills his narrative with anecdotes of his and the king's experiences, once again there appears to be little material dealing with the fall and early winter of 1253–4. What we can say is that the laborious process of constructing the fortifications at Sidon must have been continuing, in parallel with the reports of the king's residencies at Acre, Caesarea, and Jaffa. But apparently because of the nature and structure of Joinville's notes, he does not attempt to clarify the later stages of the king's activities at any of these places, choosing instead only to discuss certain selected events he identifies as significant.

Furthermore, it is no doubt during the time of his pilgrimage to Tortosa that Joinville carried out a special personal mission, one which he also fails to record in his account. Jean de Joinville's uncle, Geoffrey de Joinville, had visited the Holy Land during the Fourth Crusade. Unwilling to go to Constantinople, he was one of the Crusaders who broke away from the main army to fulfill his vow. During this time he had visited Crac des Chevaliers, had died there, and was buried in the castle chapel. His shield, which had his arms quartered with those of England, hung in the chapel along with those of other Crusaders. During his trip to Tortosa, Joinville must have visited Crac des Chevaliers himself during which time he retrieved his uncle's shield and eventually took it back to France, where it hung in the collegiate church of Joinville until 1544.[216]

1254: The Noailles Continuation states:

> In 1254 the rebuilding of the walls of Sidon was completed and the king went away to Acre. He knighted Balian of Ibelin, the lord's son, who later married Plaisance, the queen of Cyprus.
>
> After St. Mark's day the king set out from Acre with the queen and their people to go across the sea. He left one hundred knights with my lord Geoffrey of Sergines, seneschal of the kingdom, to defend the kingdom of Syria.

Then comes a whole list of deaths, a large and important number, along with certain other notable events:

> Martha, lady of Sidon, died on 5 June. Next day Peter of Beaune, marshal of the Hospital, died.
>
> On 21 May King Conrad died. Then on 8 June Robert, patriarch of Jerusalem, died. The patriarch Epice [Opizo dei Fieschi] landed in Acre; John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa, was regent of the kingdom.
>
> The legate Odo [Eudes of Châteauroux] bishop of Tusculum left Acre in mid-September to go across the sea.
>
> Then Bohemond, prince of Antioch, married Sibylla, daughter of Hethoum, king of Armenia.
>
> Then in December Pope Innocent died, and was succeeded by Alexander.[217]

Since learning of the death of his mother, Louis had heard disconcerting reports from France. "The King of England began to make trouble, in spite of an oath to go on Crusade; .... Civil war broke out over the inheritance to the county of Flanders, and all the great vassals of France were growing restive." Louis prepared to return home.[218] As part of his preparations, he concluded a truce with sultan an-Nasir Yusuf in Damascus. This agreement, signed in February 1254, was to last for a shorter time, two years, six months, and forty days, but at least Louis's dealings with the Mongols had made the Muslims on the borders of the Latin Kingdom interested in dètente.[219] Then Louis, according to his customary procedure, took council with the great men of the Latin Kingdom who gave him the following opinion, as recorded by Joinville:

> "Sir, you have fortified the city of Sayette [Sidon], and that of Caesarea, and the town of Jaffa, which is of great service to the Holy Land; and you have greatly strengthened the city of Acre by the walls and towers you have built. Sir, we have consulted among ourselves and we do not see that your further stay can in any way benefit the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Hence we urge and advise you to go to Acre this coming Lent and prepare your crossing so that you may leave for France after this Easter." On the advice of the Patriarch and the barons the King left Sayette [Sidon] and went to Sur [Tyre], where the Queen was; and from Sur [Tyre], at the beginning of Lent, we went to Acre. On 24 April, the vigil of St. Mark's day, Louis sailed for France. On St. Mark's day the King told me that he was born on that day, and I told him that he might well add that he was born again on that day, for his escape from that dangerous country was certainly a second birth.[220]

Louis was, however, not out of danger yet. Twice on the journey home, the king and his family were in mortal peril, and both times by quick thinking the queen intervened to save their ship. They finally arrived at Hyères in Provence, territory controlled by his brother, Charles of Anjou, in July 1254.

In this manner Louis ended his first Crusade. How can we evaluate his service in and to the Latin Kingdom? First, King Louis IX poured the financial resources of his kingdom unstintingly into the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem to strengthen and revitalize it. Jordan characterizes these expenses as follows:

> For fortifications constructed in the Holy Land after he left Egypt, he spent ninety-five thousand pounds [ninty-five thousand livres tournois] according to one governmental estimate. It is unlikely that "fortifications" include military equipment like horns and glue which he purchased at about the same time for making crossbows. Nor did the "end" of the crusade in 1254 bring his expenses to a close. To fulfill traditional etiquette, he gave pensions and gifts to some of the men who served him, and he also spent an average of four thousand pounds tournois per year from 1254 until 1270 for a contingent of knights who remained in Acre after his departure for France.[221]

This investment is clearly recognized in regard to architectural projects and certain expenses, but by no means fully, in the terms of the financial accounts. Yet the written sources are constantly if sporadically referring to bequests, diplomatic gifts, liturgical items, and books – works of art – that the king and queen gave out during their residency in the Latin Kingdom. Together with the extant works that can be identified and that will be discussed later, we can begin to glimpse how Louis's presence strongly stimulated and even caused the means of artistic production to be reorganized, especially in Acre.

Second, he worked unstintingly to liberate Crusader – indeed, all Christian – prisoners from Muslim prisons. This goal was clearly a unifying vision, which Louis maintained unswervingly until he had achieved it in 1252, after two years of long and arduous negotiations. No matter what other obligations he took on, he saw his primary responsibility as the leader of the Crusade to look after his soldiers. He clearly felt that one of the most important things he could do to right the wrong represented by the failure of his expedition to Egypt was to gain the return of all prisoners.

Third, the king pursued a surprisingly aggressive and varied diplomatic campaign to build alliances that would ensure the well-being of the Latin Kingdom. He pursued this internally by attempting to build and strengthen the peace and harmony of the barons in the Crusader States. He pursued this in the region by vigorous negotiations with the various Muslim sultans, leading eventually to a fifteen-year truce in 1252 with the new Mamluk sultan in Egypt and a shorter two-year truce in 1254 with the Ayyubid sultan in Damascus, among others. He pursued this policy on the larger world scene with his attempts to engage the Mongols in an alliance against the Muslims. Although wholly unsuccessful, these Mongol missions produced the beginnings of a significant enlargement of European cultural awareness of Eastern lands, both near and far.

Fourth, and finally, Louis provided moral and political leadership for the Latin Kingdom at a time that it was sorely needed. Even though he was not officially recognized as king of Jerusalem by the High Court or by the pope, he was ruler in the Latin Kingdom in almost every meaningful way. He engaged the responsibilities of leadership vigorously and asserted his authority forthrightly so that the powerful and wealthy, such as the church, the military orders, and the great barons, as well as the weak and poor of the kingdom could recognize the importance of what he was doing.

In sum, it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the king's efforts to "aid the Holy Land," as he thought of it. But the symbol and indeed the ongoing visible demonstration of his commitment to the Latin Kingdom was the "French regiment" he sponsored and left under the command of Geoffrey of Srgines at St. Jean d'Acre. In a recent study, Jonathan Riley-Smith has discussed this contingent of soldiers at some length, explaining their importance as part of the continuing involvement of the French crown with the Latin Kingdom in the years after 1254. As we shall see, their presence was apparently significant not only for the defense of the realm, but also for Crusader artistic developments as well.[222] I attempt to discuss the king's artistic impact in more detail in the second part of this chapter. Nonetheless, it is already clear that his significance was great in virtually all media. This is plainly evident not only in architecture, which he sponsored so generously, but also in the figural and liturgical arts about which there is constant mention in the sources, albeit with relatively little surviving that can be identified as his personal commissions.

THE CRUSADER STATES TO THE FALL OF ANTIOCH: 1254–1268

When Louis IX departed for France on 24 April 1254, the Latin Kingdom and its capital city, St. Jean d'Acre, was perhaps in the best military condition it would ever be in the thirteenth century. The defensive walls of Acre had been substantially strengthened; a new contingent of French knights, the French Regiment, had been installed to help protect the city and the kingdom; and major fortifications had been built or rebuilt at Caesarea, Haifa, Jaffa, and Sidon as well. Furthermore, the king had concluded truces with both the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus and the Mamluk sultan of Cairo, leaving the kingdom in a stable and peaceful situation.

But there were problems on the horizon. Both the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus were ruled by regents; the patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, had died in June, and his replacement was delayed by the death of the pope, Innocent IV, in December. The new patriarch, James Pantaleon from Liège, was appointed in April 1255, but only arrived in the Holy Land in June 1256.[223] A new bishop of Acre, Florence of Laon, also arrived a few weeks later.[224] This means that there was a certain leadership vacuum created by the departure of Louis IX and with the temporary appointees acting in positions of authority in the Latin Kingdom, both politically and ecclesiastically. The real holders of power were those who Richard calls "the men of the communes," above all, the Italians.[225] In the absence of royal power, the mercantile communes were not only major economic, but also major political forces. Then within two short years in 1256, the kingdom was plunged into a new civil war focused on the rights of the major Italian maritime powers, the War of St. Sabas. It appears that the realignment of power that resulted from that conflict, in which the Venetians defeated the Genoese with the help of the Pisans, later also assisted by the merchants from Marseilles, enabled the Venetians to establish commercial dominance in Acre and caused the Genoese to reorganize and move to Tyre. The smoldering animosities among the Italian merchants continued to complicate commerce all along the coast of Syria-Palestine during and well after 1258, and we should recall that this local conflict was only part of a much larger struggle for economic power by these maritime cities in the eastern Mediterranean.[226] We shall wish to evaluate the effects of this conflict not only for their economic and political impact on the Latin Kingdom, but also with regard to what extent they became visible in the artistic production of St. Jean d'Acre.

Louis IX had hardly left the Latin East when Conrad IV of Germany died, in May 1254. The crown of Jerusalem thereby passed to his two-year-old son, Conradin, as recognized by the pope. By September a new regent, Count John of Jaffa, was appointed by the High Court in Acre. This John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa, lived until 1266 and is, of course, the author of the most important Crusader legal text written in the thirteenth century, the *Livre des Assises*.[227] He held office for two years, until other duties called, at which time in 1256 he was replaced by Count John of Arsur.[228] Not to let peace erode, the *bailli* and the great lords of the kingdom renegotiated a new truce with the Muslims, including both major sultans, signed in February 1255. By this arrangement, the Muslims agreed to recognize Crusader land west of the Jordan River down to Arsur, but Jaffa was explicitly excluded. To protect Jaffa, Geoffrey of Sergines therefore installed his men there in December.[229]

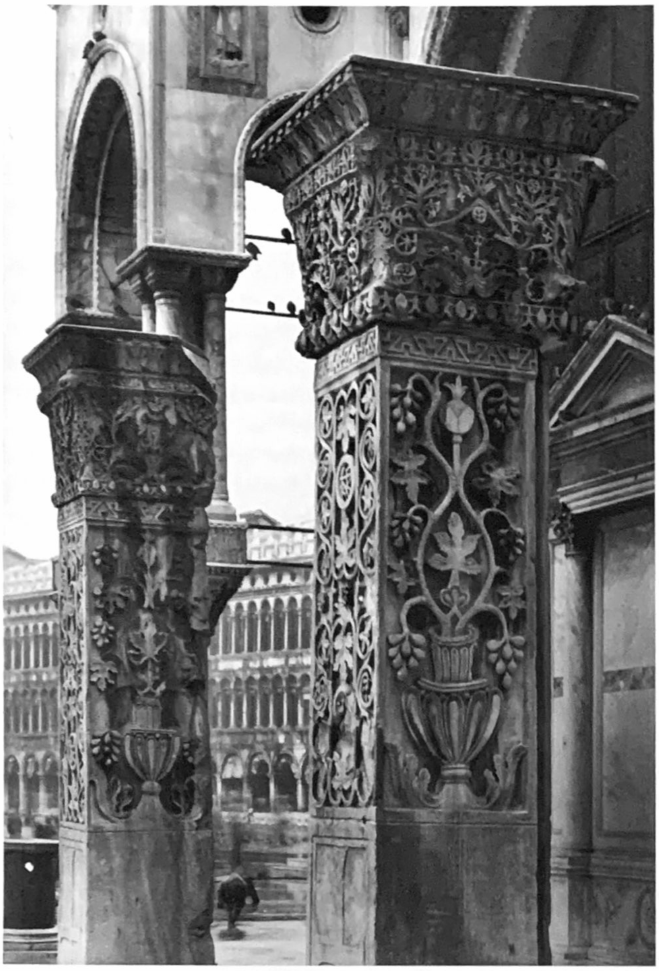
Because of its exempt status, Jaffa was the flashpoint for skirmishes between the Crusaders and the Muslims. Despite their small numbers, the garrison at Jaffa was cautious and disciplined; they successfully attacked the Muslims on occasion and withstood all Muslim attacks. During one of their counterattacks, John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa, lost his horse and was nearly killed; he was only rescued by the Hospitallers fighting with them. By his stalwart military action, including winning this victory and killing the emirs of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, Geoffrey induced the sultans of Damascus and Cairo to agree to a renewal of the truce, reset for ten years, ten months, and ten days from the winter of 1256, probably February or March.[230]

Meanwhile however, serious trouble had emerged in Acre. As the Rothelin Continuation describes it, "the Christians began to make shameful and wretched war on each other, both sides being equally aggressive. Discord broke out between the Venetians, the Pisans and the *poulains* of the land on the one hand, and the Genoese, the brothers of St. John's Hospital who supported them, and the Spaniards on the other. This was over a building standing by the sea between Genoese and Venetian territory, and the fighting went on for nearly a year. They slew and slaughtered and did each other all the harm they could, just as they did to Saracens."[231]

Louis IX had left Acre in April 1254, and by 1255 the Genoese and the Venetians were in serious conflict in the Latin Kingdom,[232] the result of a rivalry that had been brewing since the early 1250s. Until 1256 the rivalry had been controlled: during Louis IX's residency by means of a treaty signed in 1251; in the larger Mediterranean setting, by a Genoese-Pisan war that was successfully concluded by the Genoese in 1256. A series of incidents between the Genoese and Venetians in Acre eventually led to a confrontation.[233] Both "nations" claimed the property of the Monastery of St. Sabas atop the low hill of Montjoie[234] between their two quarters inside the city.[235] So intense was this dispute that litigation had been initiated in the papal court in that year, 1255, which was ongoing. But in 1256 open war broke out – the War of St. Sabas – when the Genoese forcibly seized the monastery property and then attacked the Venetian quarter itself with Pisan support, inflicting heavy damage. At this point, while Genoa was winning, it enjoyed widespread support in Acre also among the barons. At the same time, Philip of Montfort saw his opportunity to drive the Venetians out of Tyre, abrogating their trading rights in that city, rights that went all the way back to 1124. Clearly this conflict was a major local manifestation of the struggle for commercial dominance among the Italian maritime powers in the eastern Mediterranean. But it had dangerous and deleterious effects on the Latin Kingdom.[236]

The Venetians regrouped after the attack by the Genoese, and despite an eventual Genoese offer to negotiate when tempers cooled, the Venetians prepared for war. As preparations went forward, everyone reconsidered the situation and began the process of choosing up sides, with some strange alignments. The Genoese were supported of course by Philip of Montfort at Tyre, along with the Embriachi, lords of Gibelet, while at Acre their supporters were the Hospitallers, the Catalans, the Anconitans, and the Greek Orthodox community. The Venetians meanwhile had persuaded the Pisans – allies of the Genoese since 1251, but actually ancient enemies – to join them along with the merchants of Marseilles. They also won the important allegiance of the powerful Ibelin family – including John of Jaffa, the *bailli* – along with the Templars, the Teutonic Knights, the confraternities of the city, and Bohemond VI, lord of Tripoli and Antioch. It had hardly been twenty-five years since the civil war between the Ibelins and the Imperialists, and the new conflict caused old enmities to resurface with renewed hatred, for example, between the Hospitallers and the Templars. There were also some odd realignments, such as finding the Hospitallers and the Genoese on the same side.[237]

With everyone at daggers drawn, it was nonetheless the Italians who did most of the actual fighting. The Genoese, realizing later in 1257 that the Pisans had defected to the Venetian side, attacked and annexed the Pisan quarter in Acre. At that point a large Venetian fleet arrived at Acre, commanded by Lorenzo Tiepolo. Breaking through the chain that closed off the harbor, his ships were able to dock. The Venetians successfully landed their troops and attacked the Genoese, liberating the Pisan Quarter, and capturing the contested house of St. Sabas, while inflicting considerable damage on the city, but they ultimately failed to dislodge the Genoese from their own quarter. Subsequently most of the fighting was done at sea, with open warfare in the shipping lanes, bringing commerce almost to a halt. Eventually, on 23–24 June 1258, a great naval battle was fought off the coast of Acre. The Genoese fleet commanded by Admiral Rosso della Turca actually outnumbered the Venetians under Lorenzo Tiepolo, with fifty Genoese galleys and four large round ships versus thirty-nine Venetian galleys, four large round ships, and ten tarettes. Nonetheless, the Venetians won a great victory, destroying half the Genoese fleet and taking a reported 1,700 prisoners.[238] About the same time an attempt by Philip of Montfort to march on Acre was fought off by troops of the city confraternities. The Genoese subsequently withdrew from Acre to Tyre, where they made their headquarters. As a symbol of this victory, the fictive story arose that



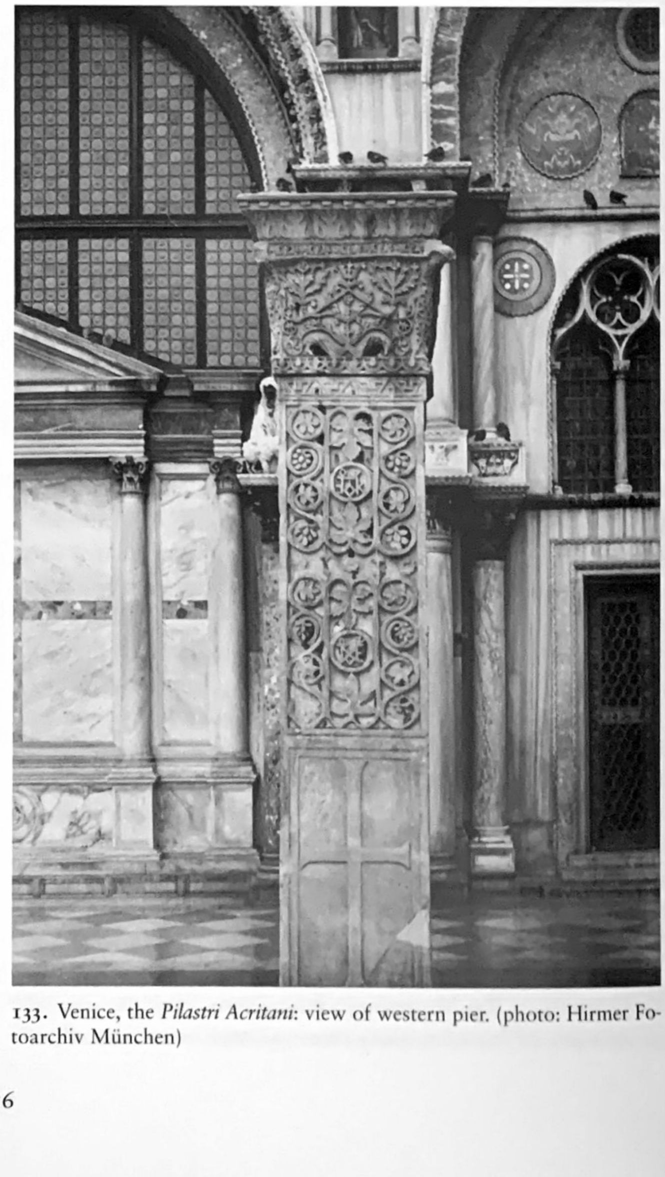
132. Venice, the *Pilastri Acritani*: view from the east. (photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv München)

the Venetians carried off two beautifully decorated piers from the Genoese quarter as trophies, which they set up on the east side of San Marco in Venice, the so-called *pilastri acritani*[239] (Figs. 132–134); in fact these piers come from the sixth-century church of St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople, from where the Venetians brought them to Venice after 1204. The hostilities elsewhere at sea continued unabated between the two powers, however, and the war flared up in Acre again in 1267. Only Louis IX was able to mediate a truce between the two in 1270.[240]

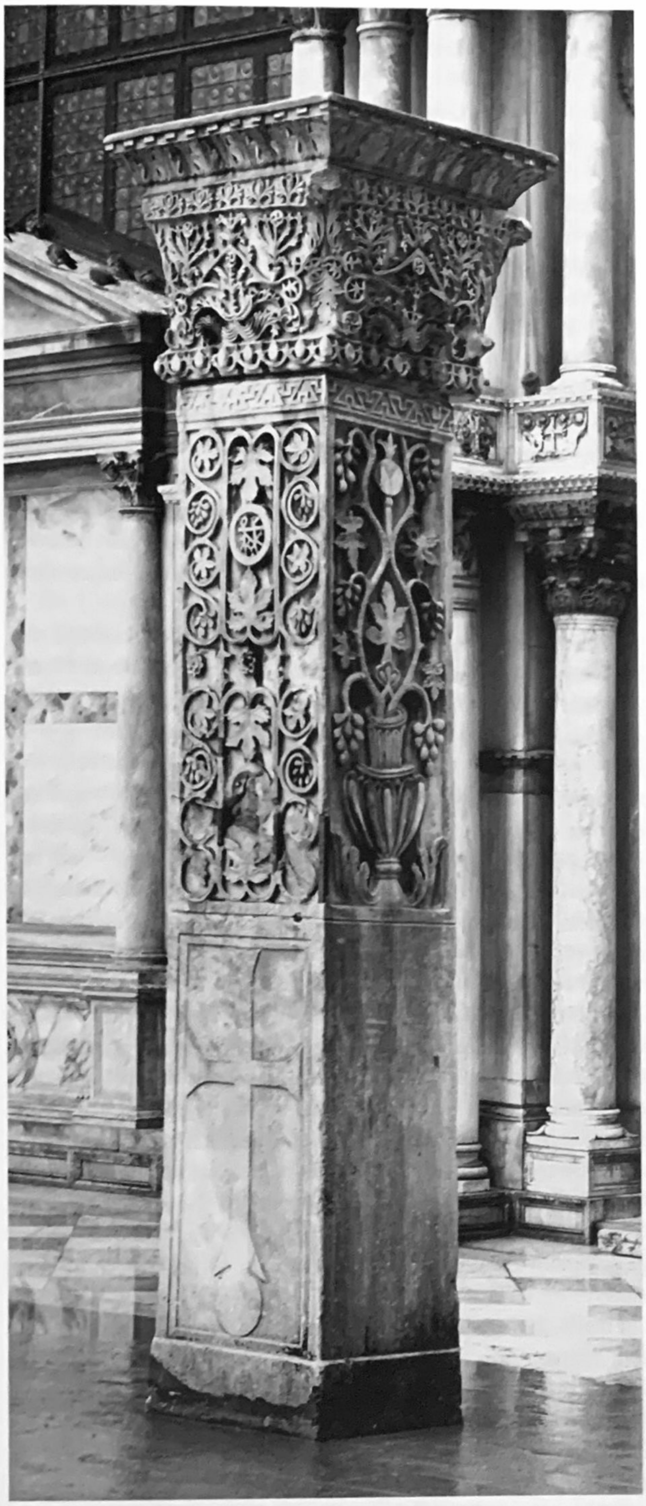
The result of this civil war was that the Latin Kingdom was terribly divided after 1256, and its economic lifeblood was seriously threatened. Just as a civil war had weakened the Latin Empire in the 1250s followed by the Byzantine Greek restoration in Constantinople in 1261, the Latin Kingdom might have suffered a Muslim conquest at the time of this civil war when the mainland Crusader States were dangerously vulnerable. During the internal hostilities raging in the Latin Kingdom, the Crusaders were spared Muslim intervention, however, because of a major political upheaval in Cairo, with the deaths of Shajar ad-Durr and Aybeg, and the advance of the Mongols from Iran threatening Syria. Unfortunately the temporary end of the land hostilities in the war of St. Sabas did not bring stability. One of the striking developments in the Latin Kingdom during the war was the disintegration of political solidarity in the face of hostilities among the Italians, with people taking sides according to the exigencies of the moment. The civil war began to involve everyone.

Because of the serious fragmentation evident during the War of St. Sabas, substantive attempts were initiated to heal the deep divisions in the Latin Kingdom. Some succeeded, but some failed. One example of the latter is that Queen Plaisance, regent designate for the kingdom since 1253, was brought to Acre by Bohemond of Antioch, her brother, at the insistence of John of Jaffa and the master of the Templars, in February 1258 with her son, Hugh II, in an effort to effect peace in the Latin Kingdom. At this time the lords formally swore allegiance to Hugh as the rightful heir to the throne after Conradin and recognized Plaisance as regent in fact. As Edbury interprets it, "Plaisance duly ordered the people of Acre to throw their support behind the Venetians. She then withdrew, leaving the former *bailli*, the hitherto pro-Genoese John of Arsur, as her lieutenant."[241] Needless to say, the allies of Genoa tried to object to these arrangements, but in vain; as a result even the attempt to establish a consensus leader in the midst of this chaos was drawn into the partisan battle. This political maneuver was, of course, "vindicated" when the Venetians won the great sea battle in June, but the whole process did nothing to restabilize the kingdom.

Later on that year, when the *bailli* died at the end of 1258, it was remarkable that "the only man in Outremer that



133. Venice, the *Pilastri Acritani*: view of western pier. (photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv München)



134. Venice, the *Pilastri Acritani*: view of eastern pier from southeast. (photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv München)

Plaisance could trust was Geoffrey of Sergines."[242] Geoffrey was seneschal of Jerusalem at the time, and commander of the French garrison in Acre, appointed by Louis IX. He "was a Frenchman, and his appointment can perhaps be seen as a move away from the pattern of allowing authority to be exercised by members of the Ibelin family or their clients and allies who between them had in effect governed Acre since the 1230s."[243] Geoffrey's military and political significance should not be overlooked because, as J. Riley-Smith has pointed out, he and his French Regiment of one hundred knights with retainers amounted to approximately five hundred men.[244] This is a substantial force when compared with the estimate of three hundred knights each for the Hospitallers and the Templars, and a smaller number for the Teutonic Knights, in the East at this time.[245] Furthermore, he and his successor were solidly funded by the French crown on a year-by-year basis, and even by a Crusade tithe imposed by the pope in 1262.[246] For the present, however, Geoffrey was appointed *bailli* on 1 May 1259. His appointment was much more effective in attempting to win the peace.

The new *bailli* and the newly arrived papal legate, Thomas Agni of Lentino, the former Dominican prior of Naples sent to Acre in April, proceeded to work to settle the dispute between the Genoese and the Venetians. But even this attempt inadvertently created problems. Unfortunately the pope had appointed his legate as bishop of Bethlehem. As legate, Thomas outranked the latin patriarch of Jerusalem, James Pantaleon, the future Pope Urban IV, but as bishop of Bethlehem, the legate was subordinate to the patriarch in the hierarchy. James left Acre in 1260 to go to Rome to attempt to rectify this situation, among others, as the peace efforts were gaining momentum.[247] Eventually, in January 1261, the legate and the *bailli* succeeded in arranging a meeting of the High Court in Acre where the delegates along with representatives of the military orders and the barons were officially reconciled.[248] Resolution of the issues among the maritime powers was long and difficult in any case, but it appears that the departure of the patriarch did not help in moving peace arrangements ahead. Once the agreement was reached, moreover, the principals honored it almost as much in the breach as in the stated terms; hostilities on the high seas continued relatively unabated. It was only much later, in 1270, that a lasting truce was concluded for five years between the Venetians and the Genoese, instigated by Louis IX, as mentioned earlier. At that time the Genoese reoccupied part of their quarter in Acre, but by then the damage had been done, so to speak, as far as fragmentation of society, loss of territory to the Mamluks, physical destruction to the city, and commercial disruption in the Latin Kingdom and with regard to the Asiatic trade route ending in Acre was concerned.[249]

Fortunately, some internal conditions in regard to political relations within the kingdom did improve in the late 1250s. One concrete example of this can be seen with the military orders, which had had serious disputes among themselves for many years before the War of St. Sabas. There had long been property disputes, many that had required arbitration.[250] The orders as independent entities had also made separate political alignments internal to the kingdom along certain lines from time to time, although as Forey has pointed out, it is not correct to say that the Hospitallers always took a royalist stance, and the Templars always sided with the other lords. Nor is it correct to assume that these two orders always opposed the other in any given situation.[251] But the Hospitallers and the Templars did have a long and unhappy history of serious disagreements, and on occasion had even attempted to enter into separate negotiations with the Muslims, such as the Templars did during the time of Louis IX's residency, as noted earlier. Nonetheless, by 1256 Riley-Smith notes that the orders were making real efforts toward resolving their property disputes, and in 1258 a wide-ranging agreement was concluded among the masters of the three major military orders that pertained to the Latin East, including Cyprus, Syria, Armenia, and Syria-Palestine.[252]

The agreement of 1258 was "so important that it was to be recited each year in their Chapters and by every new Master before twelve brothers of the two other orders. All castellans and commanders in Cyprus, Syria and Palestine were to swear obediance to it; and if it was not observed, a penalty of 1000 silver marks could be exacted from the offending Order by the other two."[253] The agreement set up a system of negotiation and arbitration by which disputes, clearly defined with certain exclusions, could be resolved internally among the orders. Further clauses added important provisions. The orders were required to assist each other – at their own expense, with certain special arrangements – in their battles against the enemy, defined as the heathen. Members of each order were protected from violence by members of the other orders. The orders were prohibited from rivalry or disputes over the acquistion of "immovables" or supplies. With the exception of livestock, members of one order could, if needed, claim supplies from another order, assuming that they could pay for them. Major clauses also provided for the safeguard of feudal rights, with principles, guidelines, and procedures clearly stated. Not only was this agreement drawn up and implemented, but it was also put into practice immediately. Eventually even the pope recognized it, but apparently only much later.

It is a pity that the agreement of 1258 promulgated by the three major military orders with regard to land holdings and material assets could not have been emulated politically and economically by the major factions involved in the War of St. Sabas. Unfortunately, the deep divisions that had fractured the *pax ludovicae* in the wake of his departure were not fully healed, and eventually the Latin Kingdom would pay the price. For the moment, however, the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine were the benefactors of developments far beyond their control. Before we consider those developments, however, let us review what can be identified as some of the main immediate effects of the War of St. Sabas on Acre and the Latin Kingdom.

First, it is clear that a sizeable part of the interior city of Acre was left devastated. Heyd proposed a sobering description of ruin, the result he claimed of more than fifty"machines de guerre" which produced massive destruction and killed at least twenty thousand persons.[254] The sad truth was, furthermore, that the internecine hostilities that had produced this destruction, flared up from time to time, creating more damage. The stables of the Hospitallers in Acre were burned down during another fight between the Venetians and the Genoese, when in August 1267 a Genoese fleet attacked the city.[255] This means that the city of Acre faced the need for reconstruction internally, as well as for maintaining the integrity of their defensive wall system. Obviously, the affected parties would deal mostly with their individual architectural needs, no doubt to the detriment of attention they might have given elsewhere in the city.

Second, the War of St. Sabas was pivotal in changing the power structure among the maritime "nations" in the Latin Kingdom. The Venetians, along with the Pisans, were dominant in Acre, which was the most important Crusader port. Genoa, which had been on top, now began its gradual recession as the most prominent of the Italian city-states, economically, militarily, and politically, in the Crusader States. Genoa was still enormously powerful in the Mediterranean and did not retire from Acre without a long fight, as the continuing hostilities in the 1260s makes clear, but the balance of power was beginning to shift in Crusader Palestine. Furthermore, this power struggle had a major impact on the Latin Kingdom, with new influence exerted by the maritime powers in many spheres as a result, the artistic sphere being the one we explore later.

Third, this change in the power structure was accompanied by a relocation of positions in the major Crusader ports. In Acre, Venice and Pisa largely took over the spoils of the Genoese quarter in the wake of their departure. Genoa established their headquarters in Tyre and left Acre largely to their rivals. This does not mean that Genoa completely abandoned Acre, and as noted earlier, they returned to occupy at least part of their quarter later, in the 1270s. But it does mean that from the latter part of the 1250s, the Venetians and the Pisans were the dominant traders who controlled the most important quarters near the harbor, and they were the most important Italian artistic patrons in Acre.

Fourth, we have seen above that during the residency of Louis IX, a new coin design was initiated in Acre for use in "international" trade, the so-called cross bezant. The extant coins are known to run in a series carrying the dates from 1251 to 1258. As Metcalf points out, "if these dates are to be believed, the devastation of Acre by the War of Saint-Sabas brought the minting of gold to an end."[256] Even though Metcalf qualifies his proposal with certain reasonable considerations,[257] it is entirely possible that this conflict caused an important change in Crusader coinage, even if the change occurred sometime after 1258, probably shortly after 1258.[258] Again, however, we should recognize the fact that the focus of this change was in Acre, but not necessarily elsewhere. For example, in Tripoli, which also developed a gold bezant with Christian symbolism, the so-called Agnus Dei bezant, we do not know that it ceased to be minted at the same time. Although extremely rare today for reasons that are not altogether clear, this coin was also a response to the ban on Crusader coinage that imitated Muslim bezants.[259] The count of Tripoli appears to have continued this issue, however, no matter what impact the War of St. Sabas appears to have had on coinage of the Latin Kingdom minted at Acre.

Finally, in the wider world of the Levant, the War of St. Sabas did, by extension, eventually have a major impact on the Crusader East. In their struggle against the Venetians in the eastern Mediterranean, the Genoese had chosen to support the Greek emperor of Nicaea, Michael Palaeologus. They did this both to damage Venetian interests, and with an eye to strengthening their own trading concessions by moving their Asiatic trade routes north through the Black Sea. To this end, in March 1261, the Genoese signed a major treaty with Michael in Nymphaion, which they ratified in Genoa in July. In this pact he guaranteed them preferential trading status throughout his territory. As a symbol of this alliance, the Byzantines sent the beautiful pallio of St. Lawrence to Genoa, a major work of imperial silk manufacture, inscribed in Latin, bearing the image of the Palaeologan emperor, and presenting the story of the patron saint of Genoa, St. Lawrence, along with two others.[260] It is one of the largest (1.27 × 3.76 meters), most lavish, and important diplomatic gifts to survive from this period, one that embodies the cultural interchange of East and West that we find fundamental to the production of much Crusader art from the Latin Kingdom. Although it has nothing directly to do with the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine, the pallio does exemplify the artistic integration of two cultures – the Byzantine and the Genoese – that we also see in certain remarkable objects of metalwork in the contemporary Near East, such as the brass basins in the Louvre including the "baptistère de St. Louis" (Fig. 323, Chapter 7) and others with Lusignan coats of arms, the latter discussed perceptively by Annemarie Weyl Carr.[261] This luxury textile and this remarkable metalwork forcefully suggest that the interpenetration of artistic and cultural traditions which we have identified as characteristic of Crusader work in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can now be seen more widely in the Near East, coming from more diverse origins.

When on 25 July 1261 Michael reentered Constantinople with the assistance of the Genoese, the Byzantine Empire was restored. Although the reconquest did not result in the immediate fulfillment of all the promises that had been made to the Genoese, it meant they strengthened their position in the Greek capital, in the empire overall, and in the Black Sea trade. Clearly, they remained the most formidable adversaries of the Venetians in the eastern Mediterranean.[262] Indeed, Genoa continued a period of great prosperity in the second half of the thirteenth century, in which "in terms of wealth and ships, Genoa was as powerful in the 1290s as at any time in its history."[263]

The restoration of Byzantium, of course, brought the tottering Latin Empire to an end, but parts of Latin Greece survived. The Latin Empire had had a negative effect on the Crusader States in mainland Syria-Palestine when it was first established in 1204 by diverting sorely needed men and material from the Latin Kingdom, not to mention steering attention away from the goals of reconquering Jerusalem and aiding the Holy Land. Now that it had died, some of its resources that could have aided the Latin Kingdom, namely, the Italian maritime powers, continued fighting among themselves and thus diverted their attention away from the interests of the mainland Crusader States. Runciman concluded, "the Empire of Romania, the child of the Fourth Crusade . . . had done nothing but harm to the Christian East,"[264] but I think the greatest harm had arguably been done to the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine.

The Latin Kingdom Confronts the Mongols and the Mamluk Sultan, Baybars: 1260–1268

Fortunately for the Latin Kingdom, these years during which Plaisance was active in the regency of the Latin Kingdom were also a time of major upheaval in the Muslim world.[265] In the later 1250s the Mongols had appeared on the frontiers of the Crusader States, having conquered Baghdad, Aleppo, Harenc, and Damascus between 1258 and 1260. To avoid an attack on Antioch, Bohemond and the king of Armenia, Hetoum, his father-in-law, treated with the Mongol general, Hulagu. Because of his diplomatic action Bohemond was given the territory of Latakia, which had been in Muslim hands since the time of Saladin. Furthermore, amazingly, when Kitbogha and the victorious Mongols entered Damascus, Bohemond and Hetoum apparently rode in his entourourage: On this day at the beginning of March 1260, "the citizens of the ancient capital of the Caliphate saw for the first time for six centuries three Christian potentates ride in triumph through their streets,"[266] Kitbogha, a Nestorian, and his two Syrian vassals, Hetoum, an Armenian, and Bohemond, a Latin.[267]

The Templar of Tyre is the sole extant textual source for this event,[268] which has led some scholars to question its veracity. The text reads:

> The king of Armenia and the prince of Antioch joined the Tartar host and were at the taking of Damascus. When Damascus fell, the prince – out of contempt for the Saracens, to shame them – had a most lovely church purified and censed. This church was from the time of the Greek Christians, from the time when Heraclius had had Damascus fortified; the Saracens had worshipped Muhammad in it, but it was orginally the church of the Greeks. He had the Frankish mass sung within it, and had its bells rung.[269]

Several major historians of the Mamluks and the Mongols have expressed doubts about this account, but their reasons vary. It is Peter Jackson whose analysis recently raised the issue in the context of his intensive study of "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260."[270] His interpretation of this text, set in the context of the larger argument in which he challenges the idea that the Christians in the Near East missed a great opportunity to forge an alliance with the invading Mongols in the years around 1260, is based heavily on a critique of René Grousset's views and *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient*, the latter written by the expatriate Armenian Hayton (Het'um) in France in 1307. Observing with good reason that Hayton includes certain events in his report which are "sheer fantasy" introduced to glorify his people, Jackson proposes that "to a lesser extent, this same *caveat* in favour of contemporary testimony must apply also to the remaining Armenian, and to Frankish sources." In his view it is probably such a later tradition which underlies the statement in the *Gestes des Chiprois* that Kitbogha was accompanied into Damascus not only by King Het'um but also by Bohemond VI of Antioch.[271] Among other such opinions, Peter Thorau says that when Kitbogha made his entrance into Damascus, he was accompanied by al-Sa'id Hasan, the prince of Banyas. He continues, "it is, however, uncertain whether King Hethum and Bohemond VI were also in his company."[272] Amitai-Preiss says cautiously that "while this report certainly cannot be taken literally, it may contain a grain of truth."[273]

By contrast to these Eastern historians, many major modern Crusader scholars accept the account by the Templar of Tyre on this point. Besides Runciman in 1954,[274] there is Joshua Prawer (1975)[275] and Jean Richard (1979, 1999).[276] Hans Mayer (1988)[277] reports these events at the taking of Damascus in 1260, but referring to Jackson, points out that their textual source "has recently been doubted."

Although it is clear that questions have been raised about these events and the unique passage in the Templar of Tyre, there are differences of opinion in both camps.[278] Furthermore, the occupation of Damascus was discussed again by Dominique Sourdel in the Jean Richard Festschrift.[279] The importance of her discussion is that the events cited by the Templar of Tyre are linked to related developments in Damascus during the brief Mongol occupation, while Bohemond was also present, as found in Arabic sources. The fact is, however, that there is additional evidence to consider. I argue later in the discussion of the art produced in this period that imagery on an iconostasis beam now in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (Fig. 165, App. no. 105/1744) supports the veracity of the account of the Templar of Tyre on both controversial points. I propose that the imagery on this beam depicts the three Christian rulers who marched into Damascus together and that Bohemond VI appropriated a mosque for Christian use in which he had the Latin liturgy celebrated.[280]

Returning to the events of 1260 following the occupation of Damascus, Kitbogha sent detachments of his army to occupy Nablus, Hebron, and Gaza. He also took Ascalon in the south and Baniyas in the north, but for whatever reason he did not march on Jerusalem. The sultan of Damascus, now beaten, broken, and effectively a refugee, allowed himself to be taken prisoner by the Mongols.[281]

Ayyubid rule in Syria was thereby substantially eliminated with surprising ease by a comparatively small Mongol army.[282] The conquest of the Ayyubids left the surrounded Crusaders to expect a major Mongol attack, one that never came.[283] Instead, the Mongols paused when news of the death of Mongka, the Great Khan, grandson of Ghengis Khan, who died on 11 August 1259, arrived in the Near East. During the power struggle over Mongka's successor, Hulagu withdrew substantial forces to protect his interests farther east, leaving Kitbogha in Damascus with a much reduced army. Meanwhile in Egypt, at just about the same time that Mongol forces were moved eastward, the Mamluks had consolidated power under a new sultan, Qutuz. The attitude of the new Mamluk sultan toward the Mongols was demonstrated early in 1260 when Hulagu's ambassador to Cairo demanding Qutuz's submission was murdered and the order to prepare to march against the Mongols was given.

No further confrontation took place until the summer, when, at the end of July, Qutuz led his troops to Gaza, where they overwhelmed the small Mongol garrison.[284] Duly warned of the Egyptian advance, Kitbogha then prepared to march into the Jordan Valley but was seriously delayed by an uprising in Damascus. At that point Qutuz requested permission from the barons in Acre to lead his troops through the Latin Kingdom and to provision his army en route.[285] The high court met to discuss the matter. A variety of opinions were voiced: The Franks were obviously wary of the Muslim forces, but they were also wary of the Mongols – and unhappy with Bohemond VI, their ally – for what was viewed as his unseemly friendship with the Eastern Christians, with the Armenians, and especially with the Greek Orthodox in Antioch. In the end it was decided to allow Qutuz to make his march, and he even camped in the orchards outside Acre for several days. Several of the important emirs were even invited into the city and Baybars is said to have entered the city in disguise, as a spy, at this time.[286] Indeed, the Franks were somewhat alarmed by the size of the Egyptian army, one that was clearly powerful enough to attack Acre successfully had the order been given. In hindsight, this army was a scary predecessor of the great army of al-Ashraf Khalil in May 1291. But Qutuz was concentrating on the Mongols, who now moved into eastern Galilee.

Hearing of Kitbogha's advance, Qutuz marched southeastward reaching Ain Jalud, "the fountain of Goliath," on 2 September. Ain Jalud is located a few miles west of Belvoir, southeast of Mount Tabor – both of which were then in Muslim hands – and northwest of Baisan. Strange to say, Ain Jalud is not so far from the battlefield of Hattin, where another decisive battle was fought in Galilee in 1187. On 3 September 1260, Mongol forces made contact with the vanguard of the Mamluks commanded by Baybars, while the main Muslim army under Qutuz remained secluded. When the Mongols attacked, Baybars retreated, drawing them into a trap. Surrounded by the large Mamluk army, the Mongols were defeated after desperate fighting; few survived.[287] Kitbogha himself was captured and killed.

The battle of Ain Jalud on 3 September 1260 was one of the pivotal battles in Near Eastern medieval history. From this point on, the Mongols were gradually but steadily diminished as a threat to Syria-Palestine, and the victorious Mamluks began their relentless pressure on the Crusader States. They were to be the dominant power in the Levant for the next two hundred years. The Mamluk ascendency effectively began following the victory at Ain Jalud with the emergence of a powerful new ruler.

When the victorious Mamluk army was marching back into Egypt in October, Baybars treacherously murdered Qutuz while on a recreational hunting expedition.[288] Baybars was immediately recognized by the army as the new sultan on 23 October 1260, and he returned to Cairo to the acclaim of the people.[289] At that point the Mongols attempted to reenter Syria with an army sent by Hulagu to Aleppo. Then they marched to Homs, where a local Mamluk force made up of soldiers from Aleppo, Homs, and Hama scored a decisive victory over the Mongols on 10 December 1260.[290]

It would not be long before the Crusaders would discover an-Nasir Rukn ad-Din Baybars al-Bunduqdari eclipsed the Mongols as a threat. He would become the most efficient and ruthless Muslim foe they had ever encountered.[291] The ominous presence of Sultan Baybars on the scene begins to appear when he leads his army into Syria and attacks Damascus on 17 January 1261. There he defeats the upstart Mamluk emir Sinjar.[292] After establishing his power in Egypt and beginning now in Syria, he was nearing the time he would initiate direct military operations against the Latin Kingdom.

The difficulties for Christians in the Holy Land as the result of Baybars's presence, policies, and activities began even before he ordered any direct hostilities against them, however. When Baybars came to power as the new Mamluk sultan in Cairo,

> the truce eased and the whole land was at war, so that Christians who had gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem lost many of their people and much property, for when the emir in charge of the city heard of the sultan's [Qutuz's] murder, he had the city gates closed and strongly guarded so that no one could go in or out without his permission. Christians who had entered the city on pilgrimage were quite unable to leave it for a long period, but were detained there, because they would not allow anyone to leave.
>
> The Christians persevered and in the end, after much suffering, were allowed to go. As best they could and amid great dangers they returned all together to the Christians' territory by the sea. They were often attacked on the way and lost many of their people and possessions, and it was said for certain that all these attacks on them were made on orders of the emir of Jerusalem, to whom they had paid considerable sums, and by whose leave and safe-conduct they had gone to the Holy Sepulcher.[293]

Elimination of access to the holy places was of course a serious problem for not only Christian pilgrims, but also for Crusader and Muslim commerce, and it represented an ominous indication of how far Baybars and his emirs were prepared to go to punish the Crusaders.

Baybars himself was not yet interested in dealing with the Franks apart from his efforts to establish his power as sultan. Having consolidated his political and military position in Egypt and part of Syria, he also wished to have religious approbation from the caliph of Baghdad for his rule. To that end he recognized a new successor to the caliphate, a man named Abu'l Qasim Ahmad, who took the honorific title, al-Mustansir Billah, at the time of his installation as caliph of all Islam in Cairo, in June 1261.[294] Abu'l Qasim Ahmad was then sent with the important objective of wresting Baghdad, the traditional seat of the Abbasid caliphate, away from Mongol control. When he died in battle in the attempt, on 18 December 1261, one of his sons, Abu'l Abbas Ahmad, was eventually recognized as the new caliph. Taking the title al-Hakim, the new caliph was installed, again in Cairo, in November 1262, but Baghdad had still not been taken from Mongol control.[295] Cairo therefore became the seat of the caliphate and the new focus of Islam, by default. Viewed another way, Cairo was now the capital of Islam and the caliph was a court functionary of the Mamluk sultan. Hulagu and the Mongols were still a major threat to Baybars – and to the Crusaders – from the east.

In the face of major defeats at Ain Jalud (September 1260) and at Homs (December 1260), and now an open, if unsuccessful, Muslim assault on Baghdad (December 1261), the Mongols, commanded by Hulagu, meanwhile reorganized and prepared to mount a new attack on Syria. By April 1262, they were marching westward to Mosul and the Jazirah. Baybars immediately initiated a defensive scorched earth policy, ordering the grasslands to be burnt from Aleppo eastward for a distance of ten days' march toward Mesopotamia. He also mobilized and trained his troops; established a remarkable system of communications between Syria and Egypt, the *barid*;[296] and brought the independent Mamluk emirs of Kerak and of Aleppo under his control, thereby more or less completing his suzerainty over Ayyubid Syrian princes. He also proceeded to conduct a vigorous diplomatic campaign.[297]

Baybars's diplomatic activity had several goals, among which the most important were first to gain allies against the Mongols, second to protect himself against Crusader aggression, both small raids and major expeditions, and third to punish the Crusaders in the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch, as well as the Armenian king, who had treated with his enemies.[298] To deal with the Mongol threat, Baybars sought the support of Bereke Khan, leader of the Golden Horde of Kipchak Mongols, and Hulagu's main opponent in the western territories controlled by the Mongols. Bereke Khan had led the only faction in the Mongol civil war following the death of Mongka to oppose Hulagu successfully, but even more importantly, he was a Muslim, the only major Mongol commander to embrace Islam at this time. Bereke Khan not only constituted a real threat to Hulagu and the Il-Khanids in Persia and northern Iraq, but also he controlled the Kipchak steppe territory, which was the primary recruiting ground of Mamluk soldiers for Baybars. In seeking other powerful allies, Baybars was characteristically ambitious, arranging amicable relations with the new Byzantine emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus, and with the Hohenstaufen leader, Manfred, governor of Sicily, partly to learn of plans for new Crusades from the West.[299] In 1264 he even received an embassy from Manfred's enemy, Charles of Anjou, in Cairo.[300]

In regard to the Crusaders and the Armenians, Baybars had especially resented the alliance of Bohemond VI and King Hetoum with the Mongols against the Mamluks at the time of the battle of Ain Jalud. Hetoum, of course, had visited the great khan, Mongka, personally at Karakorum years before, in 1253, the first Christian ruler to do so. Like Louis IX, Hetoum had sought to enlist the khan's aid in ridding the Holy Land of Islam. Hetoum returned to Cilicia in 1256 with promises of assistance that he used to attempt to win over the support of the Crusader leaders. Only Bohemond VI was interested; Bohemond VI was, of course, married to a daughter of Hetoum, Sibylla. As long as the Mongols were victorious, the Armenians were the beneficiaries of this alliance, and Armenian soldiers fought with the Mongols in various campaigns, but after the Mongols were defeated at Ain Jalud in September 1260, the Armenians and their Crusader ally, Bohemond VI, eventually became a particular target of Baybars's wrath.[301]

In the autumn of 1261 Baybars ordered his troops to attack Aleppo and began to conduct raids in the territory of Antioch. Meanwhile Hetoum, seeing the threat of war looming ahead, attempted to negotiate with Baybars without success. The Crusaders were little more successful, because now one of their major weaknesses became glaringly apparent. Whereas during the residency of Louis IX, foreign policy was conducted by the king, after 1254 the authority of the crown was seriously fragmented and royal standing was undermined by a lack of presence. The result was that in 1261 the great lords and the military orders were conducting negotiations not only on behalf of the states of Tripoli and Antioch and the Latin Kingdom, but also on their own behalf. So when Baybars and his army arrived in Syria, representatives of the Frankish lords came to him, including delegates from the counts of Jaffa and Beirut, and from the military orders.[302] Seizing the opportunity to divide and conquer, Baybars gave all of the representatives a hard time. Although he eventually agreed to renew the truce arranged by the last Ayyubid sultan of Damascus, an-Nasir Yusuf, with the Latin Kingdom, he maintained that the Franks were not honoring its terms. Ibn al-Furat describes the complicated array of embassies, always mentioning that the Crusaders brought gifts or that they sent large presents to the sultan, but unfortunately never mentioning specifically what those gifts might have been.[303]

In the following year, 1262, Baybars conducted further operations against the northern Crusader territory, including the port of St. Simeon, which was sacked.[304] When the city of Antioch itself came under attack, Hetoum was forced to appeal to his Mongol allies. Hulagu sent a force in timely fashion, and, together with Armenian soldiers, they fought off the Mamluk assault.[305] Antioch was saved on this occasion, but it would only be a matter of time before the Mamluks attacked again. For the Crusaders the truce was viewed as, indeed it was hoped to be, a genuine protection against major Muslim invasion. For Baybars, however, so far it was simply an instrument to provide him with the opportunity to organize his troops for an effective attack in order to punish the Crusaders for their past transgressions. Muhi al-Din records that foremost among the reasons Baybars found it necessary to attack the territory of the Franks, was their repeated breaking of the terms of the truce.[306]

In 1263 Baybars returned to Syria, and once again the Crusader representatives arrived in his camp. The truce was renewed, and John of Jaffa obtained promises of an exchange of prisoners. Incredibly, however, the Templars and the Hospitallers would not give up their Muslim prisoners.[307] On the basis of this provocation, the Mamluks broke off discussions and marched into Crusader territory, where they camped outside of Tyre. In late March, as punishment for their breaking the truce, Baybars "gave orders that the church of Nazareth should be demolished, this being the most important place of worship for them; it is said that the religion of the Christians had its origin there. He sent there the emir 'Izz al-din Amir-Jandar who razed it to the ground. None of the Franks dared to come out of the gates of 'Akka and they did not utter a single word. Then he dispatched the emir Badr al-din Aidumuri with a body of troops, and they went towards 'Akka and carried out raids as far as its gates."[308] The church was completely destroyed, as the fragments of mostly broken sculpture excavated in the twentieth century attest, but the shrine of the Annunciation, the grotto of the Incarnation itself, was apparently left standing.[309] How different Baybar's brutal policy is by contrast to that of Saladin, who would not harm the Church of the Holy Sepulcher when he captured Jerusalem in 1187!

Following this operation, Baybars attacked Acre, an assault recorded in both the Noailles Continuation and the *Annales de Terre Sainte* and described at length by Muhi al-Din. On 14 and 15 April Baybars damaged the surrounds of the city: "they burned all the towers and walls which were situated in the neighbourhood of 'Akka and cut down the trees and burned the fruits, so that people saw nothing but smoke or raised dust, glittering swords, and sharp shining spearpoints. The army went to the gates of 'Akka, fighting and taking prisoners, so that within an hour a number of Frankish counts and horsemen were killed, a number were captured with their horses, and their leaders were wounded and danger encompassed them."[310] The *Annales* described the Mamluk army as numbering thirty thousand horsemen.[311] The Crusaders suffered some serious casualties, including Geoffrey de Sergines, who was wounded outside the walls.[312] Baybars decided not to press this siege – the Muslim hinterland was still too dependent on Acre economically for any drastic action – but he had served notice that he was a very serious threat.[313] Could the Crusaders meet his challenge?

That Baybars was a ferocious enemy the Crusaders were only beginning to learn, but he was also concerned to be a pious Muslim. Ten days after his attack on Acre he left Tyre and went to Jerusalem. Muhi al-Din writes: "he reached Jerusalem on Friday and visited the [Muslim] Holy Places. He and the Shaikh of the sanctuary climbed up to the dome which was on the Rock, by the outer side. He himself inspected those parts which needed repairs, and saw all himself. He went and saw these sacred places, after which he performed the Friday prayer and gave alms. He looked into the affairs of the waqfs and the registration of their revenue and expenditure. He gave written orders for the protection of the waqfs, saying also that whatever be demanded from Syria for repairs should be sent quickly."[314] The Crusader embellishment of Jerusalem had ended, and now the Mamluk phase of its artistic and architectural development began. The patronage of the Mamluk sultan initiated here in Jerusalem by Baybars, is then emulated by his successors, especially al-Nasir Muhammad, in embellishing Jerusalem with works of art, pious Muslim foundations and important Mamluk architecture.[315]

Meanwhile Baybars carefully watched Hulagu and his Mongol army to the east. He maintained the best relations with Bereke, chief of the Golden Horde in the Volga Valley, and with the Seljuk Turks of Rum, to protect his northeastern Syrian territory. In fact we have an extraordinary description of the lavish attention he gave to the envoys from Bereke in July 1263, after Baybars returned from his Syrian campaign that year. Not only did he welcome the envoys of Bereke with special Muslim honors, such as inserting the Mongol khan's name in the *khutba*, "a unique sign of diplomatic recognition,"[316] but he also sent lavish gifts to his Mongol ally as recorded by Muhi al-Din. It is worth quoting the array of presents as typical of a high-level diplomatic mission. The following special offerings were prepared:

> A Holy Qor'an, said to have been transcribed by 'Uthman ibn 'Affan (may God be pleased with him) enclosed in a case of red satin embroidered with gold, over which was a leather cover lined with striped silk, and a stand for it encrusted with carved ivory and ebony with a silver latch and a silver lock; a great quantity of finished Venetian cloth, prayer carpets and other carpets of diverse colours, coloured Levantine robes, several leather cushions, leather sheets for making tents, a large number of tables intended to hold chandeliers, Qaljuri swords with silver hilts, gilded iron clubs and others, Frankish helmets with silver collars, painted shields, lamps with Venetian shades, polished bowls for candles with shades, silver lamps with Venetian shades, a sufficient number of small saws made like spears for silver lamps, a double candlestick the base of which was wholly inlaid with metal, bridles inlaid with metal, the tops being threaded through with silver-ornamented rope, silver jackets inlaid with gold, well-ornamented cruppers, felt-covers, saddles from Khwarizm complete with cushions, Russian-leather bags threaded through with strings and silver ribbons, cross bows from Damascus with strings of silk, arbalests with their strings, arbalests made of the skins of dappled monkeys, silver-encrusted chandeliers, reeds of Qana wood with points of Arabian iron, exquisitely fashioned arrows in leather-bound boxes, stone cauldrons, large gilded lamps, banners with silver gilt chains, slaves, young kitchen girls, numerous marvelous parrots, excellent race horses, a sufficient numbers of Arab cloaks, rare Nubian dromedaries, swift beasts of burden, well-trained monkeys, a sufficient number of saddles for the dromedaries, bridles with chains, coverings for the mules, Chinese silk coverlets for the monkeys, giraffes with red-dyed and painted coverings. A large number of each kind was sent; besides these many new, rare, extraordinary and pretty things, the like of which were not to be found in the treasury of a great king, accompanied by slaves and men who would take care of these animals. All these were entrusted to the ambassadors of the sultan and he gave special attention to this, for all these gifts were in the interest of Islam.[317]

The array of objects is dazzling, meant to reflect a powerful ruler who commanded extensive resources, and we rarely have a list so complete. It is not surprising that a beautiful book and its accoutrements, in this case a Koran, for the Muslim khan would occupy the place of honor. The religious and military objects are important and expectable components of the ensemble. The objects included are fascinating, notable among which are the Frankish helmets, probably recycled diplomatic gifts or possibly even handsome captured specimans;[318] the numerous Venetian things, apparently acquired through trade; and even Chinese coverlets, acquired from commerce along the silk road. It is perhaps surprising that no Byzantine objects are clearly identifiable. We can imagine the fine metalwork for locks, chandeliers, candlesticks, swords, bowls, and lamps. Finally, the exotic birds and animals – parrots, camels, horses, mules, monkeys, giraffes – form a remarkable menagerie to serve courtly interests in sport, spectacle, and practicality. Some of the objects are, however, extremely odd, and one wonders whether the chronicler was embellishing the list somehow. In any case, these gifts, taken together with the seventy-page letter that Baybars sent to the khan, indicate the importance the Mamluk sultan attached to this embassy. Although we could expect that Louis IX would have made and received diplomatic gifts on this level, it seems perhaps less likely that the resident Crusader leaders ever saw such a lavish ensemble from Baybars.

Secure in his alliance with Bereke, Baybars could now proceed to strengthen his position in Syria, while continuing to monitor Hulagu and his Mongol army to the east. The Crusaders were apparently powerless to avert his impending attacks. The skirmishes they fought with Mamluk troops on the borders continued through 1264, but produced no important results. In January the Templars and Hospitallers captured the Castle of Ligon at Megiddo, southeast of Carmel. In June they conducted a raid down to Ascalon, during which they killed thirty Mamluks and returned with no losses themselves. Later on, in November, they also made an attack on Baisan.[319] These forays seemed to be somewhat randomly organized without any overall strategy behind them. As raids they accomplished nothing important militarily, but they did not fail to gain the notice of Baybars. He retaliated with a heavy attack on the Crusader Kingdom in the region of Caesarea.[320]

Meanwhile, on October 2, Pope Urban IV died after only three years in office, August 1261 to October 1264. As the former patriarch of Jerusalem, James Pantaleon, the new Pope Urban IV, had a strong interest in aiding the Latin Kingdom, and he knew what needed to be done. He worked with all deliberate speed to fill open positions in the Crusader hierarchy and in 1262 appointed an able man, William of Agen, to become the new patriarch. William's very appointment giving him administrative control of the see of Acre was yet another symbolic step backward, however, indicating that the goal of retaking Jerusalem was receding further and further from reality. William was also granted legatine powers in the Latin East in 1263, making him the pope's sole representative with power over both the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch. William of Agen proved to be an important church leader when political leadership for the Latin Kingdom was so fragmented. With the papal backing of Urban IV, more money was raised to support the cost of the defense of the kingdom, mainly through a tithe started in 1263 and continued for five years.

The next pope, Clement IV, was elected promptly in October 1264, and he continued his predecessor's staunch support of the Latin Church in the Crusader East.[321] Unfortunately, despite his best efforts and those of patriarch William, events of the next few years, which would have a disastrous effect on the Latin Kingdom as well as the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch, were triggered by a death in far-off Mongol territory.

On 8 February 1265, Hulagu, grandson of Ghengiz Khan, died. He was buried on an island in Lake Urmia, east of Tabriz. Although his devoted Nestorian chief wife, Doquz Khatun, no doubt offered Christian prayers for her husband, his burial rites were in the Mongol tribal tradition, including the last recorded human sacrifices in a funeral for a figure descended from Ghenghiz Khan: Young courtesans were interred with him and his riches in barbaric splendor.[322] With the great Hulagu now removed from power and the Mongols faced with finding a successor, Baybars could proceed with his plan to attack and ultimately eradicate the Crusaders.

The sultan had marched into Syria in January of 1265 with the ostensible purpose of protecting his northern and northeastern borders along the Euphrates from Mongol incursions. Baybars is known, however, to have made superior intelligence gathering and excellent communications a high priority during his sultanate.[323] His information must have been good about developments in Mongol territory – perhaps he had even had informants at Hulagu's last *kuriltay* near Tabriz in July 1264 – and his plans must have been long prepared. News of Hulagu's death had hardly arrived in Syria when he ordered the Mamluk army to attack not the Mongols who were no longer a threat, but the Franks. In contrast to the sporadic raids the Crusaders had marshaled against him in the past, Baybars now launched systematic campaigns each year, with devastating effect.

In 1265 Baybars's first objective was Caesarea.[324] He attacked and captured the town immediately, despite the new walls that Louis IX had built, on 27 February. Retreating to the citadel of the city, the Crusaders held out for another week. Ibn al-Furat reports:

> This citadel, known as al-Khadra (the Green), was one of the most strongly fortified and finest of its kind. For Louis had had granite pillars carried there which he had arranged with skill. No finer construction was to be seen in al-Sahil, nor any stronger or loftier, for round it was the sea whose water flowed in its moats. It could not be mined because of the granite columns used crosswise in its construction, and even were it undermined it would not fall. However, the Muslims continued to attack it, bombarding it with their mangonels. At one moment the Sultan would be shooting arrows from the top of a church[325] in front of the citadel, at another, he would mount and plunge into the sea waves to fight. Siege engines and moving towers were constructed....
>
> The Sultan remained steadfastly at the front of the fighting. He... stayed in the church with a company of crossbowmen, shooting away and preventing the Franks from climbing to the top of the citadel. At times he would go on one of the siege engines fitted with wheels, being drawn along beneath it up to the walls where he could see the saps for himself. One day, he was found with a shield in his hand and by the time he returned, there were a number of arrows stuck in it.

Eventually the garrison surrendered, on 5 March. The sultan began the work of demolition, "taking a pick-axe in his hand, he started on this work himself. Seeing him, the Muslims imitated him, setting to work themselves, while he took part in this himself with his own hands, getting a coat of dust."[326]

While this attack was in progress, Baybars sent out detachments of his men to conduct raids on Baisan and on Acre. The Crusaders did not seem to understand his strategy; Frankish sources, such as the Noailles Continuation and the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, hardly say anything about Caesarea, claiming it was taken by treason, and focus more on the attack on Acre, which was only a probing, diversionary action. Meanwhile, when the operation at Caesarea was complete, Baybars sent part of his army up to Haifa, which he captured quickly and also demolished. He personally moved up to 'Atlit with another force. The Templar castle was heavily defended, and Baybars had another objective in mind, farther south, but the sultan was able to burn the village outside the city walls at 'Atlit before his army reformed and marched southward to Arsuf.[327]

At the end of March, the Sultan appeared unexpectedly at Arsuf, which was his next real objective.[328] Here there was a sizeable force of Hospitaller knights, but Baybars was prepared for a long siege. The Hospitallers fought bravely for several weeks, but the lower town fell on 26 April. Three days later, on 29 April, the citadel surrendered. The *Annales de Terre Sainte* claims that 410 Hospitallers ["freres"] were captured along with others, and all were taken to Egypt and put in prison. Before they left, Baybars forced the prisoners to assist in demolishing the walls of the city. The sultan concluded his program at Arsuf by deeding land to the emirs who had fought with him in this campaign. Ibn al-Furat quotes the wording of the certificate and records the names of the fifty-eight emirs and three other high officials who were given conquered territory. He concludes by saying, "The back of the Franks' power was now broken, their affairs were in disarray, their endeavors frustrated, and wailing attended the herald of their destruction."[329]

The loss of these two fortresses, Caesarea and Arsuf, "horrified the Franks, and inspired the Templar troubadour, Ricaut Bonomel, to write a bitter poem complaining that Christ seemed now to be pleased by the humiliation of the Christians."[330]

Fortresses of Crusaders were indeed falling to the Mamluks, and the borders of the Latin Kingdom were shrinking; the *Gestes des Chiprois* and the Noailles Continuation report that Muslim held territory could be seen from the city of St. Jean d'Acre in 1265.[331] But Acre was still strong despite the internal disputes. Hugh of Antioch was the newly designated regent following the death of Isabel of Cyprus in 1264; he had only recently been chosen, and he arrived at the end of April with reinforcements from Cyprus when he heard news of the Mamluk invasion.[332] Baybars noted the situation when he left Arsuf on 11 May, retiring to Cairo at the completion of his campaign.

Meanwhile Louis IX faithfully continued to support the French Regiment in Acre financially, and other independently financed Crusaders also appeared. Among the latter, the celebrated knight, Eudes, count of Nevers, arrived on 20 October 1265 with his substantial supporting entourage.[333] Jonathan Riley-Smith identifies the following in his household group: four knights, nine sergeants, five crossbowmen, four turcopoles, three chaplains, eight squires, and thirty-two servants.[334] Additional prominent knights sailed with Count Eudes, for example, Erard de Valery and Erard de Nanteuil, with many other soldiers.

In the Crusader States to the north, Bohemond attempted his own military action against the Mamluks later in the year. In mid-November he assembled his men along with knights of the Templars and the Hospitallers and attempted to carry out a raid against the emir of Homs. Apparently trying to ford the Orontes, he was attacked by the Muslims before he could cross the river and driven back deep into his own territory.[335] Bohemond VI was one of the former vassals of Hulagu, who along with King Hetoum of Armenia had attended the last *kuriltay* of the Mongol khan in 1264. Baybars was anxious to deal with him because of what he viewed as Bohemond's treacherous ties to the Mongols, but he was even more intent on dealing with Hetoum, who was allied even more strongly with the Mongols.

The year 1265 had been a good one for Baybars, one in which he had seen his greatest threat removed, in the person of the Mongol khan, Hulagu. Accusing the Franks of breaking their truce, he had also begun serious military action against them. With a series of remarkable victories, the Mamluks had taken Caesarea, Haifa, and Arsuf, thereby isolating the Crusader enclaves of Jaffa and 'Atlit from Acre along the southern coast of the Latin Kingdom. The following year, 1266, would provide him with additional successes against the Latin Kingdom, Tripoli, and also Cilician Armenia. Now pursuing a policy of yearly campaigns against the Crusader States, the sultan prepared his soldiers to march into Syria again.

During the winter of 1265–6, Baybars observed the Mongols occupied by a struggle for power between Bereke and Hulagu's designated successor, his son Abaga. With the Mongols neutralized on his northern and northeastern Syrian borders, his attention turned to the campaign against the Crusaders and their allies, the Armenians. After the rainy season the sultan divided his troops into two sections for his next assault. In June 1266 Baybars, personally leading one army, arrived in the Latin Kingdom. Continuing his practice of keeping pressure on the Crusader capital, he again appeared outside of Acre. After assessing his options, verifying Crusader strength at Acre, recently reinforced, and forcing the Crusaders to maintain a strong garrison there, his army then threatened Montfort, the headquarters of the Teutonic Knights in the hills a few miles east and a little northeast of Acre. His real target was, however, the enormous Templar fortress of Safed, due east of Montfort, which had been rebuilt starting in 1240.[336] After twenty years of work, Benedict of Alignan, the pilgrim bishop who had inspired its reconstruction, returned to Palestine in 1260 to see it standing heavily fortified with formidable outer works including ditches and seven major towers.[337] It also featured a centralized church, which like that at Chastel Pelerin ('Atlit) was possibly built as a response to the loss of the Templar headquarters in Jerusalem and the Templum Domini.[338] This church was said to be a domed octagon with niches. In the tower of the citadel there was also the statue of St. George, reported by Ibn al-Furat. This was the castle that Baybars now attacked forcefully, repeatedly, on July 7, July 13, and July 19. After these assaults he offered amnesty to the native local troops, but not to the Templars. Some of the native troops began to desert. Eventually the Templars attempted to arrange a surrender with the guarantee of a safe passage out to the coast. When Safed was turned over to the Mamluks, however, Baybars claimed the Templars had broken the terms of the treaty, and therefore they were condemned to die. All but two were decapitated. It was a chilling reminder of what a fierce enemy the Crusaders faced in the person of this Mamluk sultan.[339]

The conquest of the large and important castle at Safed enabled Baybars effectively to take control of Galilee. His troops did not demolish Safed the way they dealt with other captured castles, but instead he provisioned and equipped it and installed a large garrison there. "At this time, the Sultan went up to the citadel to pray in the tower.... There he saw a large idol of which the Franks had been used to say that the citadel was under its protection – they had called it Abu Jurj (George). He ordered that it should be torn out and smashed, and the place was purified of it, its site being turned into a mihrab."[340] Thereafter, late in July, he took Toron quite easily along with Hunin, two smaller castles just north of Safed, leaving the Litani river valley open to the Mamluks. Eventually he also attacked and destroyed the Christian village of Qara, a Syrian city to the east between Homs and Damascus, north of the Monastery of Saidnaya. Word was that Muslims were being captured at Qara and sold as slaves by the Crusaders.[341] Apparently because of his destruction, few fragments of local Christian fresco painting from this period survive in Qara.[342]

Meanwhile, the Armenian king, Hetoum, fearing an assault, had gone to Tabriz to enlist Mongol aid, but he was too late. While he was gone, the Mamluks attacked. The second Mamluk army, commanded by Kalavun and including the troops of al-Mansur of Hama, left Homs and at first marched eastward, toward Tripoli, taking several towns including Arqa, before turning north. Bypassing the Templars at Baghras and the main Armenian force led by the sons of Hetoum, Leo and Thoros, in the south at the Syrian Gates, the Mamluks entered Cilicia farther north by crossing the mountains through the Amanus gates just north of Sarvantikar. Marching into the Cilician plain, a major battle was fought on 24 August. The outnumbered Armenians led by the constable of the kingdom, Sempad, were overwhelmed; Thoros was killed, and Leo was taken prisoner. Thereafter the kingdom was pillaged and destroyed. Kalavun sacked the main cities in the south, including Tarsus; al-Mansur marched northward to the capital city: "Sis and its chief church were given to the flames, the tombs of the kings and princes violated, and their bones torn from this last resting place, burned, and scattered as ashes to the winds."[343] For more than three weeks the Muslims wreaked havoc on Cilicia unopposed. When Hetoum finally did arrive late in September, accompanied by a detachment of Mongol troops, his heir was captive, his capital was in ruins, and the whole country was devastated. Eventually Hetoum was able to liberate Leo from the Mamluks, but only with major concessions and some complicated diplomacy.[344] With this victorious campaign, Baybars eliminated the Cilician kingdom as a political and military factor for the duration of the Crusader period.

After these major operations, the Mamluks actually tried to mount an assault on Antioch in the fall, but without success. Antioch, along with Tripoli and Acre, were ultimately the major objectives for Baybars. It would only be a matter of time before Baybars would regroup and prepare his forces to attack Antioch again. In the face of these losses, the Crusaders attempted a retaliatory attack against the Mamluks in October. The regent, Hugh of Antioch, assembled a force of Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights, which, along with the French regiment, invaded Galilee marching by way of Tiberias, but apparently with a counterattack on Safed as their goal. The Mamluk garrison at Safed defeated the vanguard of these troops on 28 October and the main army was forced to retreat with heavy losses. This action demonstrated that the Crusaders seemed increasingly powerless to mount a serious attack on Baybars and his Mamluk army reinforced by local Arab troops. Meanwhile in August, Eudes, count of Nevers, died; his tomb became an important shrine. At the end of the year the Crusaders also suffered the loss of one of their most important local barons. John of Ibelin, lord of Jaffa, died in December 1266. He is best-known for having written the *Livre des Assises* in the 1260s, a major treatise on the laws and customs of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, but he had also served as regent and was related by marriage to John of Joinville, who admired him for "his wisdom, courage and foresight."[345] The Crusaders could ill afford to lose leaders of this stature as Baybars was increasing the pressure on the Crusader States.[346]

Baybars had once again scored major victories during the 1266 campaign, which included taking control of Galilee; conquering the central part of the County of Tripoli and thereby separating Crac des Chevaliers, Chastel Blanc, and Tortosa from the city of Tripoli; and removing the kingdom of Cilicia as a political and military factor in the region. His only major problem was beyond his control. His Mongol ally, Bereke, died late in 1266, leaving Hulagu's successor, Abaga, again as a threat to the northeast. Baybar's reaction was to prepare his army to return immediately to the attack in order not to lose the momentum he had gained. Unfortunately for the Crusaders, 1267 provided Baybars with time to prepare for his next major attacks on the Crusader States, and the campaign of 1268 would make it one of his most successful expeditions against them.

Before the Mamluks could continue operations against the Crusaders, they had to secure their northern border in Syria. In March of 1267, Abaga and his Mongol army appeared at al-Bira, the modern Birejik, on the Euphrates River. Baybars marched his army into Syria to make a show of force and the Mongols withdrew. In April he then moved to Safed and established his camp. There the Mamluks continued the rebuilding and fortification of the castle to make it a major garrison for operations against the Crusaders. Farther south Baybars also ordered the walls of Arsuf rebuilt, and Qaqun, southeast of Caesarea, was fortified, both to serve as Mamluk bases.[347] By May Baybars was ready to conduct a raid on Acre. Using Templar and Hospitaller banners he had captured at Arsuf and Safed in previous campaigns, he marched on the capital city. Disguised by the Crusader banners, his army was nearly able to reach the walls undetected, but when the ruse was discovered the Crusaders successfully fought them off. Frustrated by this repulse, in mid-May the Mamluks ravaged the environs of Acre.[348] Baybars "scorched-earth" policy of devastation was one of his most effective weapons in terms of both strategic and psychological warfare.

It must have been about this time that Baybars also marched to Tripoli. For this Maqrizi reports that Baybars "marched on Tripoli and installed his camp in front of the city.... He began the battle against the inhabitants, and captured a fort which was located at this place. He massacred the Franks inside it. The soldiers hurled themselves at the people in the mountains and captured enormous booty. They put numerous defenders to the sword, and brought the booty and the prisoners before the sultan. The sultan ordered the prisoners to be killed, the trees to be cut down, the churches to be destroyed, and the booty to be divided up among his soldiers." This passage has been largely overlooked, but H. Salamé-Sarkis believes this refers to the fact that Baybars conquered the major castle of Mont Pelerin, or Qal'at Sanjil, located in the hills about three miles inland from the walled city of Tripoli on the coast, during 1267, that is, twenty-two years before the city of Tripoli would eventually fall to his successor.[349]

Meanwhile Baybars was actively conducting diplomatic relations with various Crusader groups separately, which demonstrated a dangerous fragmentation among the Crusaders that enabled him to pursue a damaging policy of "divide and conquer." In the spring and summer he made separate treaties with Philip of Montfort at Tyre, the lord of Beirut, and the Hospitallers. The Hospitallers had been negotiating with the sultan since 1266, but the recent destruction of their mill at Recordane outside Acre had apparently spurred them to finalize an agreement. The terms of the Hospitaller truce survive in detail, which gives us a remarkable glimpse of the entanglements that Baybars was skillfully constructing. The main area with which this truce was concerned was located to the north of Acre; it stretched from the Syrian towns of Homs, Shayzar, and Hama on the Orontes River to the west where the Hospitaller castle of Crac des Chevaliers commanded access to the coast. The surprising feature of this truce was that the Hospitallers and the Mamluk sultan agreed to hold this territory as condominium land, which meant that revenues from this land would be shared equally, implying also that they would share sovereignty. The truce has thirty-four detailed clauses and states that "it shall not be abrogated by the death of either party, nor by the death of a king or master until the end of the said period, viz. ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours beginning on this day."[350] The Hospitallers entered here into a truce as a separate Crusader entity on an equal basis with the sultan, thus giving the sultan leverage to regulate this diplomatic arrangement as he saw fit, along with other such arrangements with other Crusaders.

It is a further commentary on the disorganized state of the Latin Kingdom that after the Mamluk raid on Acre, the residual hostility between the Genoese and the Venetians flared out into open conflict once again. On 17 August a Genoese fleet attempted to capture the harbor at Acre, and for approximately two weeks there was fighting in the city with substantial damage. The stables of the Hospitallers were even burned down. In the midst of the conflict the Genoese commander took half of his ships to Tyre for repairs and reinforcements. Unfortunately for the Genoese, during the interim a strong Venetian fleet arrived at Acre, destroying a number of the remaining Genoese ships and forcing the rest of their fleet to flee back to their base at Tyre.[351]

Baybars observed these developments in the Latin Kingdom as he made plans for 1268. Before he left Syria to return to Cairo he was content to inspect his newly reconstructed castles and their garrisons at Safed in Galilee, and along the coast south of Acre, at Qaqun and Arsuf, moving through these former Crusader territories at will. The year 1267 had seen no improvement in the Crusader military or political situation, and the Italian maritime cities were still resorting to open conflict on occasion, proving that although the War of St. Sabas was over in Acre, the issues underlying that war were still not solved in the larger Mediterranean world. From the Crusader point of view, at least Baybars had been repulsed making his third raid on Acre in as many years and had otherwise not attempted any major incursions on their territory. There were other, more hopeful developments as well. Amazingly Louis IX had once again taken the Cross on 24 March 1267, as the pope proclaimed a new Crusade, and preparations got underway in France. On 5 December, King Hugh II of Cyprus had died at age fourteen. As a result, the regent, Hugh of Antioch, took the throne.[352] On Christmas Day he was crowned Hugh III in Nicosia in the Church of St. Sophia. As the new king, Hugh III could assert his claim to be the active regent for the absentee Hohenstaufen, Conradin. How successful would he be? And what plans did Baybars have in store for future campaigns? The answers to these questions would be not long in coming.

The year 1268 opened for the Crusaders on an ominous note. In March Baybars marched into the Latin Kingdom from the south and launched a powerful attack on Jaffa. Jaffa was the only fortified Crusader position left south of 'Atlit and Acre itself, the home of the recently deceased John of Jaffa whom the Muslims had treated with respect. In Baybar's eyes, the truce that he had concluded with John of Jaffa did not extend to his son Guy. On 7 March the Mamluks unleashed their assault. The Crusaders were unprepared to fight and capitulated after a day's fighting with heavy casualties. The surviving garrison was, however, allowed safe passage to Acre. The citadel, recently rebuilt by Louis IX, was demolished.[353]

As part of the spoils of the battle at Jaffa, Baybars reportedly captured a relic of the head of St. George, which he apparently preserved, but he burned the body of St. Christine. Subsequently Baybars destroyed the castle, and certain spoils were said to have been sent to Cairo for the great new mosque that Baybars was building there.[354] This marks the first time we note the spoils of battle being transported to the Egyptian capital to be used for architectural construction.[355] The Crusader materials brought from Jaffa are not today identifiable on what remains of Baybars's mosque, but later buildings contain what are other earlier extant works from as yet unidentified Crusader sources. See, for example, the reliefs, probably dating from the twelfth century, placed on the entrance to the mosque, madrasah, and tomb of sultan Hasan[356] (Fig. 121, Chapter 5). Later we will also see that whole portions of Crusader buildings would be installed as trophies in Cairo as well.

From Jaffa, Baybars bypassed Acre and swiftly marched into Galilee. Due north of his fortifications at Safed and Toron, he targeted the castle of Beaufort. Beaufort, manned by the Templars, is located high on the ridge above the right bank of the Litani River, overlooking the valley. Because of its formidable natural site, Beaufort was difficult to attack directly, but Baybars launched his assault with siege engines, and after only ten days, on 15 April, the garrison surrendered. The women and children were allowed safe passage to Tyre, but the men were taken prisoner to serve as slaves. Like Safed and Toron, Beaufort was rebuilt and given a strong garrison of Mamluk soldiers.[357]

With these lightning strikes, Baybars had the Crusaders reeling and fearful of what might be next, they prepared for the worst. The fall of Beaufort left Tyre and Sidon open and vulnerable to attack. King Hugh III came quickly from Cyprus to organize the defense of Acre on 22 April. Baybars, however, always effectively using the element of surprise, moved quickly to a position outside Tripoli on 1 May. The Templars, having lost Beaufort, sent envoys to deflect the Mamluk army from their fortifications at Tortosa and Chastel Blanc [Safita]. Baybars ravaged the countryside around Tripoli for several days. Ibn al-Furat comments: "[Tripoli] used to resemble Damascus with its orchards, but its trees were cut down by Sultan Baibars in this year."[358] Seeing Bohemond VI was prepared for battle, the Mamluks suddenly marched away without anyone knowing in which direction they were headed. On 14 May Baybars appeared beneath the walls of Antioch.

With Bohemond VI in Tripoli, the defense of Antioch was led by Simon Mansel, his constable. Mansel led an expedition outside the walls on the first day and was captured by the Mamluks. He agreed to attempt to arrange a surrender of the city, so Baybars released him, holding his son as hostage. Mansel honorably made the case for surrender, but none of the Antiochenes would listen. Ibn al-Furat says, "they showed strength of mind was well as fear of their master, the Prince (Bohemond VI)." When no surrender was forthcoming, Baybars announced that his army was going to attack. Ibn al-Furat succinctly describes what happened:

> The troops surrounded the whole city and the citadel. The people of Antioch fought fiercely, but the Muslims scaled the walls by the mountain (Mt. Silpius) near the citadel and came down into the city. The people fled to the citadel, and the Muslim troops started to plunder, kill and take prisoners. Every man in the city was put to the sword – they numbered more than a hundred thousand.

Several thousand soldiers along with women and children were left in the citadel. A day after the city had fallen, they asked Baybars to spare their lives and let them be taken as prisoners. On Sunday, 20 May, Antioch surrendered to Baybars amid much carnage and a huge amount of booty.[359]

The fall of Antioch was a terrible blow to the Crusaders. Antioch had been taken in June 1098, some 170 years before, and had symbolized for the First Crusaders that the will of God was with them en route to Jerusalem. The principality of Antioch served as a Crusader bulwark against the Seljuk Turks, and it was a perpetual demonstration of Crusader defiance against the Byzantines who claimed it as their own. To this point Antioch had been one of the greatest cities in the eastern Mediterranean, but after its capture by the Muslims, it lost its importance militarily, politically, ecclesiastically, and commercially. Ibn al-Furat records a letter, remarkable for its irony, that he says Baybars sent to Bohemond VI explaining the situation as he saw it and as he wanted Bohemond to see it and clarifying much about Baybars's point of view:

> To the great Count Bohemond, whose title has been altered by his loss of Antioch from that of Prince to that of Count – may God inspire him to follow the right course, turn his purposes to good and cause him to remember His admonition. The Count knows what happened when we marched on Tripoli and attacked him in the middle of his own land. He knows what he saw after we left – the devastation..., the destruction..., how the men were killed, the children enslaved and the freeborn women taken as slaves, how the trees were cut and nothing left except what may serve – if God wills – as wood for mangonels.... You know how we left you – leaving only to return and postponing your fate.... You know how we rode off and left you and no news went ahead of us to your city of Antioch; we came there while you did not believe that we were far from you and (you thought) that even if we had gone we would presently return again.
>
> Now we tell you of what is accomplished and let you know of your all-embracing disaster. We marched away from you, leaving Tripoli on Wednesday, the 24th of Sha'ban (9 May), and encamped at Antioch on the first day of the month of Ramadan (15 May). As soon as we camped there, your army came out to challenge us to battle. There were defeated.... From amongst them the Constable (Simon Mansel) was captured. He asked to be allowed to consult your companions;.... They spoke with us, but we saw that they followed your counsel.... When we saw that they had lost their chance of escape and that God had decreed their death, we sent them back and said: "This hour we shall press the siege against you. This is the first warning and the last." So they returned, in imitation of your own behaviour, believing that you would come to them with your horse and your foot. Then.... Death came on them from all quarters. We took the city by the sword on the fourth hour of Satuday, the 4th of the month of Ramadan (19 May).... If you had seen your churches with their crosses broken and rent, the pages from the false Testaments scattered, the graves of the patriarchs rifled, your Muslim enemy trampling down the sanctuary;... had you seen these things, you would have said: "Would that I were dust. Would that no message had come to give me news of these things."
>
> This letter, then, gives you good news of the safety and prolongation of life that God has granted to you because you were not staying at Antioch at this time and you did not happen to be there. For (otherwise) you have been killed or captured, wounded or broken.... Perhaps God has granted you a delay only that you may make up for your past lack of obedience and service. Since no one escaped to tell you of what has happened, we have told you ourselves, and as there is no one who can give you the good tidings of your own safety and of the loss of the lives of the others, we have given you this account... of what has happened. After receiving this letter you should not disbelieve any information that we give you, and after what we have told you in our address, you need ask no informant to give you any other news.

According to ibn al-Furat, when this letter reached Bohemond, "he fell into a violent rage, as he had not heard the news about the city from any other source."[360] In contrast to this expansive account, the Crusader sources basically only report the event of this terrible catastrophe without comment. The *Annales de Terre Sainte* states tersely: "à xi jors de may, prist Bendocdar la cité d'Antioche." No Crusader chronicle contests this Muslim account of the fall of Antioch, and the helplessness that Bohemond was obviously meant to feel at the hands of Baybars must have been a bitter pill for him to swallow, but one he could do nothing about.

The impact of the loss of Antioch sent shock waves through the Crusader States and all over Europe. Not only was Antioch lost, but almost all the castles in the principality. Even the Templars, seeing they could no longer hold their position at Gaston (Baghras), withdrew southward to safety. The port of St. Simeon was now in Mamluk hands. The only pieces of the principality that survived were the isolated port city of Latakia on the coast, the large patriarchal castle of Qusair (Cursat) just south of Antioch, and Roche Roussel, a Templar castle far to the north. Fortunately for the Crusaders, Baybars paused after his great conquest at Antioch and allowed the Crusader regent, Hugh, to send envoys seeking a truce; Bohemond asked to be included. Both Hugh and Bohemond were no doubt grateful when Baybars granted them a cessation of hostilities for one year.[361]

Hugh of Antioch as regent was now in a difficult position. With the deaths of his mother, Isabella, and the youthful Hugh II in 1267, he had claimed the right to exercise Hugh II's regency for Conradin in Jerusalem against Hugh of Brienne, and eventually had won it, although Hugh of Brienne did not relinquish his claim.[362] Hugh of Antioch seems to have won it by showing his leadership in defending the Latin Kingdom when the need arose in 1265 and 1266, while serving then as regent for Hugh II while his mother was alive. He showed his mettle again in coming to Acre to take command as king of Cyprus in May 1268, organizing the defense of the city against Baybars on one hand and trying to defuse the fighting between the Venetians and the Genoese on the other. But his claim as regent for Conradin was also contested by Maria of Antioch.[363] Now his position as king of Cyprus and the military aid he could and did provide won the High Court to his side, even though technically, Maria's claim was stronger by virtue of relationship.

For Hugh to succeed he needed supporters and allies among the barons. His one reliable officer, Geoffrey of Sergines, had fallen seriously ill and eventually died in the spring of 1269. John of Arsur, the last of the important Ibelin barons, after John of Beirut (†1264) and John of Jaffa (†1266), died in 1268; the only Ibelin left with a major holding was Isabella of Beirut. Eventually Hugh sought to solidify his ties with the Ibelins by marrying Isabella of Brienne, daughter of Guy, the constable of Cyprus.[364] Hugh's further opportunity arose with the death of Conradin in far-off Sicily.[365]

On 29 October 1268, Conrad V, known as Conradin, the last legitimate descendent of Frederick II and Queen Isabel of Jerusalem, was beheaded in Naples at the order of Charles of Anjou. As a result forty-three years of Hohenstaufen – mostly absentee – claims to the crown of Jerusalem were now over. When the news of Conradin's violent death reached the Latin Kingdom, the Templar of Tyre reports that there was great rejoicing in Acre.[366] No doubt while the smoke of the fireworks was still in the air, Hugh claimed the throne as former regent and heir presumptive, but Maria of Antioch would not relinquish her claim. She persisted, with Templar support, despite being turned down by the High Court. After the coronation of Hugh III at Tyre on 24 September 1269 by the bishop of Lydda, acting for the patriarch, Maria registered a formal protest. She then sailed off to Rome to lay her claim before the pope as well. Eventually her case was allowed to be heard at the Council of Lyon in 1274, and ultimately in 1277, with papal assistance, she sold her claim to Charles of Anjou.[367]

With Hugh III as the resident king of Jerusalem and Cyprus, the Crusaders at least had the hope of an effective new leader to guide them in their struggle against Baybars and the Mamluks. Even with the new Crusade proclaimed in 1267, however, the question would be, could Hugh III reestablish internal unity to the Latin Kingdom? As Edbury states it, could "he be king of the entire realm, and not simply 'king of Acre' as Muslim writers called him . . . ?" Could he find a way to control the barons and the High Court, the military orders, and the Italian communes? In the respite offered by the truce with Baybars following the fall of Antioch in May 1268, the answers to these questions could only be guessed at. The future of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was very much in doubt, but at least there was a king of Jerusalem and a new Crusade on the horizon.

CONCLUSIONS

In the period 1244 to 1268 there can be no doubt that the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem underwent massive changes. Although terrible defeats were inflicted on the Crusaders in 1244, 1250, and in 1268, the presence of Louis IX in the Holy Land, in residence from 1250–4, had produced extremely positive results for the Latin Kingdom. After his departure, however, the shrinkage of the Latin East began in earnest in the 1260s with the loss of Constantinople and much of Frankish Greece and the rise of the sultan Baybars with his relentless campaigns in Syria-Palestine. In the Holy Land we can clearly see the pivotal shift from an offensive to a defensive posture on the part of the Crusaders after Louis IX returned to France. With the War of St. Sabas, fought openly among the Italian maritime communes, the kingdom was seriously weakened, its constituents dangerously fragmented. The frontiers of the Latin Kingdom began to shrink precipitously starting in 1265 in the face of repeated and persistent Mamluk campaigns aimed at major Crusader positions in the Latin Kingdom, the County of Tripoli, and the Principality of Antioch.

In view of the complicated and difficult political, economic, and military situation in the Crusader States between 1244 and 1268, where did things stand in this period with regard to the art and architecture? How had the important military defeats of 1244, 1250, and 1268 affected Crusader artistic developments? What impact did Louis IX have on the art and architecture of the Latin Kingdom during his four-year stay? What implications did the War of St. Sabas have for the patronage of artistic and architectural work in the Latin Kingdom in the late 1250s and 1260s? What threat did Baybars pose for the art and architecture of the Crusader States in mainland Syria-Palestine? Finally, what other aspects relevant to artistic development can be discerned from an examination of the historical record of the Crusader States in this period?

In regard to the major defeats that the Crusaders suffered in this period, they all had a serious negative effect on the development of Crusader art. Briefly stated, the Battle of La Forbie following the Khwarismian conquest of Jerusalem meant that the Holy City was now firmly in the possession of the Muslims. When the sultan Baybars later seized control in Cairo, this translated into the beginnings of active Mamluk patronage in Jerusalem, meant gradually to supercede what work the Crusaders had done there and to give it the stamp of a Muslim holy city, the third most holy site in Islam.

When Antioch was taken, we have seen from the accounts in Muslim sources what tremendous destruction was wreaked on the city and what vast booty was seized by the Mamluk army. The devastated condition of Christian monuments of Antioch as seen today apparently can be substantially traced back to the Mamluk conquest of 1268 and subsequent deterioration under Ottoman rule.

The one great positive contribution to the well-being of the Crusader States, and especially the Latin Kingdom, had of course been the residency of King Louis IX between 1250 and 1254. A number of important developments can be associated with his presence and patronage. Some are quite direct and specific. Louis IX was instrumental in sponsoring and constructing a major series of fortifications in the Latin Kingdom, at Acre, Caesarea, Haifa, Jaffa, and Sidon. He was, in other words, a truly major contributor to the defense of the realm, who spent more money on the military architecture of the Latin Kingdom than any other Crusader. Money for the Latin Kingdom was coming not only from church tithes for the Crusade, but also from his royal treasury. Men were coming to the Holy Land paid for by him, and along with those who came on the expedition of 1248–50, Louis IX also committed himself to sponsor a major contingent of soldiers, the French Regiment, to help protect the kingdom, and especially the capital city of Acre.

It is especially because of Louis IX that we also learn of another aspect bearing on the arts, which is of great importance. When Louis IX was in the Near East he engaged in vigorous diplomatic activity, interacting with a staggering array of diverse figures of great importance on the world stage. These people included, obviously and conspicuously, the Muslim sultans in Syria and Egypt, the Mongol khan, and the Latin Emperor in the East, among others, and, in the West, the pope, Frederick II, and other crowned heads of Europe. What we learn from the sources about these diplomatic activities is that ambassadorial missions normally included major gifts, and for an important mission to an important ruler, a major work of art might function as the centerpiece of these gifts. We have noted the gifts Louis IX sent to the Mongol khan, the gifts that Baybars sent to Bereke, the gift of the pallio that formed part of the Genoese treaty with the Byzantines in 1261. These examples show us the importance of these gifts, and indicate that we must be alert for their presence and function, as well as for the means of their production, throughout this period.

As part of Louis IX's presence in the Latin Kingdom, we are constantly impressed with the activity surrounding him at his court, wherever he was resident. It is significant, however, that he established his chancery and started his political, financial, religious, and diplomatic activities in Acre, which was the Crusader city best endowed with resources to provide him with the scribes and illuminators that he was accustomed to use to execute his commissions. Although Louis could not have drawn on the same artistic resources in Acre in the early 1250s as he had in Paris in the 1240s, he certainly must have stimulated vigorous artistic activity and, over the four years of his residency, drawn talent not only from local sources in Acre, and the Latin Kingdom, but also possibly from St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, from Constantinople, and from Cyprus, as well as Paris. If we estimate the king's needs based on his normal religious activity, and indicators such as the holdings of a major French count, such as Eudes de Nevers, Louis IX must have commissioned many manuscripts, with a number of them illustrated in Acre, for which he not only would have sponsored his own chancery and royal workshop, but also work of other, independent religious and possibly secular workshops as well.

Louis IX's religious dedication to the cause of the Crusade is a major and obvious feature of his activity in the Holy Land. His devout concern for the holy places, for observance of his own personal penance, for prayer and liturgy and the necessary accoutrements for praying and celebrating the Mass are a matter of record in all of the accounts of his personal life, in particular the account by John of Joinville on which we have relied most heavily. The fervor of Louis's religious ardor can be felt in the moral decisions he made, the policies he followed, the way he prayed for and participated in the Crusade, and his efforts to aid the Holy Land. He supported the change in coinage generated by the papal legate's complaints to the pope, resulting in a new Christian bezant. He sought to send forth the good news of Christ in his diplomatic gifts, hoping to win new converts for Christ among the Muslims. We may wonder what impressive works with religious content, if any, he sent to the Muslim sultans.

Finally, with Louis IX, we can see how he changed the posture and the nature of Acre as the Crusader capital politically, and we can expect to see some of the same changes artistically. Just as a new specifically French element was added to the Crusader presence by means of Louis IX, his Crusaders, and their activities in the Latin Kingdom, we can expect to see a new strong French link in the art, be it architecture, painting, sculpture, or metalwork. It remains to be seen just what configuration this new French element will take, but its strength and identity should not be in doubt. In fact, because of Louis IX, we can expect that what we identify as Crusader about the art of the Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom will change in the 1250s.

Following the four productive and stimulating years that the Latin Kingdom enjoyed with the presence of Louis IX to lead and strengthen the realm, it was unfortunate politically and economically for the Crusader States that affairs degenerated after his departure into a microcosm of the struggle being waged in the Mediterranean world by the Italian communes for commercial supremacy. In particular the War of St. Sabas and its aftermath left the Crusader States damaged physically, fragmented politically, and diminished economically. But the fact is that the prominence of these Italian maritime powers and the important role they played in the major Crusader ports, especially Acre, seemed to have an important stimulative effect on the artistic development of the Latin Kingdom that could not otherwise have been predicted in the face of the violence and destruction from their struggles. In this regard it is significant that the War of St. Sabas was won by the Venetians and the Pisans over the Genoese just at the time that panel painting in Italy was reaching a new and important level of production during the dugento. We shall see it is no surprise that the major artistic works of panel painting associated with Acre in the 1250s and 1260s reflect Tuscan, in this case mainly Pisan, and Venetian influence, but not Genoese traditions. We shall also not be surprised to find that during the serious fragmentation caused by the War of St. Sabas and its aftermath, Acre grows in importance as the heart of the kingdom and major Crusader center, with other significant cities growing less important, cities such as Tyre, Tripoli, and of course Antioch, which is eliminated as a Crusader capital.

The competition among the Italian communes never really ended, but the level of hostilities was significantly reduced in the Holy Land after the War of St. Sabas was fought in 1256–8, except for occasional flareups, such as that of 1267. What forced the Crusaders to pay more attention was, of course, the most serious threat to the Crusader States since the time of Saladin, in the person of the sultan Baybars and his Mamluk military forces. Baybars not only was a formidable adversary and a dominating – one can say even ruthless – military presence, but he also was supremely ambitious and motivated to exalt Islam and eliminate the Franks from Syria-Palestine. With this policy, his effect on the art of the Crusaders was not surprisingly mostly negative. He captured and demolished a whole series of major Crusader fortifications, some of which, including Caesarea, Jaffa, Arsur, Safed, had been erected by major figures such as Louis IX or Richard I or had been sponsored by major Crusaders such as Benedict of Alignan and his Templar associates. In a very few cases, the Crusaders would be able to recover these sites and rebuild them. In most cases, the Mamluks rebuilt them. This leads to an important consideration and indeed a major problem: How do we distinguish Crusader work, that is, Crusader design, masonry, and architectural techniques and materials, from Mamluk work in Syria-Palestine? A major effort to address this problem has been made in Jerusalem with the study of Mamluk Jerusalem by Michael Burgoyne and the architectural survey he conducted with other architects sponsored by the British School of Archaeology.[368] A similar effort is needed to understand how we can distinguish Mamluk work at major Crusader castles as well. A start has been made at Crac des Chevaliers, for example, but what about the many other fortifications rebuilt by the Mamluks and then later by the Ottomans? What, for example, are we looking at when we look at the current remains of the fortifications at Caesarea, said to have been constructed by Louis IX but also said to have been demolished by Baybars with the intention of making them unusable for the Crusaders?

Baybars for the most part focused his attention on military targets, but his interpretation of a military target extended to churches at strategic sites, and his destruction at Nazareth and Antioch was devastating. Only the excavations at Nazareth have yielded indications of the outstanding Crusader sculpture that was prepared for the Church of the Annunciation in the twelfth century, but mostly damaged when the church was destroyed in 1263. Excavations are needed at Antioch to attempt to find some of the major Christian buildings after the demolishments of 1268, and also later damage from earthquakes. As indicated earlier, however, it was also Baybars who identifiably started the active reuse of Crusader spolia in Mamluk Cairo, with his appropriation of materials from Jaffa for use in the new mosque he was building in the Egyptian capital starting in 1266.

In sum, it was obviously King Louis IX who had the most beneficial effect on the Latin Kingdom during this period. It was obviously Sultan Baybars who had the most negative effect. But in all cases, art was an important factor and played a major role. What is perhaps most surprising to note is that even the historical record suggests what extant artwork will demonstrate in the following section, namely, that the period of the 1250s and the 1260s was a much more active period for the art of the Crusaders than any other time after 1187. What irony that as the Crusader States go on the defensive and begin to shrink precipitously, artistic activity seems to expand and develop. What a paradox that major Crusader works of art are commissioned in a period that ends with a situation in which the days of the Crusaders in the Holy Land are numbered because of Baybars as the Mamluk sultan in Cairo.

THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS IN THE LATIN KINGDOM: *C.*1244–*C.*1268

Precíouse chose et digne est de plorer le trespassement de ce saint prince, qui si saintement et loialment garda son royaume, et qui tant de bèles aumosnes y fist, et qui tant de biaus establissemens y mist. Et ainsi comme l'escrivains qui a fait son livre, qui l'enlumine d'or et d'azur, enlumina lidiz roys son royaume de belles abaïes que il y fist, et de la grant quantitei de maisons Dieu et de maisons des Preescheours, des Cordeliers et des autres religions.

Jean, sire de Joinville

It is a pious duty, and a fitting one, to weep for the death of this saintly prince, who ruled his kingdom and kept guard over it so righteously and loyally, who was so generous in giving alms there, and who established there so many noble foundations. And as the scribe who, when producing a manuscript, illuminates it with gold and azure, so did our king illuminate his realm with the many fine abbeys he built there, the great number of hospitals, and the houses for [Dominicans], Franciscans, and other religious orders.

Jean, sire de Joinville

INTRODUCTION

The historical narrative of the developments in the Holy Land combined with the story of Louis IX's Crusade and residency in the Latin Kingdom raises a series of important issues related to the art and architecture produced for and by the Crusaders in this period.

1. Between 1250 and the late 1260s, considerable architectural work was carried out, as I have noted earlier in the chapter. Some of it involved new castle architecture on the largest scale at two of the biggest sites, Crac des Chevaliers and Safed, as well as smaller projects such as the one at Sidon. A great deal of the work was devoted to rebuilding city fortifications, at Acre, Caesarea, Haifa, Jaffa, and Sidon. The question arises again, however, of just how to identify the work done in this period in light of the heavy destruction wreaked by Baybars and other Mamluks after him. What, if anything, can be seen that is from this period in particular, other than what we have extant fragmentarily in Acre and at Caesarea? What are the important written sources that pertain to architectural work in this period?
2. When considering the patrons who were active in this period, there is no doubt that King Louis IX is the primary focus of attention. How active was he in commissioning and shaping architectural and artistic work during this period? What were his special concerns? What impact did his patronage have? Who else among the resident Crusaders or among the members of Louis's Crusade and other newcomers were active patrons as well?
3. Acre resumed its role as capital of the kingdom, both as the site of the high court and the residence of the *bailli*, in addition to the fact that Louis IX lived there for the first part of his residency in the Crusader States, from May 1250 to April 1251. Acre was disturbed, however, by significant turmoil among the Italian maritime powers after Louis's departure. To what extent does the realignment of power among those controlling the commerce of the Latin Kingdom, especially the Genoese, the Pisans, and the Venetians, affect the patronage of the arts? To what extent does the strengthened position of the Crusader feudal aristocracy appear as a factor in artistic patronage? What evidence is there that the presence of the French regiment, as a legacy of King Louis IX, stimulated artistic production in Acre? What artistic commissions, if any, can be associated with the most prominent of these soldiers, men such as Geoffrey of Sergines, *seneschal* of Jerusalem, and even with *bailli* or with independent wealthy knights such as Eudes, count of Nevers, who died in Acre in 1266?
4. The Latin hierarchy witnessed a change in their relationship with the rulers of the Latin Kingdom during the period of the absentee Hohenstaufens, namely, that the *baillis* who represented regents "did not attempt to exercise patronage in church affairs, and that therefore the church became independent of secular control."[369] Nonetheless, there was strife among the leading prelates at Acre all through the 1250s, and it was not until 1262 that the new pope, Urban IV, the former patriarch of Jerusalem, James Pantaleon, had the practical sense to appoint as the new patriarch of Jerusalem, William of Agen, and specifically gave him administrative responsibility for the episcopal see of Acre where he lived.[370] Acre was, of course, the richest diocese in the kingdom with the greatest number of resident clergy. In other words, Acre was, from an ecclesiastical point of view, undergoing a significant transition during this period. At first the clergy focused on the hope of recovering Jerusalem with the Crusade led by Louis IX, but then they turned to the dashed hopes and the problems of "co-existing prelates" living in Acre, readjusting to the new reality. How did the Church respond to these developments artistically? What changes in church patronage can we see?
5. What other patrons may there have been? How can we evaluate the artistic interests of the great military orders: the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights? What impact did the new mendicant orders have as patrons of the arts, especially the Dominicans, who were closely associated with Louis IX, and the Franciscans, who were active in the Holy Land since the time that Francis himself had traveled to the Near East in 1219? What evidence is there for the role which the numerous confraternities, especially in Acre, may have played? What women may have been active patrons, royal and noble women especially, as well as others? Among nonresidents, what Christian pilgrims are there to the Holy Land during this period, who may have commissioned works of art?
6. Once again we can see how the affairs of the Latin Kingdom are closely related to the affairs of the kingdom of Cyprus during this period, especially during the 1250s. Throughout many of these years and on into the 1260s, the kings of Cyprus or their progeny and relatives claimed the regency for the Latin King of Jerusalem. The most dramatic developments in the Frankish East take place, however, in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. There are, of course, direct contacts between Constantinople and Acre by virtue of the presence of Louis IX in the Latin Kingdom, the mendicant orders in both places, and the obvious commercial interests of merchants who had a significant presence in both locations during the 1250s – merchants such as the Genoese, the Pisans, and the Venetians. Then the Latin Empire suffers a sudden end in 1261, when the Greeks reconquer Constantinople. What impact did these developments have on the Latin Kingdom in the 1250s and 1260s? Do we see any arrivals from the Latin Empire playing a visible role in the artistic developments of the Latin Kingdom during this period?
7. The diplomatic activity between the Latin Kingdom and the Muslims that was vigorous before 1244 continued and was even intensified as a result of the negotiations that were necessitated by the vicissitudes of Louis's Crusade and its aftermath. The presence of the king also generated new dimensions of diplomatic interchange, especially with regard to the Mongols who appear as a new threat to Syria in the 1250s, as well as the king's interest in the Far East in general. These developments must also be considered as part of the backdrop that conditioned Crusader cultural and artistic activity during the 1250s, and then even after the defeat of the Mongols by the Mamluks at Ain Jalud in 1260.

8. Finally, Baybars seriously attacked and destroyed important fortifications of the Crusader States in the 1260s, leaving only 'Atlit (Chastel Pelerin), Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Gibelet, Tripoli, Tortosa, Margat, Latakia, and Crac des Chevaliers, held by the Franks. When the incursions of Baybars into Syria began, how much interchange was continued with pilgrimage sites there, such as at Saidnaya, and towns with known artistic monuments, such as Qara? How, in the face of the threat of Baybars, did the lines of communication and travel remain open to Sinai, allowing pilgrims presumably to go there, allowing artists to travel between Acre and Sinai, and allowing works of art to be done there and also taken there? Which of the icons we find there were commissioned and produced in Acre and which at St. Catherine's? Why are all of these icons at St. Catherine's now? Besides the ones done there, some with important site-specific iconography, which were taken there as pilgrim's donations in the 1250s and 1260s; which were taken there at some later moment, for example, when Acre was about to fall or just after Acre had fallen in 1291?

We will find that compared to the period before 1244, the difficult years 1244 to 1250 were unsurprisingly void of significant extant artistic activity. However, with the advent of King Louis IX, the situation changes dramatically. Both during his residency in the Latin Kingdom and in the aftermath between 1254 and the end of the 1260s, the level of artistic activity increased remarkably in certain media, especially in manuscript illumination and icon painting.[371] There is evidence of significantly more works produced, an impressive range of work being done from high quality to mediocre works, and there are new types of artistic work done to meet the needs of new functions. Understanding how and why these developments occurred at this time, just when they occurred, and who was responsible for them in terms of patronage are some of our primary concerns in dealing with the art of the Crusaders between 1244 and 1268. Before considering the artistic developments stimulated by the advent and presence of the French king, however, the issue of artistic activity in the years immediately before 1250 must be examined. What work, if any, can be identified from the time the Crusaders lost Jerusalem in 1244 until Louis IX arrived in Acre in May of 1250?

Crusader Artistic Activity in the Latin Kingdom between 1244 and 1250

For the period following the conquest of Jerusalem by the Khwarismian Turks, 1244 to 1250, we are unfortunately left with little written material to help us assess the state of the holy sites. The problem is posed, for example, by the lurid passage in the Rothelin Continuation:

> The Khwarazmians entered Jerusalem, which stood quite empty [23 August 1244]. In the church of the Holy Sepulchre they found Christians who had refused to leave with the others. These they disembowelled before the Sepulchre of Our Lord, and they beheaded the priests who were vested and singing mass at the altars. Then they threw down the marble framework that enclosed the Sepulchre of Our Lord and took the carved columns that stood in front of it and sent them to Muhammad at Mecca as a sign of victory. And for a disgrace and dishonour to Christians, they demolished the tombs of the kings and took the kings' bones and scattered them about. In different ways they soiled and made filthy the holy places, not only in the church of the Sepulchre, but in all the holy places of the city and in all the Holy Land itself, where they committed far more acts of shame, filth and destruction against Jesus Christ and the holy places and Christendom than all the unbelievers who had been in the land had ever done in peace or war.[372]

This account is independently corroborated by Ibn al-Furat:

> The Khwarizmians then attacked Jerusalem and put the Christians there to the sword, may God curse them. Not a man was spared and women and children were taken as captives. They entered the chief Christian church known as Qumama (Holy Sepulchre) and destroyed the tomb which the Christians believe to be that of the Messiah, and they ransacked its Christian and Frankish graves, and the royal graves that it contains, burning the bones of the dead. Thus they brought healing relief to the hearts of a believing people, may God Almighty give them the best of rewards on behalf of Islam and of its people.
>
> After doing what they did in Jerusalem, when they had purified it and purified the Haram (Temple area) and the shrines there from the filthy Franks and the foul Christians, they left for Gaza where they stopped.[373]

By contrast with this, the Noailles Continuation says little:

> These Khwarazmians rode on until they reached Gaza, where they found the army of the sultan of Egypt. On their way they caused terrible damage in the land of Tripoli and elsewhere. So suddenly did they appear at Jerusalem that very few could escape; more than 30,000 were killed, men, women and children, in this surprise attack, for these people took no prisoners, all they wanted to do was kill.[374]

It is difficult to account for the specific depradations mentioned in the Rothelin Continuation, which are problematic for several reasons. First, pilgrims to Jerusalem in the second half of the century who left major accounts of their visits, for example, Burchard of Mount Sion, O.P. (1283), and Riccoldus de Monte Crucis, O.P. (1294), say nothing of this damage to the Holy Sepulcher in their writings. Furthermore, there are no references in other less detailed or systematic pilgrimage texts. Second, although it is possible that the Holy Sepulcher was stripped of its marble decoration, including carved columns, and that these items were taken as trophies, the idea that they were sent to Mecca is hard to verify, but it seems unlikely. No other Muslim accounts discuss such action, but the range of precedents was varied. Saladin had of course quite discreetly avoided any damage to the Holy Sepulcher in 1187, but al-Hakim in 1009 had deliberately destroyed the church. No trophies were involved in either earlier case, but this idea will be met with again between 1244 and 1291. Third, the destruction of the tombs seems to have been a major theme of all detailed reports, both Christian and Muslim, and certainly news of this damage was widely circulated in the West.[375]

The problem of Muslim, and especially Khwarismian and Mamluk, depradations and destruction is a major issue. How much damage did they actually do? In cases of monuments surviving after 1291, when was the repair work done if it was carried out after the Khwarismians or the Mamluks destroyed places in 1244 or in the 1260s? What, for example, can we make of the post-Crusader period drawings of the tombs of the Crusader kings that form our basis for understanding what the original tomb designs looked like in the twelfth century?[376] Presumably these tombs were repaired along the lines of their original designs sometime shortly after the Khwarismian depradations, but we do not know exactly who did the work or when it was done. Could it have been done between 1244 and 1250, or was it after that time?

Or to take another case, already alluded to above, with regard to architecture: what are we looking at today in terms of the walls of Caesarea, which are said to be the constructions of Louis IX,[377] but which Baybars is said to have destroyed personally, when he took Caesarea in March 1265?[378] Even though Ceasarea was later brought into a truce between Baybars and the Franks, 1272–83, no attempt was apparently made to rebuild what Baybars had destroyed, and the city did not come under Crusader control again after 1265. Or again at Sidon, how much of the sea castle was done before 1253, how much should be seen as work done at the time of Louis IX, and how much was later, after 1260, when the Templars held this site against the Mamluks up to 1291? The most recent study of the sea castle at Sidon proposes four phases to the masonry, but this analysis differs from the earlier three studies, and it is difficult to link these phases with specific dates without archaeological corroboration.[379] These are perplexing questions that need serious consideration in relation to the historical context. When would it have been possible for the Crusaders to have repaired the tombs, and when were repairs of the walls at Caesarea or repairs at a number of other Crusader fortifications, along with new construction, actually carried out?

One type of source besides the chronicles that we would hope to be informed by is the accounts of pilgrims to the Holy Land. Whereas we noted in the years prior to 1244 that despite lively pilgrim travel to the holy places, there were few pilgrims' accounts to shed light on the condition of the holy sites, in the difficult period of 1244 to 1250, there is even less evidence of this type. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Pilgrimage travel in these years was unusually dangerous because of the unsettled political and military situation with the Christian holy sites held by the Muslims and competition among the Muslims keen for control over the former Crusader territory now captured.

In sum, it appears that between 1244 and 1250, the Latin Kingdom suffered significant damage to some of its major pilgrimage sites, that is, places that had been primary foci for artistic commissions. In the case of the Holy Sepulcher, for example, it appears that the tombs of the Crusader kings were damaged seriously and that the aedicule of the Holy Sepulcher itself was stripped of some or all of its decoration. In recognizing these developments we must therefore acknowledge that some of the most important developments with regard to Crusader art pertain to damage and destruction. The question we cannot answer as yet is when, how, and by whom repairs were carried out. Presumably, some renovations and repairs were done relatively soon when the marauding Khwarismians had gone and détente settled over the city of Jerusalem under their new Muslim masters. It was, after all, in the interests of the Muslims to allow the important pilgrimage sites to be maintained in some kind of decent condition so that the commerce and fees brought by Christian pilgrims could be continued, even if the stream of visitors must have been greatly reduced. Furthermore, certain farsighted Muslim leaders felt a religious obligation to pay reverence to the sites associated with Jesus as a holy prophet in their faith tradition as well. On the whole, however, it appears that some artistic work, in architecture and sculpture especially, was very much a matter of maintenance and repair as far as we know now. This would change dramatically in the medium of painting, however, with the advent of Louis IX.

Artistic Activity in the Latin Kingdom at the Time of Louis IX (1250 to 1254, and Beyond)

In reporting the record of King Louis IX at his death, Jean, lord of Joinville, writing in 1309, used the words cited as the preface to this section. The question for us to consider here is to what extent this glowing tribute can by extension be also attributed to Louis IX with regard to his activity in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem between May 1250 and April 1254. We may note the focus on architecture, especially hospitals and religious architecture for the new mendicant religious orders, in this passage – despite the omission of Sainte Chapelle, arguably Louis's most famous architectural commission in Paris. We also remark on the simile of the king as a skilled manuscript *enlumineur*, even though Joinville says nothing about his interest in illustrated books or his commissions of certain outstanding codices, for which he is credited by modern art historians. Given the prominence of Paris as the European center for manuscript illumination when Joinville was writing, this simile is apt, of course, but it is also applicable for Louis IX personally, who was interested in books – including illustrated books – both in the Holy Land, and during his time in Paris before and after his Crusading experience between 1248 and 1254.

There are other questions we will consider as well. What other art was produced in the Crusader States during the time that Louis IX was resident there? What impact did the presence and patronage of Louis IX have on the artistic development of the Latin Kingdom? How did the art he sponsored change the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land between 1250–4 and thereafter?

Military and Ecclesiastical Architecture: I commented on architectural developments in the Latin Kingdom in the historical discussion earlier in this chapter. At this point I highlight certain major issues, some that focus mainly on the Crusader capital of Acre and pertain to recent archaeological work done there, some of which pertain to other sites.

THE CITY OF ACRE: With regard to Acre (Map 8A, Fig. 61, Chapter 4), one main problem has been the determination of the location of the outer walls on the northern and eastern side of what is today the old city. Depending on the location of this wall, estimates of the size of the city can vary substantially. On the basis of a careful study done by David Jacoby in 1979, the location of the eastern wall was placed about 50 meters beyond the present Turkish east wall, aligned with underwater harbor remains. The result of this configuration is to estimate an old city enclosure totaling 33 hectares.[380] Other studies based on recent excavations, in particular, that of Benjamin Kedar in 1997, have located the eastern wall much farther to the east by more than 500 meters, with the result that the old city walls enclosed well over 50 hectares[381] (Map 8A). The continuing archaeological investigations and other evidence clearly support the Kedar configuration.

Another main problem has concerned the location of where along the coast the northernmost corner of the wall fortifications for Montmusard, the new city, could be located. Recent excavations have found a likely starting point for the walls about 800 meters north of the current Turkish walls, that is, about 300 meters farther north than previously thought.[382] The result of this change is to enlarge the area of the new city enclosure to about 34 hectares according to Pringle.[383] The overall result is that Acre at its fullest development covered more than 85 hectares, that is, approximately 210 acres, making it the second largest Crusader city in surface area during the thirteenth century by the time its outer walls were completed in 1212.[384] At the same time, it was no doubt the largest Crusader city in population and possessed the most complex system of fortification.

On the basis of Kedar's study, especially his interpretation of the historical and art historical evidence, for example, the panoramic view of the city done in the 1686 and usually assigned to E. Gravier d'Ortières,[385] and archaeological evidence presented by recent excavations, for example, his identification of the location of the cemetery of St. Nicholas outside the modern city walls, at point "Y" on his plan 4 (Map 8A) the location of the eastern walls can be proposed.[386] Kedar's estimate is that based on his new interpretations, the configuration of the city walls that most closely approximates the evidence is the one made years ago by W. Müller-Wiener in 1966.[387] Accordingly, the more detailed map of Acre presented here, Map 8A, incorporates these indications and is based on the plan given by Müller-Wiener, supplemented with other data.[388]

The other architectural matter of some interest in regard to Kedar's ongoing study of the city of Acre pertains to an interesting find he has made in the evidence for the religious and cultural life of the city, as well as for the location of one of its major Muslim and Christian buildings. In a fascinating article, "Convergence of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers," Kedar notes that "Ibn Jubayr, the Muslim pilgrim from Spain, saw at Acre in 1184, Franks and Muslims assembled at 'Ayn al-Baqar, the Spring of the Cattle, 'from which God brought forth the cattle for Adam'; the Muslims prayed facing south, near the *mihrab* of the mosque that had stood there in pre-crusade times, and the Franks prayed facing east, at an apse they had added to the original building."[389] Kedar argues that this site had been the main mosque of the city before the Crusader conquest. After the Crusaders took Acre, "the principal mosque apparently became the Church of the Holy Cross, the town's cathedral – but a fraction of the original building, which contained the tomb of the prophet Salih, continued to serve as a small mosque in which Muslims could offer their obligatory prayers, with the tomb of the prophet near its *mihrab*."[390] When the Muslims retook Acre in 1291, Kedar reasons it is probable that the prophet Ali's tomb continued to be revered near what was then the ruins of the cathedral and that what is known today as the cemetery of al-Nabi Salih developed around this tomb. The site of this cemetery is located at point N on his plan 4.[391] This means that the site of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, which has formerly been located under the modern mosque of Jazzar Pascha, near the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, would now be located just outside of the walls of the modern Turkish city, in a position nearly 400 meters to the east of the Jazzar Pascha Mosque. This location is indicated on Map 8A.

The evidence for this argument, which would radically change the organization and location of certain main structures in the old city, will continue to be discussed and evaluated by ongoing archaeological, historical, and art historical research. Meanwhile, the witness that this site provides for the multicultural life of the Crusader city, where Christians and Muslims worshipped in close proximity, is otherwise clear and striking. It indicates in the strongest possible terms that well before the thirteenth century, Muslim and Frankish commerce brought two worlds together in a city that otherwise included a rich cross-section of Eastern and Western Christians. Kedar has made a bold and, on the whole, successful attempt to argue on potent historical and archaeological evidence that to understand what the configuration of that important Crusader city was, we must revise substantially our view of the relatively small and somewhat backwater town that it has become. By peeling off the layers of modern Israeli and Palestinian Arab, early modern Ottoman, and premodern Mamluk Acre, we are gradually being enabled to recover a more accurate idea of what the reality of Crusader Acre really was as the capital and most important city in the Latin Kingdom.

The other issue of interest here in terms of architecture pertains to those written texts from this period, other than the chronicles which I refer to in Chapter 5 and earlier in the present chapter, which shed light on Crusader architecture at this time. One is well-known, the "De Constructione Castri Saphet," written for the bishop of Marseilles, Benoit d'Alignan between 1260 and 1266, which I refer to in Chapter 5 and discuss later. Another is the *Pelrinages et Pardouns d'Acre* from *c.*1260, which documents the fact that an institutionalized pilgrimage had emerged in Acre following the failure of Louis IX to reconquer or reopen access to Jerusalem.[392] The other is not well-known: the inventories written at the time of the death of Eudes, count of Nevers, in 1266. I consider the inventories first.

ACRE INSTITUTIONS AND THE INVENTORY OF EUDES, COUNT OF NEVERS: One of the contents of these inventories, which I examine later in terms of the light they shed on Western works of art found in Crusader Acre between 1265 and 1266, is a list of charitable donations made in the name of Eudes de Nevers to various religious establishments in Acre. This list occurs in roll C of the inventory.[393] This list is of interest because, compared with the compilation made by C. Enlart that is discussed in Chapter 5,[394] it includes not only the expectable major houses in Acre known at this time, but also several which are quite less well-known, and some which are not as yet locatable. Indeed some of the entries are difficult to interpret. Examples of these problematic references are the following:

"Nostre [dame] de Vamit"
"ceus de Sas"
"mesiaus de Saint-Barthélemi de Bereithe"
"ceus de Carpitre"

Hamilton pointed out that "Acre is not a very large city, yet the most recent work has estimated that there were fifty-nine churches and chapels there in the thirteenth century. This was not in itself an excessive number by the standards of many medieval cities of comparable size."[395] As noted in the initial discussion of this issue in Chapter 5, Pringle has (2003) increased this number of churches and chapels to seventy-one. This determination is based on the research he has done for his corpus of Crusader churches, but we await publication of his third volume to see how he identifies the problematic institutions in Acre that appear in this list from the inventory of Eudes de Nevers. Certainly we can observe, however, that the houses listed in the inventory contain a number of names not cited in the more or less contemporary thirteenth-century text, the *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*, written *c.*1260,[396] and do not appear in the maps of Matthew Paris, *c.*1250,[397] or of Pietro Vesconte for Marino Sanudo Torsello, *c.*1310,[398] and his follower, Paolo Veneto, *c.*1320.[399] As the archaeological work goes forward in Crusader Acre led by Eliezer Stern, it will be interesting to observe any additional evidence that may help us locate these houses and identify who they were for and what their function may have been. It is possible that other houses, churches, or chapels may be identified as well, in light of the archaeological findings.

Most of these named houses in the inventory of Eudes de Nevers are, of course, recognizeable. The institutions of Saint Samuel, Saint Lazarus of Bethany, and Saint Anne are no doubt relocated from Jerusalem and its environs. Some of the institutions mentioned here, however, raise particular questions relative to houses belonging to churches of the Eastern Rites, whose adherents formed a significant part of the religious community in Acre. In his discussion of the religious houses found in Acre, Hamilton refers to several that belong to the Eastern Rite churches. He mentions St. Margaret's and St. Sabas, both apparently Orthodox monasteries. He cites an Orthodox cathedral (unnamed) and a Jacobite cathedral, the latter which may have been St. Mary Magdalen's as it also had been named in Jerusalem.[400]

One institution of special interest is that of St. Catherine's in Acre. Pope Honorius III recognized the authority of the abbot of Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai over the Church of St. Catherine in Acre, in a document of 1217. Following him, Gregory IX (1227–41), among others, had confirmed possessions of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai in Jaffa and Acre.[401] The question is what relation this house of St. Catherine's in Acre had with the monastery on Mount Sinai. Was it a Greek Orthodox house, in effect a *metochion* of the parent monastery, or was it the house for Latin monks who serviced the chapel of St. Catherine's of the Franks in the Monastery on Mount Sinai? Was it in effect a house for both Greek Orthodox and Latin monks connected to the parent monastery? There is no doubt that the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai had many holdings at this time, but the nature of their relationship to the house named for St. Catherine in Acre is clearly spelled out apparently only by the papal bull of Gregory IX.[402] In his text he refers to the Acre property of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai as follows: "apud Acco, domos et obedientiam sanctae Catarinae." This terminology, comparable to the "obedientiam S. Michaelis" at Alexandria or the "obedientiam s. Moysi" at Jerusalem in the list of properties of the bull, appears to indicate that the property of St. Catherine's at Acre consisted of a house and a convent of monks.

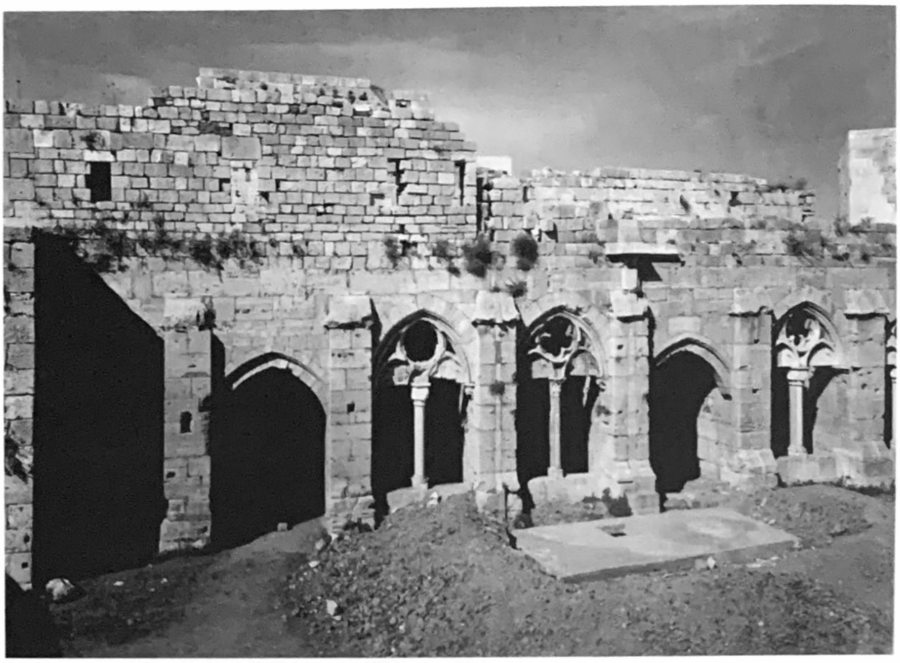
The documentation at present does not yet permit us to answer definitively the question posed here, but two factors should be kept in mind with regard to the third possibility mentioned. First, there appears to be no doubt that Latin monks were in residence at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, who not only ministered to visiting Frankish pilgrims, but also were involved with painting icons for these visitors. The strong art historical evidence, some of which will be presented later, indicates that there were close ties between Sinai and Acre, and this house and convent of St. Catherine's in Acre may have helped to facilitate this interaction. Second, it is striking that among the houses to which bequests are made in the inventory of Eudes de Nevers, none is recognizeably the house of an Eastern Rite church. Yet a gift is made to St. Catherine's. This may indicate that this quite magnificent donation, un "serecot d'escarlate poonnace, forré de menu vair," that is, a surcoat (sleeveless, long, possibly floor-length tunic) made of wool probably dyed with kermes to make the "poonas" or peacock color, which was lined with squirrel fur that showed at the neck,[403] was given in honor of the Latin monks at this house. On reflection, it is not surprising that Eastern Rite houses and churches do not appear prominently in the list of Count Eudes's inventories, because he was a relatively recent arrival from the West, but it is interesting that St. Catherine's does appear. The presence of the Latin monks may have been the reason for this.

It is also interesting to notice that sociologically, this list mentions not only hermits and "povres," but also "béguines." Béguines were women who generally belonged to sisterhoods, who "lived a semi-religious and somewhat austere communal life without vows." Although originally founded in the Netherlands, they spread to Paris by the mid-thirteenth century, and elsewhere, obviously to Acre by 1266. The main aims of these sisters were the service of the sick and the needy, which they combined with time devoted to religious prayer and contemplation. It is not known whether the béguines had a formal house in Acre, and if so what it was called, but it is possible that, as he later did in Paris, Louis IX may have founded such a place there for them.[404]

CRUSADER CASTLES: SAFED

Acre by the 1260s was not only the capital of the Latin Kingdom, but also the center of Crusader political, economic, religious, cultural, and artistic activity in Syria-Palestine. It was also the major fortified city still in Crusader hands. Besides such fortified cities, with regard to castle construction, the two greatest projects during the 1250s and 1260s were the completion of the outer walls of Crac des Chevaliers, and the completion of the construction of the great Templar castle at Safed (Figs. 94–5, Chapter 5). For the latter, a castle that came under Templar control and was rebuilt in the 1240s, its history and construction are discussed in Chapter 5[405] and earlier in this chapter.[406] We refer to it again here because the anonymous text which describes its history and construction, "De constructione castri Saphet," was written for Bishop Benedict of Alignan by an anonymous Western author in the early 1260s.[407]

This text is unique for its documentation of castle building among Crusader fortifications, but its value as a document of the 1260s is mostly historical, because so little of the castle



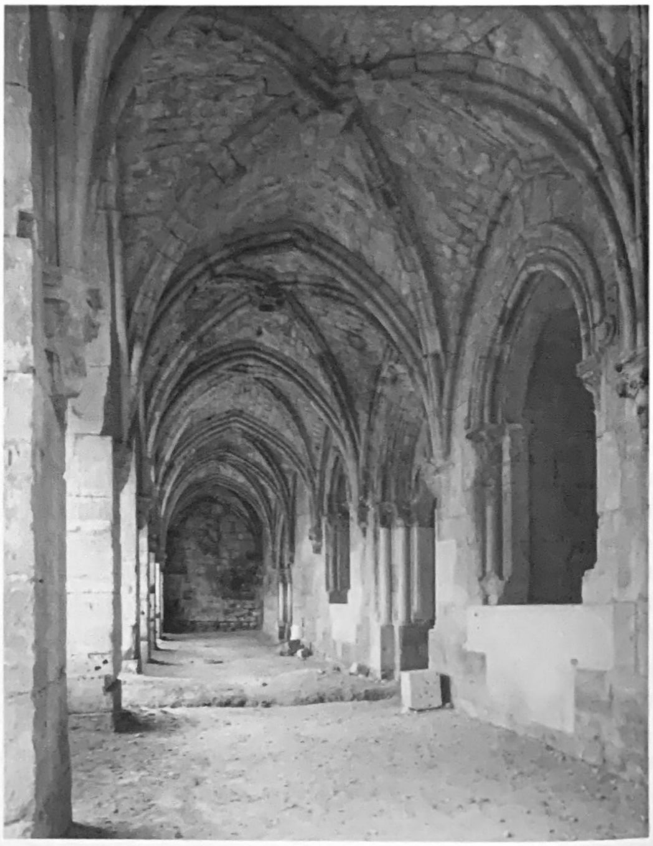
135. Crac des Chevaliers: loggia, exterior view. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

remains and little archaeological investigation of the site has been undertaken.[408] In the early part of this text, the impact on the Muslims of rebuilding this castle was clearly stated, that it would close the gates of Damascus.[409] At the end of the text, the meaning of this comment is made clear as the author discusses the function of the castle and its benefits to the Crusaders. 1. It would protect Acre and the environs from Muslim incursions. 2. The important region under the protection of this castle was now safe for its agriculture and its markets, but the most important thing was that it was safe "to preach the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ freely in all these places and to destroy and disprove publicly in sermons the blasphemies of Muhammad."[410] And 3. finally, the castle would serve to protect a series of Christian holy sites, including especially the mount of the Beatitudes, Capharnaum, Bethsaida, and Magdala, as well as Nazareth, Mount Tabor, and Cana.

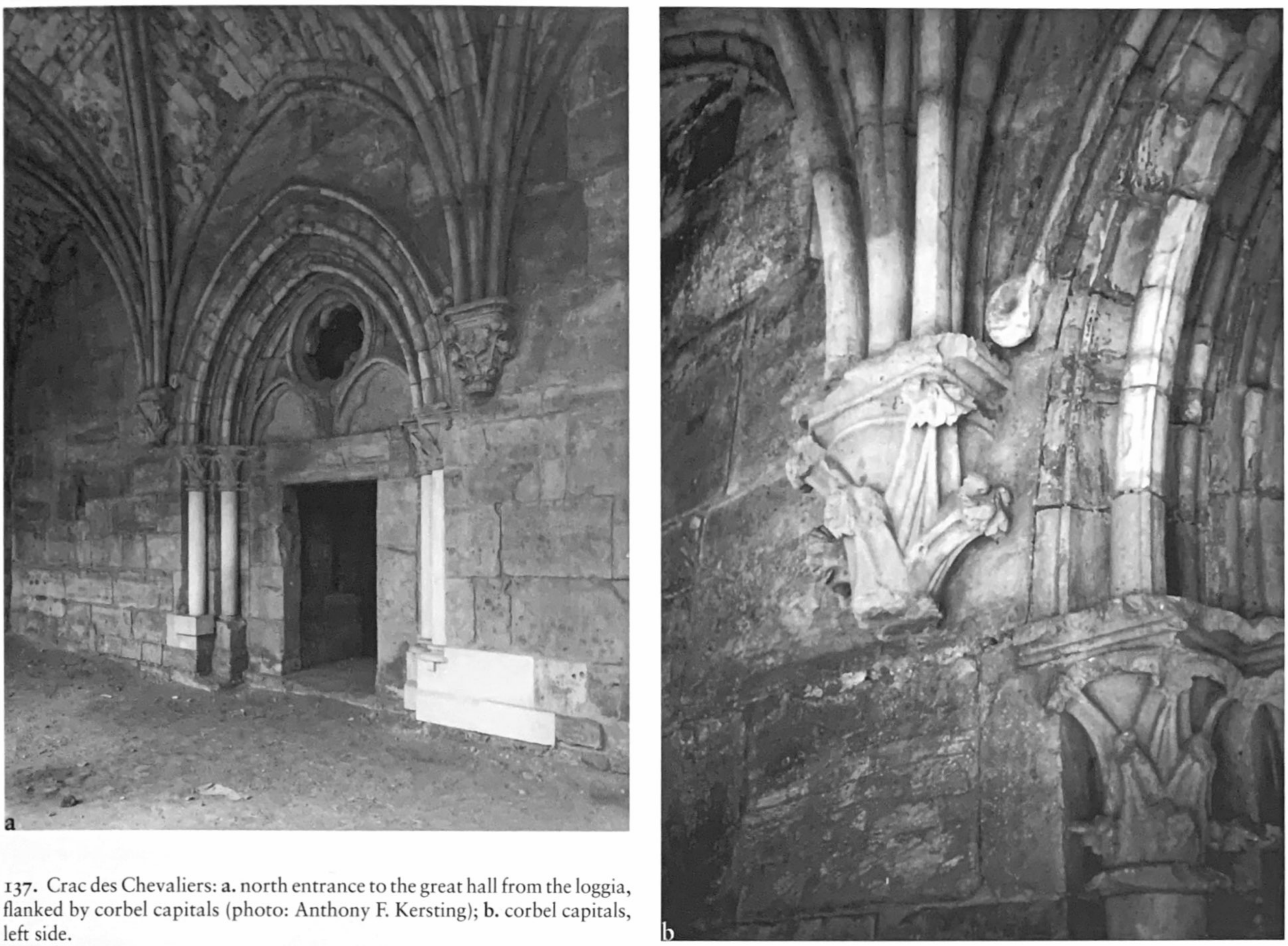
The timing and function of this text then can be seen to be meaningful in the early 1260s in several ways. Following the battle of Ain Jalud, Damascus was back in Mamluk control, and sealing off Muslim Damascus was important again. In the shrinking Latin Kingdom, the area controlled by the Crusaders was viewed with increasing concern, both for economic and religious resources it contained, and Safed was a very significant bulwark, along with Crac des Chevaliers in the Crusader defense. The construction and support of castles like Safed was expensive, and the author of this text spells out what it costs in some detail. The result is that one viable interpretation for this text is that Bishop Benedict of Alignan had it written as a fundraising treatise, not simply a commemorative work in honor of the bishop's latter day visit, 1260–2.[411]

CRUSADER CASTLES: CRAC DES CHEVALIERS

For Crac des Chevaliers (Figs. 135–40, 143), the situation is the reverse compared with Safed. Whereas Crac is perhaps the best preserved, restored, and conserved of all the major Crusader castles in the Latin East – now under the care and supervision of the Syrian Antiquities Department – there is no contemporary text comparable to that for Safed to analyze and explain its function and importance as a special treatise.



136. Crac des Chevaliers: loggia, interior view. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

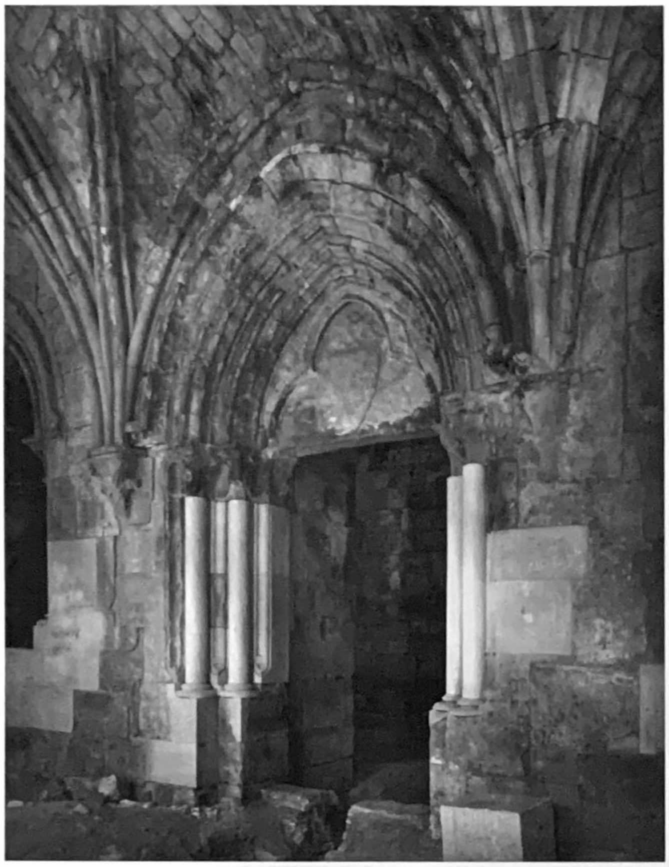


137. Crac des Chevaliers: **a.** north entrance to the great hall from the loggia, flanked by corbel capitals (photo: Anthony F. Kersting); **b.** corbel capitals, left side.

Having started major reconstruction after the 1202 earthquake, the Hospitallers apparently continued building at Crac through the 1240s and 1250s. Architecturally, we have already seen that major features of its Gothic style were in place by the 1230s, and that the Logis du Maitre was completed by *c.*1240. But its most developed and sophisticated Gothic architectural components were apparently done slightly later, the great hall with its loggia in the upper courtyard, opposite the final segment of the vaulted halls constituting the main bent-entrance. The concentric outer walls and the northern postern gate with the inscription of Nicholas de Lorgne were also completed in the late 1250s.[412]

The great hall, built on the site of an earlier hall started in the twelfth century, is obviously "inserted" into the preexisting fabric based on visual features such as the arches and "patched" masonry built into the exterior north wall, and the second-story southern windows of all three bays, limited and partially covered by the vaulting. Nonetheless, it is the largest and most elaborate Gothic architectural complex in the castle. In its final configuration, the grande salle is rectangular in plan (27 × 7.5 meters), with three equal and slightly elongated bays along its north–south axis, each one articulated by four-part ribbed vaults topped by large bosses, open to the sky above in their centers. Each bay of the grande salle, besides its southern window at the second-story level, has at least one opening looking southeast into its loggia or gallery. At some point shortly after the construction of the grande salle, and presumably before the loggia was built, the great hall was divided unequally by a thin internal nonbearing wall, indicated on plan 4 of Deschamps's study, but no longer extant.[413] This division of space yielded a larger northern room of nearly two bays, and a smaller southern chamber of approximately one and a quarter bays. Deschamps correctly comments that this internal partition wall was Frankish. Part of the evidence is the fact that the two entrances from the loggia into the great hall were built to correspond to these two rooms.

The main entrances to the great hall open into the second and fifth bays of the seven-bay loggia on the southeast side. The loggia itself is 27 meters long with a vaulted corridor 2.5 meters wide. The loggia is 5.0 meters wide measured from the outside of its southeastern pier-buttresses to the outer wall of the great hall, with each of its seven squarish bays measuring approximately 3.9 meters long × 3.5 meters wide. The loggia is, however, only one story high, and, set in front of the great hall, it therefore allows the windows of the latter to function as a clerestory to bring light directly into the two large interior spaces. It is somewhat mysterious why the loggia has seven bays with ribbed vaults as a complement to the great hall with three bays. The second loggia bay (from the south) has an external entrance on axis with the entry to the smaller chamber in the grande salle. These entrances are on axis with the center of the interior ribbed vault. The fifth bay also has an external entrance on axis with the entry to the larger chamber, but this axis does not correspond with the centers of either vault in the larger room. These characteristics, along with aspects of the architectural sculpture, indicate that the loggia



138. Crac des Chevaliers: south entrance to the great hall from the loggia, flanked by (damaged) corbel capitals. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

was clearly built a bit later in a slightly more decorative Gothic style.

The vaults of the grande salle feature broad, levantine pointed arches, generously wide and not terribly high, in the manner of late twelfth-century Crusader arches in Jerusalem and Tortosa.[414] They are articulated by ribbed vaults that rise from consoles in the side walls, which are decorated with naturalistic leaves. Although the rib moldings here are not so different from those of the loggia, they look thinner and less heavy perhaps because the space they cover is so much larger. In the loggia the arches of the vaults and the entry or window openings appear steeper in proportion to width, and certainly there is more architectural decoration. Not only are the arches of the inner entries and outer faces of the windows into the great hall from the loggia given thin, double voussoir moldings, but they also are framed with thin colonnettes. The consoles and capitals here in the gallery also feature richer variety in Gothic sculptural decoration. The primary unifying architectural motif for the external window openings of the loggia and the entry into the smaller room of the grande salle is a tympanum ensemble that features an oculus above two small blind Gothic arches.[415] The entry from the loggia into the larger room is somewhat more damaged. It has a rather different character, with a steep trefoil arch motif in the tympanum, in the middle of which is a shield on which no doubt arms were carved or painted (or both), with small carved decorative elements above and to either side, none of which can be identified today. The external windows of the loggia are somewhat damaged, but the use of bar tracery is indicated on a limited basis.

Both Enlart and Deschamps have pointed to certain parallels with Gothic developments in France as parallels for many of the architectural and sculptural forms found here in the grande salle and the loggia at Crac. For example, Enlart points to what he calls the somewhat "Romanesque" decoration on the exterior of the window found on the patched north wall of the great hall. In fact his reconstruction of the sculptural decoration is somewhat misleading, however, and one must consult the photographs of the actual window to see its more Gothic character.[416] He also mentions the naturalistic leaf style on the capitals of the consoles, both in the great hall and in the loggia, which are reminiscent of work at St. Nicaise in Reims dating from the 1240s.[417] But the leafy decorations, some of which are quite naturalistic, are not the same on these consoles, and whereas the example he illustrates at the northeast end of the grande salle may be close to St. Nicaise, the examples in the loggia might be linked to other parallels. Overall Deschamps proposes to compare these Gothic features with Sainte Chapelle in Paris, completed in 1248, and the later features of the interior nave of Reims Cathedral. But he reserves to Crac some of the specific decorative floral sculpture in the context of Crusader architectural configurations from the later twelfth century.[418]

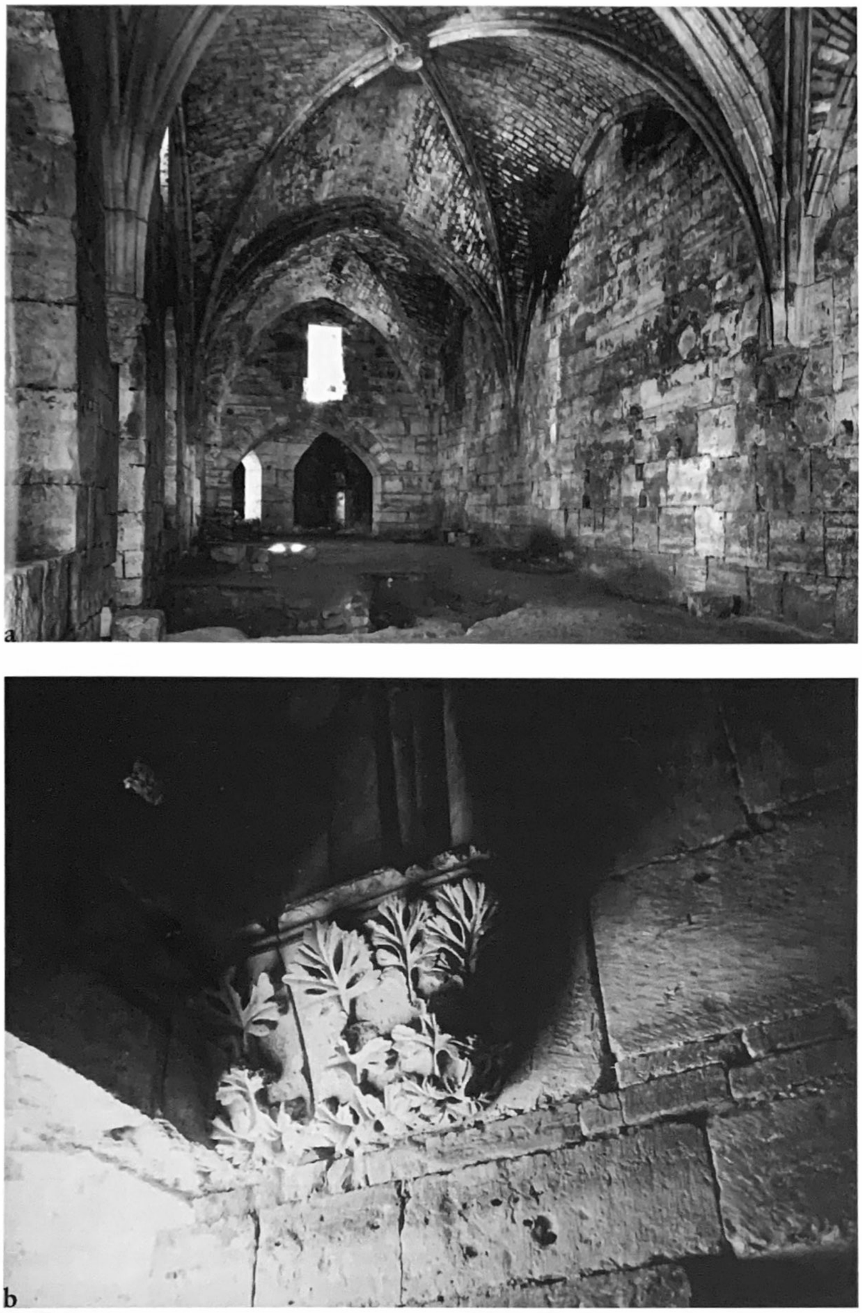
I prefer to position this phase of Crac in the tradition of earlier Crusader work from this area. The two relevant examples appear in Tortosa (Tartus) on the coast just west of Crac. There is the earlier thirteenth-Century Templar grande salle at Tortosa, with its multivaulted and windowed configuration.[419] There is also the early-thirteenth-century work in the west end of the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Tortosa, done by the late 1220s, with its leafy clefs de voutes, Gothic floral capitals, and diminutive heads decorating various sculptural members.[420]

The general dating to the mid-thirteenth century indicated by the style of the architectural elements and its sculpture is corroborated by the palaeography of two inscriptions which appear in the loggia. On the arch of the seventh bay is inscribed the following verse:

Sit tibi copia	Have richness
Sit sapiencia	have wisdom,
Formaque detur	have beauty,
Inquinat omnia sola	but beware of pride which spoils all
Superbia si comitetur.	it comes into contact with.[421]

It is a well-known and impressive expression of solid but sophisticated Christian idealism and virtue widespread in the thirteenth century,[422] appropriated for the Hospitallers in this magnificent castle. Another very small inscription appears on the south pier, in Old French: "Cest labor fu fait el tens de Fre[re] Iorgi [...]xo."[423] Deschamps interprets "Iorgi" to be the name of a castellan of Crac, but unfortunately his name does not appear in any known document. Pehaps he was the castellan following the well-known Nicolas Lorgne, in the late 1260s.

Our analysis of the two main elements of this complex indicates that they were done close in time but with certain notable differences, so that the grande salle may have been built in the later 1250s and the loggia in the early 1260s. The relationship with Western monuments is less specific than we found with many examples in the twelfth century, but some Western influence from developments of the 1240s in France

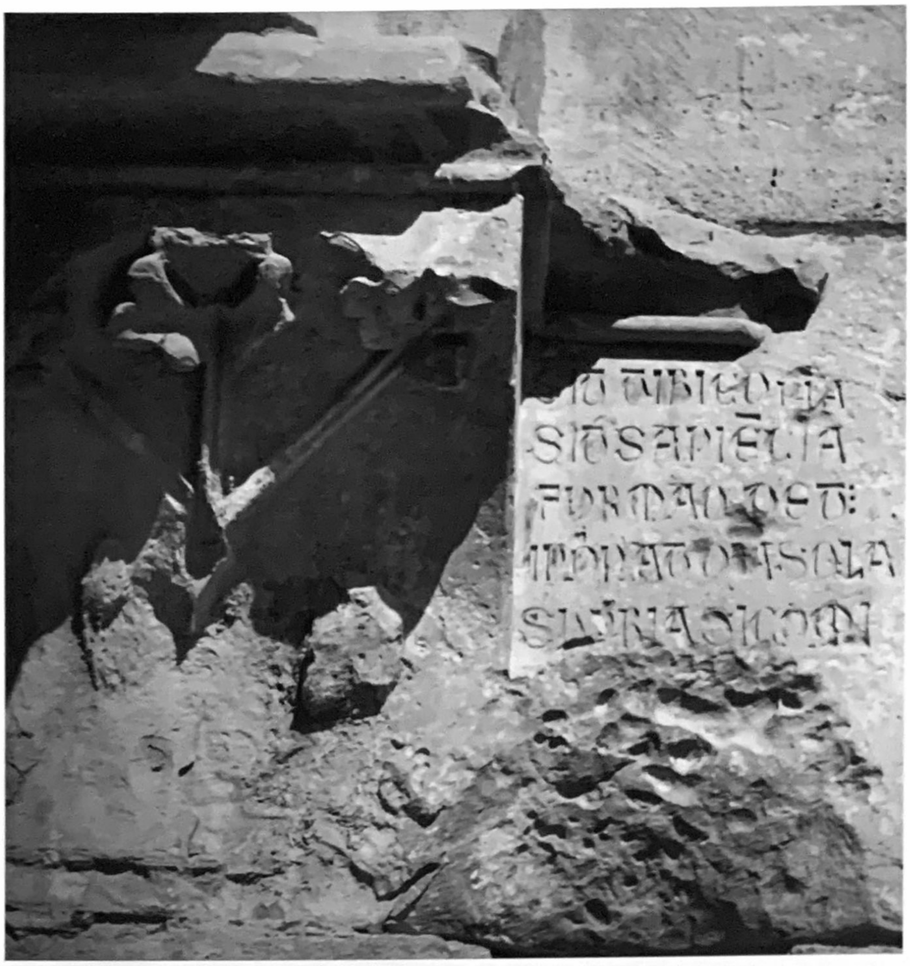


139. Crac des Chevaliers: **a.** great hall, looking south (photo: Anthony F. Kersting); **b.** foliate capital at the northeast end of the great hall.

seems reasonable, because it is elements of that style that Louis IX would have introduced into the Holy Land, however this came about. In any case, the sequence of the grande salle as earlier and the loggia as later is certain, even if the dating is approximate.

Finally, for the outer walls at Crac, the process of closing the concentric enceinte was apparently completed during this period also, with an inscription inside the northern postern gate serving as an indication of when this construction likely ended. The inscription reads: "Au tens de Fre[re] Niciole Lorne [fu] f[ete ceste] barbacane."[424] Deschamps suggests that this inscription indicates the barbican at the northern end of the outer enceinte was built *c.*1255–65, while Nicolas Lorgne was castellan, when these walls were completed.[425]

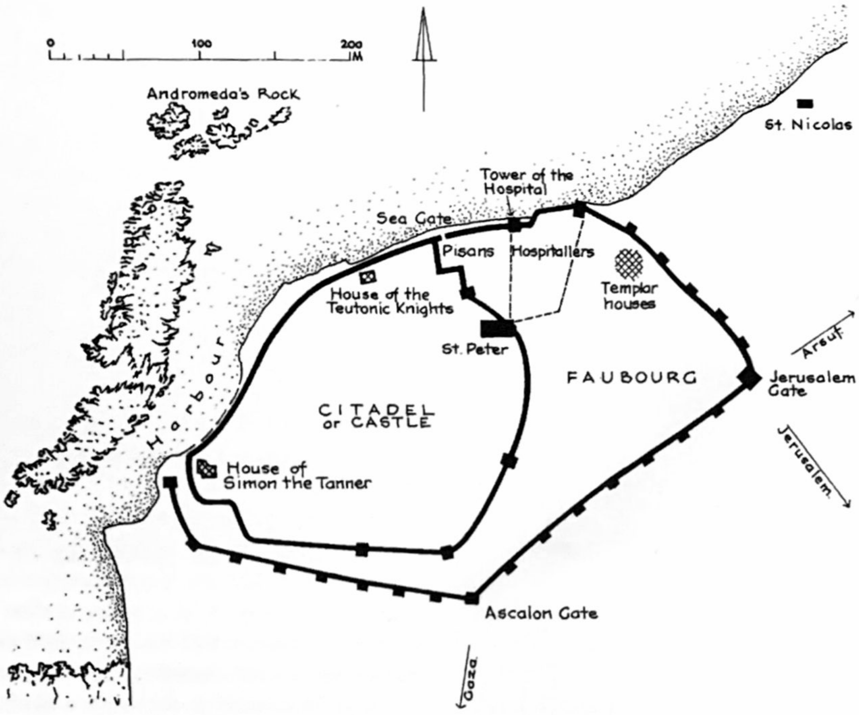
ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE: The issue of ecclesiastical architecture in this period is difficult to assess mainly because the major examples in Crusader Syria-Palestine are destroyed. Certainly we know from the extant examples in Cyprus, especially the cathedral church in Nicosia and the Church of St. Nicholas in Famagusta, that Crusader churches of Gothic style could be quite complex and handsome. In Acre, however, the example that would best inform us of this new Crusader use of Gothic architecture, the Church of St. Andrew, a large and important church probably built before Louis IX arrived there, is now apparently completely destroyed.[426] It was a parish church on the southern edge of the Pisan quarter, and travelers remark on it constantly, both in the Crusader period and later. It was also drawn or sketched constantly after the fall of Acre when



140. Crac des Chevaliers: Inscription on the wall of the great hall. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

it was in ruins, if for no other reason because its size made it a notable landmark in the city.[427] Other than St. Andrew's Church, we know of few examples of up-to-date Gothic architecture in Acre because of the destruction in 1291. Ironically this puts the handsome Gothic architectural work at Crac des Chevaliers in greater relief, and it means that we have more sophisticated Gothic architectural remains from a castle, albeit one of the most important Crusader castles ever built, than we have in the context of urban architecture in Syria-Palestine.

CONCLUSIONS: Compared with the discussion of architecture in the period 1225–44, the developments of 1244–68 have generated less commentary here, but that should not mislead us into thinking that architecture was any less important for this later period than it had been before. The difference is explained by several factors. In the years 1244–68 there were major rebuilding projects mainly for large fortifications, which I mentioned in the previous section of this chapter. The architecture of 1244–68 has been heavily destroyed during sieges and later rebuilt by the Mamluks, in the major Crusader coastal cities especially. That which survives is to some extent difficult to recognize among standing remains because it has often been encased in architecture rebuilt by the Mamluks after 1291. These factors should not cause us to overlook the introduction of developed Gothic architecture and architectural sculpture at the time of Louis IX and later. The problem is that we have so little that survives. It is difficult to understand exactly how Gothic style developed in Syria-Palestine after its arrival in the later twelfth century, how it spread to city and castle, and, except for the few main monuments that are extant, how it developed locally with certain external stimulus from France to become a striking presence in the Latin East, eventually becoming a stunning feature of the cities of Famagusta and Nicosia on Cyprus. For the Latin Kingdom it appears that Louis IX must have been instrumental in introducing certain aspects of Gothic architectural style, but he cannot uncritically be assumed to be the source of all Gothic as he sometimes has been interpreted in the past. Gothic architecture was well established in the Latin Kingdom long before the advent of Louis IX. His patronage produced massive rebuilding of fortifications in several sites, but we can connect him to no major church commission. Although the spread of what amounts to certain rayonnant-like Gothic ideas to Crac can be identified after the departure of the king in 1254, and this development may have been stimulated by French architectural design activity, just how the Hospitallers received and employed these ideas at Crac des Chevaliers is not yet known. We may not learn much more about this issue at Crac, but the remarkable fact is that we stand to learn a great deal about the "Gothic phase" of architecture in Acre from the vigorous archaeological work being done there currently.



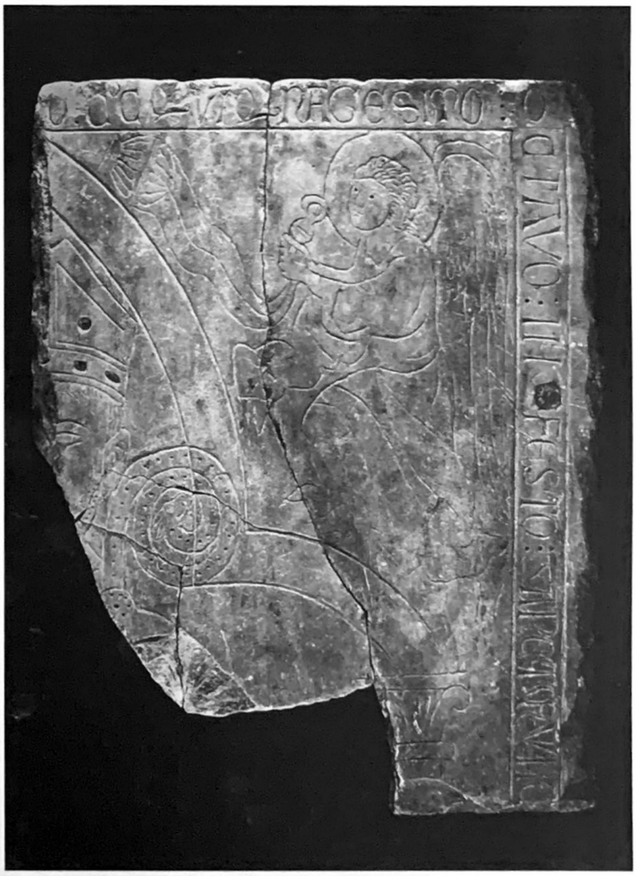
141. Jaffa, plan of the town with the location of the main churches. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)

Sculpture: We can comment briefly at this point on the stone sculpture because there is so little from this period and most of it is architectural. The best of that latter type is seen at Crac des Chevaliers in the form of naturalistic leafy capital decoration. None of the extant architectural sculpture includes figural designs.

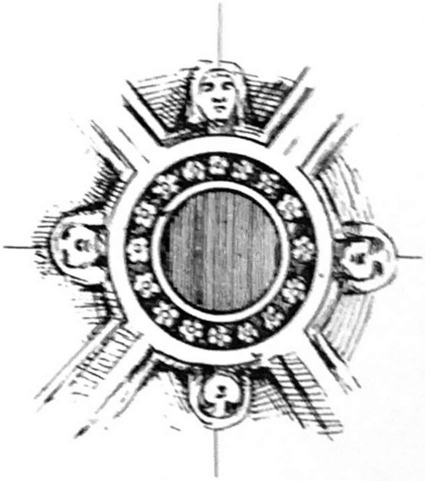
The main source of figural designs we find in sculpture from this period appear as linear effigies on tomb slabs (Fig. 141, 142). Just as we have seen a number of incised inscriptions on stone plaques found at Crac, so also there are incised images of figures with inscriptions on tomb plaques. The one dated example from this period is a fragment of a bishop wearing his miter and holding a crozier under a Gothic trefoil arch, above which, in the spandrel is a censing angel. The inscription which is carved into the border reads:

> [Anno domini millesim]o cc qui(n)quagesimo octavo in festo sanctorum [omnium . . .].[428]

This gives us the date, 1258, and the fact that it was found near Jaffa suggests that it was originally placed in a church in Jaffa.[429] There seems to be no doubt that this must have been done for an ecclesiastical tomb, and the type is standard from contemporary Cypriot and French examples. The thirteenth-century plaque of archbishop Thibaud from St. Sophia in Nicosia is one generic parallel, lacking the angel.[430] His crozier, like the one on the Jaffa plaque, ends in a dragon head, and the latter shows dots to suggest the stippling of metal- or enamelwork, as we see in the surviving Limoges examples from the Bethlehem treasure, discussed earlier, or another example now in the Armenian patriarchate in Jerusalem.[431] The famous tomb plaque of the great architect Hugues Libergier (d. 1263) of St. Nicaise at Reims is also a good parallel, with all four similar features: the incised image, a more elaborate Gothic arch, a censing angel, and the inscription carved into the border.[432] The question is how many figures might have been carved on the Jaffa plaque, one or two, because the bishop seems positioned to one side, perhaps indicating that he was one of a pair, and the crozier overlaps the arch. Because Jaffa was destroyed



142. Jaffa, the Crusader Tomb Slab. (photo: after Pringle, *Churches*)



143. Crusader Figural Sculpture: Crac des Chevaliers: *clef de voute* in the northern bay of the great hall. (photo: after Enlart, *Monuments*)

in 1268, when Baybars captured the city,[433] it is not surprising this plaque was taken and reused and eventually found in broken condition.

Other tomb carving like this, as well as the production of larger sarcophagi, must have generated a good deal of work for Crusader sculptors, even though few examples survive, presumably due to later destruction.[434] The repair of royal tombs in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher after the depredations of the Khwarismian Turks must have been carried out during this period. There must have been a large number of carved sarcophagi and tomb plaques, for example, in the Cemetery of St. Nicholas in Acre, and we wonder especially what the celebrated tombs of prominent men such as Eudes, count of Nevers (d. 1266), must have looked like. Boas has drawn our attention to two sarcophagi that survive in at least partially original condition in the cemetery of Mamilla in Jerusalem. Originally identified by C. Clermont-Ganneau in the late nineteenth century,[435] he suggests that these Gothic-style sarcophagi, only two of which apparently survive now, may have been made for the priors of the Holy Sepulcher.[436]

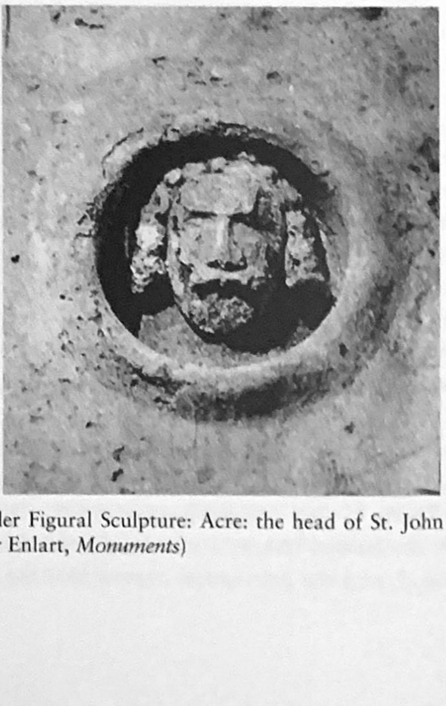
The fact that there was so much architectural work suggests that there was much architectural sculpture as well, but much less of that survives than the basic masonry work of the fortifications. The fact also that so little Crusader figural sculpture of any sort is found is puzzling, however. The only examples we can cite are the four little heads that appear on the clef de voute in the grande salle at Crac des Chevaliers[437] and the now badly mutilated head, said to be that of St. John the Baptist from the church of St. John in Acre of uncertain date[438] (Figs. 143, 144). The lack of extant figural sculpture in the middle years of the thirteenth century may partly be understood in the context of the later destruction and rebuilding by the Mamluks. Whatever the reasons, this lack is in sharp contrast to the enthusiastic patronage and production of Crusader painting in two media especially, manuscript illumination and panel painting, or icons.

Manuscripts and Icons from Acre: 1250–1254: When Hugo Buchthal published his study of *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, one of the major themes he discussed was the commissioning of manuscripts in the Latin Kingdom for royal and aristocratic, that is, courtly patrons, in both the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Among these codices are the Psalter of Queen Melisende (*c.*1135) and the Riccardiana Psalter (*c.*1225).[439] Since 1957 only the hypothesis for the Riccardiana Psalter among these basic and important proposals has been partly discredited, but questions have been raised and refinements have been introduced for understanding the identities of the patron and the recipient and the precise historical circumstances and dating in each case.[440]

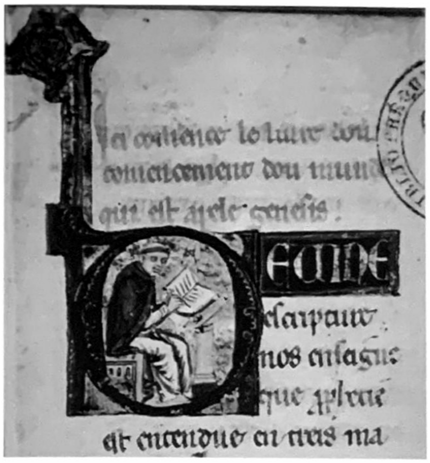
One of the most important attributions he proposed in 1957 was that of the Arsenal Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5211) to the personal patronage of Louis IX during the time of his residence in the Latin Kingdom. In a substantial chapter, Buchthal discussed the Arsenal Bible at some length.[441] He observed that the abbreviated Old French Bible text of twenty books of the Old Testament and the frontispiece illustrations for each biblical "book" of this codex are extraordinary. Indeed he commented that the lavish decoration is "distinctly aristocratic in character, is of a scope similar to that of the early Psalters in London and Florence, and thus suggests that the manuscript was produced for a royal owner. It will indeed be seen that it is possible to connect it with the King of France who was the most generous royal patron of the arts in the thirteenth century."[442]

Buchthal formulated his argument attributing this codex to Louis IX based on the character of the style of its miniatures, the sources and program of their iconography, the nature of the artist who executed the work, and the resources of the scriptorium where the manuscript was done. He concludes his discussion by saying, "the combination of the Imperial Byzantine tradition with that of the most 'modern' royal manuscripts produced in metropolitan France, the *Bible Moralisée* and the Morgan Picture Book, is itself almost an epitome of St. Louis's policy in the Holy Land, for it expresses the King's desire to infuse new life into that unfortunate cause which he had made his own, and on which all the vain hopes and longings of western Christianity were focussed."[443]

Since Buchthal's publication, the most important study to appear on the Arsenal Bible is that by Daniel Weiss, who published



144. Crusader Figural Sculpture: Acre: the head of St. John the Baptist. (photo: after Enlart, *Monuments*)

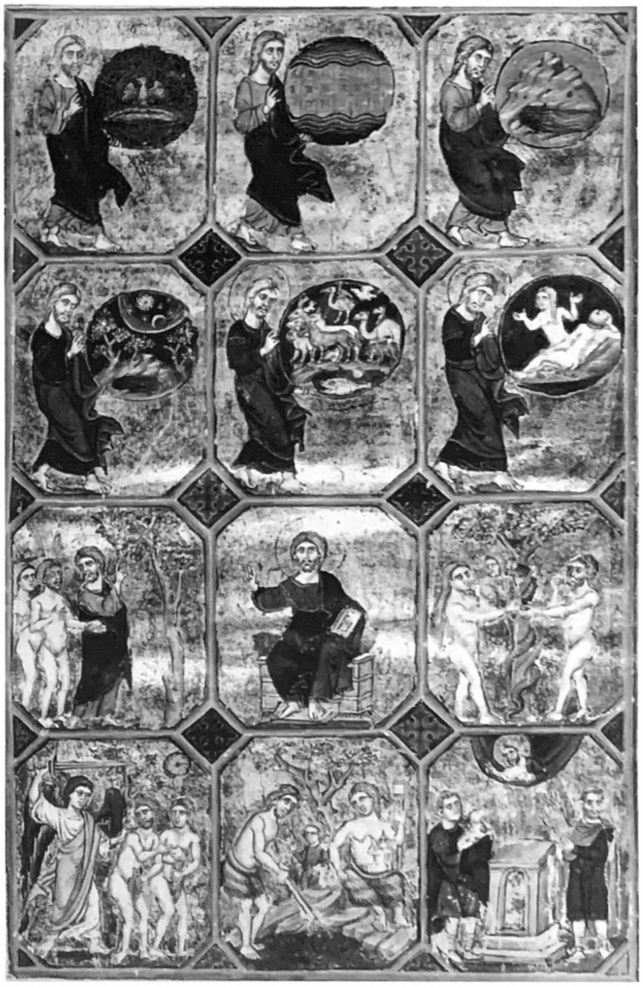


145. The Arsenal Bible, Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5211: fol. 2r, (D)evine . . . , (historiated initial), Dominican friar writing. (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

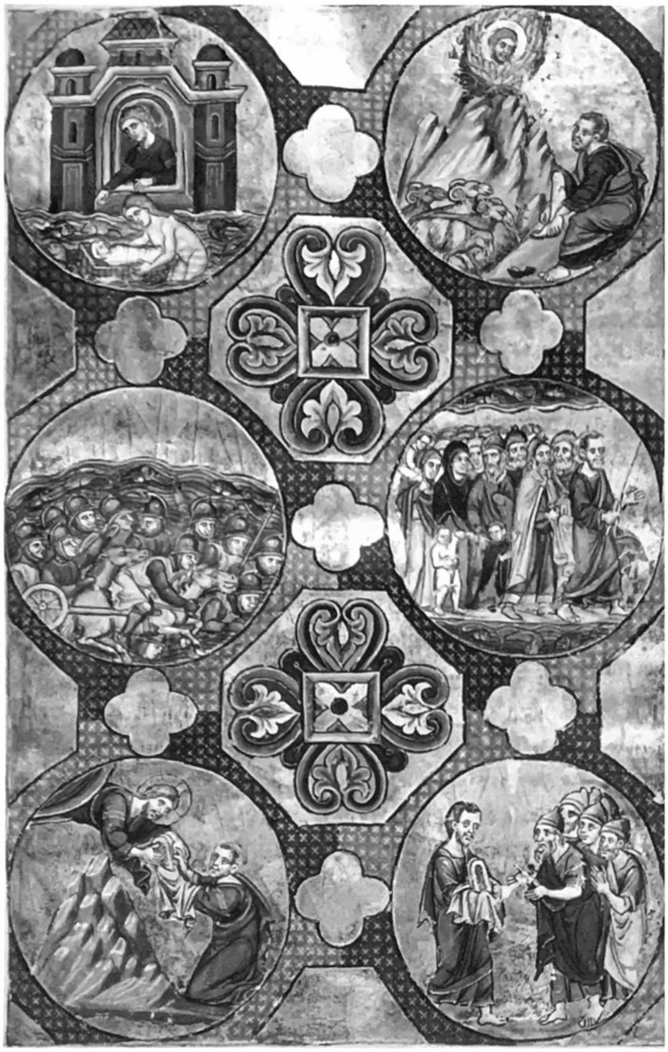
his book, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, in 1998.[444] This book is the culmination of a series of shorter studies published between 1992 and 1998.[445] It includes a comprehensive study of the imagery of the Arsenal Bible that takes the points which Buchthal argued, expands the substance of their content, and adds important new aspects to the arguments, especially in terms of royal French ideology. His analysis of the Old French text abridgement, and his discussion of the criteria utilized in the selection of scenes for the frontispieces, focusing on episodes of battle and holy war, in addition to the imagery of kingship and Old Testament heroines, provide an interpretation in which the texts and the images are seen as complementary. The nature of the book and its decoration, the peculiarities of the textual and pictorial selections, and the meaning and content of the imagery of the frontispieces provide evidence for him to argue that this is a royal book intended for personal study and prayer, "with little value for biblical study or clerical use."[446] Weiss approaches Arsenal MS 5211 with strong emphasis on its French connections. He links the imagery in this book to major royal commissions in Paris done before Louis IX came to the Holy Land, most notably Sainte Chapelle, in addition to the Moralized Bibles and the Morgan Old Testament Picture Book (Morgan Library, MS 638). In doing this, Weiss achieves the major accomplishment of creating an artistic ambience for Louis IX, which stretches from France to the Near East and integrally connects Paris and Acre, the Capetian kingship and the Crusade, and Louis's role as French king as parallel to those rulers and leaders, heroes and heroines, of the chosen people in the Old Testament as fundamental to the meaning and content of his artistic program and patronage.

Let us reexamine this pivotal manuscript and review the evidence for connecting Louis IX with its production. Are there yet further aspects of the program of imagery that can offer additional support for the idea that this book was a royal commission linked with Louis IX during his time in the Latin Kingdom? Let us reconsider the evidence provided by this book, the circumstances of its production, its patron and dating, the nature of the artist and his sources and the artistic character of the iconography and style of its miniatures as a program vis-à-vis related art of the Crusaders, in an effort to better understand artistic developments in the Latin Kingdom in the 1250s.

THE ARSENAL BIBLE, *C.*1250 (FIGS. 145–148, COLOR PL. 3, CD NOS. 38–71): The most famous work of figural art from the Crusader East with which the name of Louis IX is personally associated was apparently commissioned by him in Acre. So far as we know, it was carried out during the time that Louis was resident in the Latin Kingdom, that is, May 1250 to April 1254, indeed probably early in that time frame, while he was actually residing in Acre. Known today as the Arsenal



146. The Arsenal Bible, fol. 3v, Frontispiece to Genesis, with twelve scenes (full-page panel):
1. First Day of Creation: The Spirit of God moves upon the face of the waters (Gen. 1:2).
2. Second Day of Creation: The Dividing of the Waters (Gen. 1: 7).
3. Third Day of Creation: Appearance of the Dry Land (Gen. 1: 9).
4. Third and Fourth Days of Creation: Creation of Vegetation, of Sun, Moon and Stars (Gen. 1: 12, 16).
5. Fifth and Sixth Days of Creation: Creation of Fish, Fowl, and Animals.
6. Creation of Eve (Gen. 1: 21, 25).
7. Adam and Eve Given Trees for Food by the Lord (Gen. 1: 29).
8. Seventh Day of Creation: The Lord rests (Gen. 2: 2).
9. The Fall (Gen. 3: 6).
10. The Expulsion (Gen. 3: 23).
11. Adam and Eve Toiling (Gen. 3: 19, 4: 1, 2).
12. The Offerings of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4: 3, 4).
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)



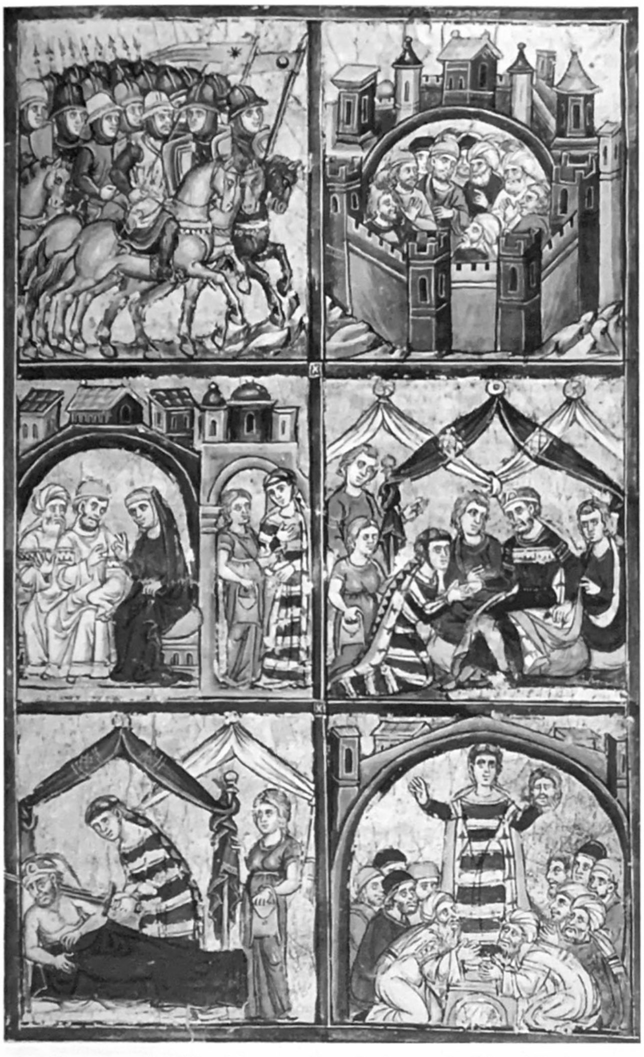
147. The Arsenal Bible, fol. 30r, Frontispiece to Exodus, with six scenes (full-page panel):
1. The Finding of Moses (Exod. 2: 5).
2. Moses and the Burning Bush (Exod. 3: 2–5).
3./4. The Crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 14: 21ff.).
5. Moses Receiving the Law (Exod. 31: 18).
6. Moses Brings the Tablets of the Law to the Israelites (Exod. 35: 1).
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

Bible, it is now preserved as MS 5211 in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris.[447] This book is one of the few extant illustrated manuscripts attributed to King Louis IX East or West, and the only one linked directly to him in the Latin Kingdom.[448] Compared with his mother, Queen Blanche of Castile, as a patron, Louis has been characterized as being "more restrained vis-à-vis illuminated manuscripts."[449]

We know of Louis's lively interest in the arts prior to his Crusade from his magnificent commission of Sainte Chapelle in Paris during the 1240s. Furthermore Joinville and other biographers writing in the later thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries specifically refer to Louis in terms of his interest in books while he was in the Holy Land. We learn, for example, that all through his life "Louis set aside part of every day for reading or listening to readings."[450] Among the most prominent examples of his interest in books having to do with his first Crusade and his time in the East, 1248–54, we know of the restoration of Louis's personal prayerbook by miraculous means during his imprisonment at al-Mansurah in April 1250, an event made famous at the time of his canonization.[451] Somewhat earlier, in December of 1248, during his sojourn on Cyprus, Joinville tells us that Louis IX sent books to the Mongol Khan, Güyük, along with other impressive diplomatic gifts, in the hands of his envoy, Andrew of Longjumeau, O.P.[452] We also know that Louis and his wife, Marguerite, gave William of Rubruck, O.F.M., a Bible and an illustrated psalter, respectively, as he was preparing to set out on his mission to visit the great khan in the East, in 1253.[453] These were books that the king and queen apparently had made for the Dominican in the Latin Kingdom. In the summer of 1252, while Louis was personally supervising the work of rebuilding the walls at Jaffa, Joinville tells us he commissioned a new Franciscan house in that city and had books made for their services and for study.[454]

After Louis returned home to France in 1254 we know his interest in books strengthened and expanded. For example, he commissioned the justly famous and important royal psalter, what is known today as the St. Louis Psalter (Paris, B.N.MS lat 10525), perhaps soon after his return. But Louis also founded an important library attached to Sainte Chapelle, and the idea for this was identified as originating during the time he spent in the Near East on Crusade, thereby creating another link between Paris and the Holy Land. The idea of collecting books may have first come to him while he was incarcerated in Egypt, where he was apparently told of a great Muslim sultan, probably al-Hakim in Cairo, who had commissioned and collected a great library of books. Whenever he first heard about it, Geoffrey de Beaulieu, who tells this story, includes it in his life of the king just after Louis had gone on pilgrimage to Nazareth, when he returned to Acre, so it is not certain exactly where and when the idea started.[455] It is certain, however, that it occurred while Louis was in Outremer, and the result was that one of his first projects after he returned home was the construction of his own library. Indeed this library was placed at the heart of the palace complex and was designed as a small-scale replica of Sainte Chapelle to which it was joined.[456] Although we know little about the contents of this royal library, we may imagine as Weiss first suggested that one of the first books to find a home there was the codex we call today the Arsenal Bible.

As for the production of the Arsenal Bible, neither Joinville nor his later biographers discuss books among the various artistic projects of the king during his residence in Acre; they only comment on his strengthening of the city walls. Placed in the context of Acre from his arrival in May of 1250 to his departure for Caesarea in the spring of 1251, however, the king very likely commissioned the Arsenal Bible while he was in the process of recuperating and reorganizing. The book was likely produced just as he began his energetic activities to help strengthen Acre. Following the debacle in Egypt, when he arrived in Acre he presumably had to reconstitute and reorganize everything in his new circumstances: his *capella regis*,[457] his court, his chancery, his military commanders and army, and other administrative personnel to meet his new responsibilities as resident leader – but *not* resident king, he was always careful not to infringe on the legitimate rights of others – in the Latin Kingdom. Indeed, it is highly likely, I propose, that this unusual, lavishly illustrated, and very personal book of Bible selections



148. The Arsenal Bible, fol. 252r, Frontispiece to Judith, with six scenes (full-page panel):
1. The army of Holofernes departs for the kingdoms of the west (Jud. 2).
2. The Israelites of Bethulia (Jud. 7)
3. Judith rebukes the elders, adorns herself, and sets out with her maid to find Holofernes (Jud. 8: 10ff., 10: 10).
4. Judith kneels before Holofernes (Jud. 10: 19–20, 11: 1).
5. Judith slays Holofernes (Jud. 13: 6–10).
6. Judith displays the head of Holofernes to the elders (Jud. 13: 19).
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris)

was conceived and executed for the king while he was involved in discussing and planning his future course of action in Acre and pursuing the goals he had identified in the summer and fall of 1250.

That the Arsenal Bible was done for private use seems evident because of its comparatively small size, the fact that the book is written in Old French rather than Latin, and the rather colloquial and unpolished character of the vernacular text. The book can be seen as a royal book from a variety of features. There is the rich imagery of its illustrations drawn from a number of exquisite royal or imperial picture cycles used as models. There is the lavish decoration done in an elegant style of remarkably high quality, and the creative design of both the ornamental and the figural program of decoration. Finally, we see the special selection and the specific nature of the Old Testament selections introduced by frontispieces with iconography that emphasizes royalty, and content that is directed toward leadership and rulership in the Holy Land. All of these factors refer to a royal patron, in addition to the fact that clearly money was no object in this project. Indeed, it is a book, which, despite the lack of a colophon or a liturgical calendar, when its text, its codicology and its decoration and illustrations are analyzed carefully, can provide substantial evidence for linking it directly to King Louis IX in Acre.[458]

Arsenal MS 5211 is a book of modest size (28.5 × 20.0 cm) that was made for private and individual, not clerical or academic, reading. It is a codex *de grand luxe* with twenty mostly full-page frontispiece miniatures; twenty large ornamental initials, six of which are historiated; and numerous smaller initials, all of which are French Gothic in character. Seventeen of the frontispieces contain multiscene narrative imagery; three contain, in effect, author portraits.

The significance of the Arsenal Bible for Crusader manuscript illumination was epitomized when Hugo Buchthal concluded, "the illustration of this manuscript is in fact the crowning achievement of miniature painting in the Latin Kingdom."[459] This is, of course, an audacious claim in the face of outstanding works from the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, such as the Psalter of Queen Melisende from *c.*1135.[460] It is particularly important therefore that we examine this manuscript in detail to understand fully its singular stature, its artistic nature and distinctive characteristics, and the curious contrast between its "primitive" Old French text and its elegant decoration. How can we account for a manuscript of this superb quality about which Buchthal exclaimed, "never before nor afterwards did any Latin illuminator make such supremely intelligent and fruitful use of Byzantine models."[461] How could a codex of this quality emerge from a scriptorium relocated to Acre from Jerusalem, which had had only sporadic production in the first half of the thirteenth century? At best only three or four illuminated codices can be credited to this relocated scriptorium between 1187 and 1250, and none in the last decade before the arrival of the French king. What is the evidence that links this manuscript indissolubly to Acre and to King Louis IX? What does this manuscript tell us about the nature of Crusader manuscript illumination in Acre in 1250, and how it has changed and developed in contrast to earlier Crusader manuscripts produced in the tradition of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem?

Our basic understanding of the Arsenal Bible as a work of Crusader art has been established by two scholars in the twentieth century, Hugo Buchthal and Daniel Weiss, as mentioned earlier. Buchthal first identified the Arsenal Bible as a masterpiece of Crusader painting and analyzed its style and iconography in illuminating detail, enabling us to see the Crusader characteristics of its imagery and the strong impact of Byzantine models. Weiss has now also demonstrated with great rigor and precision the strong ties between the Arsenal Bible and its Parisian French manuscript sources such as the Oxford Bible Moralisée and the Morgan Old Testament Picture Book, M. 638, as well as the pictorial program and the architecture of Sainte Chapelle itself. He has proposed convincingly the metaphor that the Arsenal Bible and Sainte Chapelle form an artistic bridge linking Paris and Acre. He has argued persuasively that the images of the Arsenal Bible function both "as an illustrated biblical narrative and as a contemporary rendering of the crusading enterprise under Louis IX."[462] What additional insights can a reexamination of this remarkable manuscript yield?

The text of this manuscript is the first feature that must be considered. Not only is it an early-thirteenth-century translation of the Vulgate Old Testament into Old French, but it is also a relatively heavy-handed and inelegant early version appropriated by the scribes of the king in Acre just at the time that a new and more polished edition was being prepared in Paris.[463] Indeed Samuel Berger called the text of this particular manuscript unique,[464] and characterized the texts of the various selected books of this Bible as a kind of Bible paraphrase composed of extracts not otherwise known from earlier sources, with the exception of the Books of Kings I–IV.[465] We now know that the text of this Bible is not unique but can be found partially at least, in seven other manuscripts, of which six survive, one of which indeed was also made in Acre somewhat later, about 1280.[466] We also know that the text of each book varies enormously in length and content. The book of Judges is the longest (fols. 81r–120r), and the book of Deuteronomy is the shortest (fols. 68r–69r).[467] Judges is, of course, a long book, but Deuteronomy is even longer in the Vulgate, so in this Old French edition we have certain books that are heavily abbreviated and condensed. The problem is that there is no modern critical edition of this version of the Old French translation, and no full study of how, where, and by whom the translations of the various books that constitute this Bible text were originally done.

The text consists of seventeen more or less self-contained book units, plus the Book of Proverbs broken down into three parts, which in this codex are called "Wisdom," "Parables," and "Proverbs." The last section of Proverbs also contains a small selection of passages from the last chapter of Ecclesiastes. All together, the result is a total of twenty "books" of the Bible, each with its own frontispiece miniature to introduce it. The text shows many signs of being an early Old French version in various ways. There are awkward phrases and errors in the text, the latter mostly consisting of duplications or the miscounting of chapters. The grammar is not always correct, and in some cases the language can be called coarse.[468] The system of chapter divisions, the use of chapter headings and major and minor initials, and the appearance of rubrics are all somewhat irregular.

It is indeed interesting that these early versions of the books translated into Old French should have been used for this book in 1250 at a time when the study of the Bible, both in Latin and in Old French, was receiving such vigorous attention in Paris, already since *c.*1200. In Latin, the new University Bible edition in a variety of formats was popular and had been produced in large numbers since *c.*1230.[469] In Old French, new and more refined translations were well underway by 1250 in France after initial clerical and even papal opposition had been overcome. But even though a complete vernacular translation was not achieved until later (*c.*1280) in France, this Bible of St. Louis "represents the highwater mark of early medieval translation from the Old Testament."[470] It is significant that it occurs in a situation closely linked to the Crusades, to the king, and to the military orders in Acre. The link to the Crusades and the king is seen in the fact that this codex was apparently produced in Acre, the capital of the Crusader Kingdom, for Louis IX. The link to the military orders is partly evident in the translation of Judges.

Although the text of the book of Judges is comparable in both Arsenal 5211 and Paris B.N. MS nouv. acq. Fr. 1404, the latter a Bible codex done in Acre *c.*1280, and although the text in the former codex is the more complete version, it is only in the latter codex that we find the prologue to Judges that contains the crucial evidence pertaining to the initial translation of this text into Old French about 1173–4 in England.[471] Weiss agrees that both MSS must have been written from a common source that included the prologue. This common source was in all probability the manuscript of the translated text written for Richard of Hastings and Othon of St. Omer, two Templar knights – both masters of the Templar Order in England – who lived in the second half of the twelfth century. Othon died about 1174, and their manuscript was apparently then taken to the Holy Land when Richard of Hastings traveled there in 1185, where it became the property of the Templar headquarters in Acre after his death. In the thirteenth century it was apparently available for use in the preparation of both Arsenal 5211 in 1250, and MS n. acq. Fr. 1404 in 1280. Because not only Judges but also sixteen other books of the Old Testament are included in Arsenal 5211, we would like to know the story of how this selection was made and how each one of them came to be available in Acre as well, that is, whether as separate books of the Old Testament or in some kind of earlier compilation.[472]

Buchthal himself suggested that the Old French text of the Bible as we have it in MS 5211 was appropriate and to be expected in a Crusader commission *c.*1250, because this was the version that must have been circulating among the Frankish barons who gave Louis such an enthusiastic welcome when he arrived in Acre in May 1250. Indeed, he states, "the emergence of the military aristocracy as the principal vehicle of authority in a State which had entirely lost its original theocratic character is reflected in the use of this imperfect French translation in a manuscript of the Bible which was destined for the saintly King of France, and whose decoration must have been deliberately planned as a paragon of Crusading illumination."[473] The fact is, however, that we do not know if the text of the Arsenal Bible existed as a comparable unit before this commission. What we do know is that with the possible exception of Job, the Old French texts of the individual books that are included in this Bible existed already and may have been available separately, or in a larger work organized differently, for the Frankish barons to read as Buchthal imagined it.

Buchthal also restated the old idea that the scribe could have been a Dominican, based on the appearance of a Dominican in the first historiated miniature of the manuscript. On this point, he followed Berger,[474] and he was also thinking of the long tradition of Dominican involvement with Bible studies in Paris, both at the University of Paris and in regard to the royal Moralized Bible project in the years after *c.*1215. Buchthal even suggests the possibility that the Arsenal Bible might have been executed at the Dominican house in Acre, an idea I return to later.[475] In this regard, we should bear in mind that Louis's confessor, Geoffrey de Beaulieu, a cleric who accompanied him throughout his time in the Near East, was also a Dominican.

It is evident, in sum, that the text of Arsenal MS 5211 is interesting and special and still holds many secrets that further study can expect to discover. For our purposes it is important to see that the text itself seems to bear links to Acre and to the

Templars, at least indirectly, and these links are reexamined later in the discussion of B.N. MS n. acq. Fr. 1404,[476] in terms of its text and miniature decorations. It is also interesting that the Old French prose translations of these texts are all early, coming from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Seen from hindsight, the text may appear to be somewhat inelegant in comparison to the impressive painted decoration, but looked at in the context of its period in the first half of the thirteenth century, this text is the most up-to-date available and a worthy setting for the handsome frontispieces and initials. Other aspects of this book seem to connect it with early-thirteenth-century developments as well.

Besides the nature and content of the text, the specific choices of biblical books for this manuscript are of great interest, along with the order in which they are placed. It is remarkable that for this manuscript the Book of Psalms, which was the oldest biblical text to be translated into Old French, was omitted, along with the entire New Testament. This immediately alerts us to the special nature of this book of Bible selections. What was chosen was apparently quite deliberate and carefully focused on the Old Testament history of the Holy Land and the leaders of the chosen people of God in the Holy Land.[477] It included the Books of I–IV Kings, texts translated into Old French in the twelfth century, as well as the Book of Job, for which the text in this manuscript is the oldest extant version translated into Old French.[478]

What are the specific books contained in this Bible, and in what order are they placed? The Arsenal Bible contains the following books in this order:

1–5. The five books of the Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy)
6. Joshua
7. Judges
8–11. I–IV Kings
12. Judith
13. Esther
14. Job
15. Tobit
16–18. Proverbs (in three books, with brief passages from Ecclesiastes)
19. Maccabees
20. Ruth

This selection clearly brings to mind a series of important French works, illustrated "Bibles" from earlier in the thirteenth century with or without text, which I list for comparison, both in terms of the books contained or represented, and the order of those books.

The two earliest *Moralized Bibles*:

Vienna MS 2554:[479]
1–5. The Pentateuch
6. Joshua
7. Judges
8. Ruth
9–12. I–IV Kings

Vienna MS 1179:[480]
1–5. The Pentateuch
6. Joshua
7. Judges
8. Ruth
9–12. I–IV Kings
13. I–II Esdras
14. Job
15. Daniel
16. Tobit
17. Judith
18. Esther
19. Maccabees I–II
20. Apocalypse

The Morgan Old Testament Picture Book:
Morgan MS 638:[481]
1. Genesis
2. Exodus
3. Joshua
4. Judges
5. Ruth
6. I Kings
7. II Kings

Ste. Chapelle (stained-glass windows):[482]
(North Side)
1. Genesis (Bay O)
2. Exodus (Bay N)
3. Numbers (Bay M)
4. Deuteronomy (Bay L)
5. Joshua, and Ruth in the Rose (Bay L)
6. Judges (Bay K)
(East End – Chevet)
7. Isaiah – Tree of Jesse (Bay J)
8. Infancy, St. John the Evangelist (Bay I)
9. Passion of Christ (Bay H)
10. Life of St. John the Baptist, Daniel (Bay G)
11. Ezechial (Bay F)
(South Side)
12. Jeremiah, Tobit (Bay E)
13. Judith, Job (Bay D)
14. Esther (Bay C)
15–18 I–IV Kings (Bay B)
19 History of the Relics of the Passion (Bay A)
(West Façade)
20 Apocalypse (Rose Window)

These lists of contents with their order of presentation are interesting because they demonstrate several points. 1. All of these "Bibles," including the stained glass of Sainte Chapelle, are obviously somewhat different in their content and their organization. 2. Whereas all of these "Bibles" feature a selection of biblical books; none is the same and none contains the complete Old (or New) Testament.[483] 3. The core of all of these programs is, however, a selection of Old Testament books, including some version – complete or incomplete – of the Pentateuch plus the three additional books of the Octateuch, that is, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, and the Books of Kings, again, complete or incomplete. From this structural evidence it seems clear that the imagery of Arsenal MS 5211 shares with its royal Parisian predecessors overall a similar conceptual outlook, a program of illustration conceived along somewhat similar lines, and a characteristic selectivity that reflects the interests and the desires of the patron in consideration of the function of the individual work in question.

What is distinctive about the selection of Old Testament books and the imagery in Arsenal MS 5211? Although variations in the order of Latin biblical books are well known in complete Bibles during the thirteenth century, as Light and others have noted and as Weiss has reminded us,[484] the arrangement here is noteworthy for several aspects. To start, there is the rearrangement of the books into, in effect, two sections.[485] The first deals with the history of the Holy Land and the leaders of the chosen people from the time of creation up through the kings of Israel, especially David and Solomon (Genesis – IV Kings).[486] The second deals with a gallery of leaders and their deeds or sayings: heroines, holy men, wise men, heroes, ending with another heroine, Ruth, the third of three (Judith, Esther, Ruth). It is also significant that the location of both Ruth and Judith in the usual Vulgate sequence[487] has been changed to help emphasize the shape of these two sections. Their new locations in the sequence, one at the start of the second section and one at the end, shows that the scribe and patron wished to change the traditional and time-honored content and sequence of the Octateuch (Genesis–Ruth) and that they wished to balance Old Testament heroines and heroes, by placing Judith and Ruth as the framing books of this section. In the second section, it is, however, the text of Solomon's Proverbs that is given the fullest presence, accounting for nearly 10 percent of the manuscript, whereas the other books are handled in the abridged manner otherwise normal in this codex. Thus the figure of Solomon links the first and second parts of this Bible, both in the textual presentations and, as we shall see, in the imagery. The book of Ruth ends the volume matter-of-factly with the words, "Ysai engendera David le roi. Ici fenie le livre de ruth la moabitiene."

It seems clear that the selection of books and their order as well as their content – that is, which texts are present in the fullest form, which are heavily abridged, and what the basis of their text and translation may be – are all significant. Although none of the books in this manuscript is given a prologue,[488] unlike the practice in Latin Vulgate Bibles, almost all books in this codex have rubrics to introduce the text of each new book. The size and content of these rubrics do not however correspond to the size (length) and content (full or abridged) of the texts, however. For example, the largest and most elaborate rubrics are found for the following books: for Judith at fol. 251v, for Esther at fol. 261v, and for Maccabees at fol. 339r, not for Judges, I–IV Kings or Proverbs, which have the fullest texts.[489] It is, however, important to note that neither the rubrics nor the texts – nor the images either for that matter, to be discussed later – otherwise give us any clear indication that this volume is not complete as planned.[490] Instead each element helps us to understand that this is a personal, indeed, a unique, commission in the form as we have it. We must apparently conclude with Arsenal MS 5211, as we conclude with regard to Vienna MSS 2554, and 1179 and Morgan MS 638 that these royal manuscripts are all essentially complete as planned. This is uncontestably true with Sainte Chapelle, for example, and an important factor to consider by comparison. The greatest weight of evidence for this conclusion lies in the iconographical program for the imagery of each codex, but the framework of which selections were made for the scenes in each frontispiece and how they are arranged are relevant also.

In sum, the conceptual framework of this volume of Bible selections is important to recognize as belonging to a genre of royal commissions from the first half of the thirteenth century. We can see from our examples how interesting the package of selections is in each case with reference to Arsenal MS 5211. The point here is that with these examples we are apparently dealing with royal books or royal programs, primarily drawn from the Old Testament. Two of these commissions were ordered and supervised by Louis IX himself, the Sainte Chapelle in Paris and the Arsenal Bible in Acre. Two were apparently commissioned by Blanche of Castile, his mother, also in Paris, the two Moralized Bibles. The other, MS 638, was arguably a royal commission, possibly ordered by Louis IX in Paris, but the details are, however, still not known to us.[491] Now that the "artistic bridge" has metaphorically been constructed by Weiss – linking Acre and Paris, the Arsenal Bible, and Sainte Chapelle, in the person of Louis IX – we can begin to see more clearly how Arsenal MS 5211 is correctly related to the wider world of French royal monuments, in manuscripts and other media, as well as to other Crusader work.

Approached from this point of view, the question then arises: What is "Eastern" about this codex; what are its unique "Crusader" qualities? If this manuscript is conceived as a royal French commission, with a text written in Old French, how did its program of imagery come into being, and what can we see in this program that reflects the circumstances of King Louis IX in Acre between May 1250 and April 1251? For this we must examine the iconography and the style with fresh eyes. Starting with the iconography, there are surely some very striking features that set this manuscript apart from any others – Crusader, French, or Byzantine – in the mid-thirteenth century. There is, for example, the iconography of ornament, an unexpectedly major feature of this book. Of the twenty frontispieces, nine unequivocally reflect the bold design and novel configuration of stained-glass windows with the use of medallions, quatrefoils, or octagons in which the miniatures are placed, set against decorative fields with equally boldly conceived ornament drawn from similar sources.[492] Another five frontispieces utilize architectural motifs of round arches, pointed arches, or trilobed pointed arches, again reflecting designs drawn from monumental sources in settings of gothic architecture or from large-scale miniature painting.[493] The rest of the designs are conventional grid patterns creating rectangular frames for the miniatures that can also be seen as related to stained-glass or manuscript illumination, but not so explicitly and exclusively.[494] Nonetheless, all of the frontispieces are enlivened by dramatic color and ornamental richness that is imperfectly transmitted through black-and-white reproductions. The major coloristic program for each of these frontispieces is indeed wonderful. There is Gothic red and blue or pink and blue; red and blue combined with a rich purple-red; purple-red, blue, and lavender; or pink, red, and blue, all of which are enhanced by their strong hues and by contrasting gold grounds.

There can be no doubt that these designs are partly based on Gothic ideas drawn from the Moralized Bibles, the Morgan MS 638, and Sainte Chapelle, but the unique blend of ornamental diversity is a special feature of this manuscript that cannot be found in any of the aforementioned codices. Although we know of no project in the Holy Land or, more specifically, in Acre, that could explain this ornamental richness, the special combination of intense colorism and bold design seems to be one of the "Eastern" and "Crusader" characteristics of this manuscript. Just as each of the windows in Sainte Chapelle has its own decorative design feature, be it circular medallions, ovals, diamonds, quatrefoils, rectangular grids, and so on, the fact is that this program of ornament – distinctively different in Arsenal MS 5211 in its particulars – would no doubt remind the king of his magnificent reliquary chapel in Paris, while traveling with his *capella regis* in the East. The elegance of Gothic ornament and color combined with the richness of Eastern color and design is apparently part of what is intended in this distinctive ensemble of frontispieces.

When we turn to the iconographic program of the miniatures, the same combination of Western and Eastern sources is apparent. It is evident, however, from a careful inspection of this manuscript that the program of imagery is presented almost exclusively in a series of frontispiece miniatures, which as a type is essentially Western-based in its conception. Here we see the classic frontispiece format so celebrated in French manuscripts since the time of the Carolingian Empire. What messages do these frontispieces convey?

Taking as our starting point the two sections of the manuscript identified earlier, we can see that the frontispieces from Genesis to IV Kings deal with the historical narrative of the leaders of the chosen people in their quest for the promised land and their efforts to rule and defend it. The frontispieces in section two, from Judith to Ruth, portray the deeds, wisdom, and personalities of the heroines and heroes who ruled, defended, or served as God-fearing role models for the chosen people in the Holy Land. Briefly consider these frontispieces in each section as they pertain to Louis IX in Acre in the latter months of 1250.[495]

For the Pentateuch, we can see that the imagery of each frontispiece directs our attention to specific figures, but that following the Lord's appearance on the Genesis page (Fig. 146), the overall focus is unquestionably on Moses as the leader of the chosen people. On the Creation page, our eye is strongly drawn from the Lord Creator to Cain and Abel below, by their dress and the colors of their costumes. They are those who worship the Lord, and in this program they are to be followed by Moses, identifiable like them in his costume and the colors of his clothes. In Exodus (Fig. 147), the story of Moses is presented, with emphasis on his encounters with the Lord and his responsibility for bringing the law to the Israelites. In Leviticus, the leadership of Moses is presented in the context of worship and offerings, both good and bad, on the one hand, and manifestations of the power of God on the other. In Numbers, the leadership of Moses and the Lord's confidence in him is reiterated visually, and Moses is contrasted with Balak, a ruler not in God's favor. Finally, in Deuteronomy, Moses completes his responsibilities, receiving the commandments again, appointing his successor, Joshua, viewing the promised land he will never enter from Mount Nebo, and then dying and being buried by his people. Louis is the new Moses, leading his people in glorious success and bitter disappointment, like Moses, ever devout to his God.

Following the Pentateuch the story of the leaders of God's people continues. There is Joshua, Judges, and I–IV Kings. With the frontispiece to Joshua we see the God-fearing soldier, who leads his people to victory in the promised land with the help of God. He does this while bringing along the Ark, that is, the physical tablets of God's manifestation and message on earth, just as Louis had carried the holy relics of Christ with him on Crusade. For Judges we are shown the zeal of Gideon and the obedience of Jephthah in response to the words of the Lord, and the trials of Samson. As a hero of the Israelites, Samson must have been a particularly poignant reminder to Louis of his own capture by the enemy during his painful retreat from Mansurah. But Samson was also a stirring role model as shown here, with his great strength restored in the midst of adversity through his constant faith in the Lord, and his ability in the end to bring his adversary down. In I–III Kings, unsurprisingly, the emphasis is on David as the military hero, the anointed king, the devout leader who on the one hand leads his people and praises God in joy, and on the other repents and prays for God's forgiveness in his personal time of misery and need. How many times, while in prison and after his release, when sailing from Damietta to Acre, must Louis have thought about the rebuke of Nathan and his wonderful promise that the Lord can also take away his sin. How much he must have wondered if, like the child of Uriah's wife in II Kings 13, his own son, born in Damietta during his incarceration, might die because of the Lord's displeasure. It is in III Kings that Solomon, David's great successor, appears, riding on a mule and anointed as the new king of Israel. In this beautiful and striking miniature with bold and elegant cross-shaped designs, every scene contains royal iconography of crowned figures ranging from triumph and coronation to dying and death. In the context of David's demise as represented in this frontispiece, Louis must have meditated on how he would eventually be able to provide support for the leadership of the Latin Kingdom he would leave behind when he did in fact return to France. Finally, in IV Kings we find an affirmation of the continuity of the chosen people in the Holy Land after David and Solomon, even without a conventional king. The lesson here is that Ahaziah, a king who worshipped a false god, did not find favor with the Lord, and he died; Elijah, a true man of God, did find favor, and he lived. Elijah is a striking figure as presented here, a vigorous outdoors man in his unconventional clothing – a brown wool tunic and a furry green cloak – a man favored by God because of his faith. The Lord's power is manifested in support of his prophet Elijah. Louis could meditate on how the spiritual leadership of the chosen people was passed from Elijah to Elisha without death or burial, as Elijah was taken up bodily into heaven. A biblical role model like this could no doubt help enable Louis to sustain his ardent devotion to God, in his son Jesus Christ who was also taken up bodily into heaven.

All through the first part of this program, the leader or ruler has been visible in his distinctive costume, and it is David and Solomon who are particularly singled out in their red and blue robes as king. This same coloristic iconography links them with the three monumental author portraits of Solomon in the second part of the book, the frontispiece images for the three books of Proverbs. By contrast the other heroes and heroines have striking and different visual manifestations in these frontispieces. It is particularly notable that there are no fewer than three heroines in this section. One, Judith (Fig. 148), the savior of her people from the cruel Assyrian king, Holofernes, who invaded Judaea, wears a stunning silk garment of blue-green and gold threads as she demonstrates her sublime faith in God and her heroic love of her people. Esther, the queen, also saved her people, but in a foreign land, in Persia. Esther wears appropriate regalia, and in the climactic scene, she receives a sceptre topped with a fleur-de-lis. Finally, Ruth appears more modestly dressed, as a character role model. All three heroines exemplified virtues Louis wished to emulate, but they clearly pertained also to his faithful wife, Marguerite, as well. It was she who had stalwartly supported him and his Crusade as she lay exhausted in her bed after childbirth in Damietta. In that vulnerable situation, she had summoned her extraordinary courage and strength, organized the ransom of her husband, and galvanized the allegiance of the Italian merchants of the city to his cause. There is also Tobit, a man of unwavering faith, to whom the Lord restored his sight. Perhaps, on reflection, Louis understood through the example of Tobit that the Lord had restored his health after his terrible imprisonment, despite what Louis saw as his deplorable failure on the Crusade.

There can be no doubt, of course, that the three author portraits of Solomon form the focal point of this second section and in this series of images, Weiss has seen a remarkable subprogram, a representation reflecting Louis's microcosmic circumstances in the Holy Land.[496] In the first Proverbs image, titled "Wisdom," Solomon enthroned is dressed in Byzantine-style regalia,[497] and his *amanuensis* is seated before him with his book open, awaiting instructions. These two figures, accompanied by three other important figures – Holy Wisdom, Christ, and the Virgin – are seated in an elaborate architectural setting that seems to evoke the king's presence in a formal audience. It is clearly meant to symbolize Solomon's temple,[498] which Weiss argues convincingly is based on *Bible Moralisée* imagery, the Templum Domini, and Sainte Chapelle itself. Whether it could have also reflected the king's audience hall in Acre during his residence is unknown, but the symbolism is clear, as Weiss explains it. What is fascinating about this "portrait" and the two following, where Solomon is again accompanied by his *amanuensis* seated under a trefoil Gothic arch, is the variations given both king and attendant. In the second scene, titled "Parables," the king is now wearing more "Western" dress – a blue cloak over royal gray tunic decorated with gold – evoking the Old Testament leaders such as Moses or Gideon in earlier frontispieces. But here he wears again the Byzantine-style crown as in the "Wisdom" image, and the *amanuensis* is standing with his arms crossed on his chest. It is a gesture of submission and veneration known to be accorded the Byzantine emperor.[499] In the third scene, titled "Proverbs," the king's representation is again with the Byzantine-style crown and the more "Western" dress, but this time it is a red cloak over a blue royal tunic decorated with gold, like David and Solomon in the earlier frontispieces. Here the attendant is now seated on the ground, with his legs crossed instead of his arms, reflecting formal Near Eastern Arab practice between a teacher and his student.[500]

The intent of these three "portraits" seems clear. First, the artist wanted to link these images of Solomon directly to the imagery of the frontispieces in the first part of the manuscript, while also giving special emphasis to the royal figure by his unique presentation in the "Wisdom" image. What is significant about this representation is not, however, that the king looks Byzantine, but that this image evokes the image of a Crusader king, because the Crusader kings were, since the second half of the twelfth century, wearing regalia strongly modeled on Byzantine types. So for Louis, he was meant to understand that this is relevant to Louis himself as the new Solomon, a "Crusader" king in his Gothic-inspired "Templum Ludovicensis." Second, the topos of the royal figure with his attendant is meant to evoke for us the king in dialogue with the Frankish, Byzantine, and Arab[501] cultures of the Latin Kingdom. The biblical wisdom of these Books of Proverbs is directed to benefit Louis IX in dealing with this multicultural society that he was called to lead. It was a daunting challenge, and these images are both a subtle and sophisticated indication on the one hand, and a magnificent and forthright expression on the other, of what Louis had to deal with as the Crusader leader in residence.

This "Bible" program of frontispieces ends with the books of Maccabees and Ruth, represented with appropriate, if personal, imagery, to some extent. In a direct and positive representation, the Maccabees of course are shown as victorious soldiers overcoming the infidels, their oppressors. This is what Louis aspired to achieve, by military and diplomatic action. But Ruth is a remarkable choice to end the second section and the program overall.

Ruth exemplifies filial piety, self-sacrifice, and moral integrity. These are virtues by which Louis attempted to live his life. These are virtues his wife, Marguerite, also exemplified. The familiar scenes of Ruth and Boaz that conclude the imagery here definitely give a personal, meditative, somewhat introspective and reflective ending to a richly varied program in this manuscript.

Based on the visual content of these frontispieces as proposed, several conclusions can be drawn. First, the imagery of Arsenal MS 5211 provides an ensemble that, like its text, is meant to edify its owner, its reader. Whether the biblical book is long or short, there is a major frontispiece for every one. The frontispieces therefore, individually and collectively, provide a special index of the content of this "Bible," which direct the reader's attention to certain themes and lessons. In section one, we find a selective historical narrative dealing with the promise of the Holy Land from God, the idea of a people chosen for that land, and access to and leadership in the Holy Land. In section two one finds role models for a leader in the Holy Land in terms of worthy men and women of the Old Testament. It is nothing less than a very personal, biblically based early version of a *livre du roi*, the kind of a book for princes that Philippe III would commission later more explicitly from one of his Dominicans, frère Laurence, in the late thirteenth century.[502] Second, the nature of this program in Arsenal MS 5211 corresponds to the responsibilities that Louis stated in his letter of August 1250, where he explained his obligations to continue his efforts to reconquer and to defend the Crusader Kingdom, among others. Third, it seems that we may reasonably entertain the possibility that Louis IX in fact commissioned this book at the time he made his decision to stay in the Holy Land in August 1250. I propose that the specific program contained in this book, both in images and in text, pertains to the personal and royal agenda of Louis IX in Acre at this time. I suggest that it was produced for him in the succeeding months, between August 1250 and late March 1251, after which he went to Nazareth on pilgrimage and then moved to Caesarea to assist the reconstruction efforts there. Seen in terms of this scenario, we can bear in mind that the production of Arsenal MS 5211 would have an additional parallel to Sainte Chapelle, along with those already so persuasively argued by Weiss.[503] Recall that Sainte Chapelle was commissioned and carried out in the middle 1240s as a statement of Louis's Crusade ideology while his preparations for the expedition in 1248 were vigorously in progress. In a similar way, the Arsenal Bible may well have been commissioned and carried out during Louis's energetic activity in Acre during the nine-month period when he endeavored to significantly strengthen the fortifications of the city, while endeavoring to bring home the Crusader prisoners by diplomatic means. It provided him with a very personal book of Bible history and Bible heroes, which contained an Old Testament–based visual agenda for his leadership role in the Latin Kingdom on which to meditate and reflect.

The question remains, if he did commission this book in the late summer of 1250 in Acre, how did he manage to have it produced? There had been no significant luxury books made in Acre for many years. The only scriptoria that apparently existed were presumably those in the hands of the patriarch of Jerusalem attached to the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, and those belonging to the religious and military orders, about which we know virtually nothing specific at this time, *c.*1250. Furthermore, where could Louis have found a high-quality master painter to carry out this commission? Further examination of Arsenal MS 5211 will help us propose a framework in which the answers to these questions may be found.

As the analysis of Buchthal and Weiss have demonstrated, the specific iconography of MS 5211 is based on a series of major biblical cycles, known from important thirteenth-century French manuscripts from Paris, and mostly middle Byzantine manuscripts from Constantinople. These manuscripts include the Moralized Bible now in Oxford, Bodley MS 270b, produced in Paris by *c.*1240 and the Morgan Old Testament Picture Book, MS 638, made there in the mid-1240s, as well as the Byzantine books of the Octateuch, Books I–IV Kings, and imagery of an aristocratic psalter like the Paris Psalter, books originally in the imperial library in Constantinople. The fact that we can identify the sources so precisely enables us to know which rich resources were placed in the hands of the scriptorium manager and the artist of this project in Acre. The question of how this artist was able to access such resources in Acre, around September 1250, is a difficult issue to explain, but far from inconsequential to consider. Clearly the answer, however, must involve Louis IX, who apparently ordered this codex to be made and who alone possessed sufficient financial and political resources to make it possible to produce a work of this elegance and importance in the embattled city of Acre at this time.

There is no need to rehearse the full iconographical analysis carried out so ably by Buchthal and Weiss. We may, however, note some important pictorial features found in these miniatures that pertain to the program of the manuscript and the circumstances of its production. The fact is that each frontispiece has certain special iconographical characteristics that give it a distinctive character, identify or at least refer us to its source(s), and exemplify the fact that it was made in the Crusader Near East. Briefly, what are some of those special features that distinguish these images?

In the Creation frontispiece (Fig. 146), the representation of the Lord as Jesus with a crossed halo performing his creative acts in an orb of the world held before him is, as Buchthal and Weiss have shown, originally derived from Byzantine sources, but are immediately dependent on the Moralized Bibles.[504] Nonetheless, apparently one of those scenes is unique, possibly invented in Acre for this program, namely the imagery of the Creation of Eve in which she appears frontally and prominently from the groin of Adam who is, and this is the notable feature, represented lying with his back toward us. Obviously the choice of this scene and this design places the emphasis on Eve, and this is one of several examples in the illustrations of Arsenal MS 5211 where women are singled out for special attention, perhaps with Queen Marguerite in mind.[505]

The lower half of this frontispiece with five scenes of the Adam and Eve/Cain and Abel story, seems, however, to have been based on a different but no less impressive manuscript, the Morgan Old Testament Picturebook, MS 638, with certain variations. Not only do the iconographic elements mostly closely follow MS 638, but also the style of the nude figures is somewhat comparable. Several bits of iconography here are also unusual. Although the Admonishment of the Lord appears here as in MS 638, the Lord has reversed his hands and Adam and Eve, still innocent, do not cover their genitals. In the scene of Eve spinning and Adam delving after their expulsion, Cain and Abel appear as we see them in MS 638, but whereas they are both working as children in tunics in MS 638, in MS 5211 Cain is a young boy clothed in a tunic, whereas Abel is still an infant suckling at his mother's breast, a variation rarely seen.[506] In the last scene, with Cain and Abel presenting their offerings, the fact is that Abel is depicted looking back over his shoulder, away from the altar and the Lord above. It is as if he was turning to see the next episode, which in Arsenal MS 5211 does not exist, but does in MS 638.[507] Finally we also note an Eastern touch to this ensemble, namely, the camels added to the creation scene of the animals. Thus, we find the end result of this page to be a de novo creation of the artist; in fact this is what characterizes the set of frontispieces for the Pentateuch, indeed for the entire manuscript. What is impressive in nearly every case is the way Byzantine and French iconography – sometimes together, sometimes separately – have been combined with reference to Near Eastern visual aspects to create an original version of familiar narrative cycles, done by a major master with deep French Gothic and Byzantine stylistic sensibilities.

Consider the other examples in the first section of this Bible history. The frontispieces for Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy are all based on the "standard middle Byzantine cycle of Old Testament illustration," derived from the Octateuchs or other manuscripts that reflect the same tradition.[508] The Arsenal Master, however, represents the central figure of these episodes, Moses, in the characteristic Western manner, that is, bearded, in contrast to the Byzantine mode of a youthful, beardless figure. In effect, Moses is shown to be a "Westerner" in the midst of his Eastern context, like Louis, the new Moses, who commissioned this book. It is also true that the narratives of two of these frontispieces – those of Leviticus and Numbers – are rearranged with certain scenes inserted from an earlier book, Exodus, to maintain the focus on the deeds of Moses.[509] And the dramatic scene of Moses loosening his sandals before the Burning Bush in which the head of the Lord appears in Exodus is another instance, one of several, in which the artist has drawn on the Moralized Bibles and Morgan MS 638 for his model.[510] Yet these illustrations also have scattered indications of the contemporary Eastern setting in terms of the costumes of certain figures, especially notable in the Leviticus images.

Compared with the Pentateuch illustrations, the frontispiece to Joshua is almost exclusively based on a Byzantine source. Joshua is seen as the agent of God conquering the Holy

Land, a triumphant general as Louis hoped to be as well. The question of which Byzantine source is reflected here, the Joshua Roll from the tenth century or the source of the Vatopedi Octateuch from the late thirteenth century, is a matter of debate. Weiss and Buchthal argue that source was ultimately the Joshua Roll, but that both the Arsenal Master (1250) and the Vatopedi 602 artist (*c.*1290)[511] reflect changes in that cycle, perhaps from an intermediate model. The most significant point here for our purposes is that most likely the Byzantine model used by the Arsenal Master was from Constantinople, quite possibly in the early thirteenth century. This means that the Arsenal painter apparently had recent and substantial access to Byzantine manuscripts during the Frankish presence in the Latin Empire before working in Acre. Even so, there is no slavish copying here. The order of the scenes has been changed to lend dramatic effect to the telling of Joshua's story, placing emphasis on the scenes of Joshua and the Angel, and Rahab's courageous assistance to Joshua's soldiers while reconnoitering inside the city before the attack. The depiction of Rahab is another example of special emphasis being given to biblical women who were instrumental in these stories. The city of Jericho is, however, transformed from its appearance in the early Octateuchs, so that here, with its yellow stone masonry and turreted towers, it evokes the fortified cities that Louis found in the Holy Land, at Acre and elsewhere. This depiction furthermore resembles closely the imagery found slightly later in the illustrated *Histoire Universelle* and *History of Outremer* manuscripts done in Acre.[512] Here it seems we can see the Arsenal Master initiating a contemporary mode of painting the image of the "fortified city" in Acre, which is then carried on in secular painting here long after his departure.

Judges is one of the important books of the Byzantine Octateuch, so it is no surprise to find the imagery of this frontispiece heavily reliant on Byzantine iconography from this source. The episodes of Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson are all recognizeably based on the Byzantine tradition with certain modifications, but with the exception of the destruction of the Midianites. Buchthal and Weiss see this incident as deriving specifically from the Oxford Moralized Bibles,[513] yet nonetheless the soldiers are clearly wearing Byzantine armor.

When we reach the frontispieces the Books of Kings, the strength of the Byzantine sources is less strong compared with the books of the Octateuch, both in number of extant manuscripts and in number of illustrations. In fact there is only one fully illustrated Byzantine codex of Kings,[514] in contrast to the six extant Octateuch manuscripts. The result is that despite the fact that much of the Kings imagery may derive ultimately from Byzantine sources, it is harder to identify exactly what that source may have been, and the strength of Western manuscripts as the immediate model regularly seems stronger, along with occasional details drawn from the artist's Near Eastern context.[515] In I Kings the anointing of Saul and David and Goliath have certain Byzantine details. But the seated King Saul with his crown, his costume, and his throne – the *sella curulis* – is explicitly Western, based on the French coronation ritual, as also seen in MS 638.[516] The depiction of Goliath falling with the stone from David's sling stuck to his forehead is also a Western idea, seen in both the Moralized Bibles (e.g., Vienna MS 2554) and in MS 638, although the poses are closer to those in the former.[517]

For II Kings the anointing of David is handled in a manner similar to that of Saul, but with a labarum and a golden orb, without the faldstool and with a Byzantine bench throne. These details indicate that, as Weiss perceptively argues, the artist is actually basing his images of anointing on the Ordo of 1250, a work which Louis IX had produced shortly before he left France on Crusade.[518] Truly Louis is the new David, the Lord's anointed, as seen here crowned in his red and blue garments, in fact in all three scenes.

Near Eastern details are also evident here in the scene where the house of Israel led by David plays musical instruments before the Lord. Not only is one of the four musicians playing with David wearing a turban, but all of the instruments these five figures play are also given an Eastern form. David plays an early Arab precursor of the lute. There are also cymbals, a tambourine, a psaltery, and a slightly curved shawm, all instruments derived from Arab sources.[519]

The strength of the Byzantine tradition is also forcefully indicated in the rebuke of Nathan in the lower register, where the artist has shown David kneeling before Nathan with an angel *and* a personification of *metanoia* (repentence). In Byzantine works only one of the accompanying figures is usually found, but here greater emphasis is being placed on the repentance by having both with David in front of Nathan. The Arsenal painter has transformed the angel behind David in the Byzantine source into *metanoia*, and the angel has somewhat awkwardly been painted full length at the left, for which the model was only half length. It is a rare lapse in the high quality of these figures, as Buchthal points out.[520] Nonetheless, it shows the interest the patron had in the theme of repentence, a theme with which Louis IX was indeed obsessed following his release from prison in Egypt, as reported by Joinville. It also shows the wealth of sources – a Byzantine MS of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus and a Byzantine aristocratic Psalter – which the artist of the Arsenal MS 5211 could draw on.

In III Kings, the combination of Byzantine imperial regalia and French coronation ritual is continued in the depiction of the transfer of rule from David to his son, Solomon. Again, the seated king, Solomon, is anointed as before and this time he himself holds the labarum and the orb. But here the priestly king, David, is mourned by Solomon and Bathsheba at his burial, wearing Byzantine clerical robes and honored with a halo, which even Moses was not accorded in his burial scene for Deuteronomy.[521] Considerable emphasis is placed on this frontispiece overall, not only by the royal iconography in each scene, but also by the bold designs of the quatrefoils and the elegant equal-armed crosses. In some sense this is a climactic image for section one, which is to be linked with the three portrait images of Solomon in section two. By contrast, the IV Kings frontispiece brings the first section of this manuscript program to a close. It features the story of Elijah, a true man of God, and the power of faith. It illustrates how even kingship is limited by the faith of the leader.

By contrast to the books of the Old Testament found in the first section of this Bible, all of which show the significant impact of Byzantine models, six of the nine frontispieces in the second section – those for Judith, Esther, Job, Tobit, Maccabees, and Ruth – have little or virtually no Byzantine iconography. In some cases, for example, with the books of Ruth and Job, Byzantine models certainly existed that were simply not used, in favor of Western ones. In other cases, for example, with Esther and Tobit, there simply are no Byzantine models. In the cases of these six narrative frontispieces, their sources are therefore Western, mostly French, and mostly from the Moralized Bibles. But some also show the most interesting array of Near Eastern visual vocabulary in terms of costume – robes, headdresses, and accessories – and animals. In the Judith frontispiece we find her in an elegant and somewhat exotic silk costume in addition to the oriental headdresses worn by numerous Israelites in her company. The frontispiece to Esther returns to the royal iconography seen in I–III Kings, combining French and Byzantine aspects.

It is perhaps in the scenes for the Book of Job where we see the richest combination of an observed Near Eastern visual repertory – the Crusader version of "Gothic Naturalism" – combined with a Western cycle. Buchthal has pointed out how "the arrangement of this page was undoubtedly suggested to the Arsenal master by a Western model in which the grouping of the episodes from the story of Job was similar to that in the Erlangen Bible."[522] This south German Bible, the Gumpert Bible now in Erlangen of *c.*1200,[523] with certain indications of French influence, is an example of the giant Bibles that were so popular in Europe, especially in Germany and Italy, and elsewhere to a lesser extent. Weiss has scrutinized this page in Arsenal MS 5211 in great detail, drawing our attention to the Near Eastern subtleties that might otherwise be missed. Everyone can recognize the camels and the exotic hats worn by the Chaldeans in the central-right half medallion. But in the scene of Job and three friends, the scene at the lower right, the iconography reveals some unusual details as analyzed by Weiss. Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite are wearing Eastern dress, unlike what is found in the Erlangen Bible or Oxford Bodley MS 270b. In addition to their handsome turbans with trailing endpieces, we can also see that the figure in the foreground has the ornamental embroidered silk *tiraz* on his robe. Weiss also notes that this foreground figure "holds in his left hand the *zizith*, fringes made of knotted threads usually attached to a man's *tallit* as a sign of religious devotion and a means of distinguishing Jew from Gentile. Even the color scheme of white threads with an entwined cord "blue as the sky" was prescribed in the Bible and Talmudic law. In this image, the *zizith* are not worn properly affixed to the corners of a garment, but are present to signify that these figures are indeed Jews."[524] The ability of this painter to show Job's friends as Eastern Jews and to render such distinctions among the multicultural population he must have seen in Acre is a tribute both to his ability as a painter and his powers of observing and understanding the varieties of dress among the diverse peoples around him.

We have already discussed certain aspects of the three author portraits of Solomon and their internal program, which form the climax of these frontispieces in the second section. What is significant, however about these monumental images, images that interrupt the narrative flow of these frontispieces and thus draw attention to their importance, is the richness of the iconographic repertory for the first effigy, Solomon, who appears at the beginning of his book of proverbs, titled "Wisdom," and provides the grand introduction to the other two portraits. In the first instance it is clear that the iconography of the Moralized Bibles provides a basic source for the imagery of the king enthroned with his *amanuensis* in an architectural setting.[525] Secondly, not only does this impressive composition draw on the Byzantine aristocratic Psalter tradition of the imagery of David and the personification of "melodia" as is familiar from the Paris Psalter,[526] for example, but also the Arsenal Master is acquainted with icon painting and Byzantine Bible frontispieces as well. In the imagery of icons of St. Nicholas in particular,[527] we find similar depictions of half-length figures of Christ and the Virgin, albeit carrying different objects, that together with certain manuscript examples, such as the Virgin behind an architectural element in frontispiece to the Niketas Bible,[528] provides clear evidence for the Byzantine traditions that lay behind the conception of this portrait. It is notable, however, that the portrait frontispiece in question departs from its antecedents in various important ways to articulate visually a new and different message. In the portrait, the figure of "melodia" has now been given wings, transforming her into an image of "Holy Wisdom," who is inspiring the king enthroned in his architectural setting. Above, Christ and the Virgin appear half length above the arched balustrade holding scrolls. They are clearly proffering the gift of Holy Wisdom contained on their scrolls – the Virgin's open, that of Christ closed – to the king below who is looking up toward Christ, holding an open book and perhaps listening meditatively to the guidance of Holy Wisdom who is seated closely behind him to the left.

It is these three author portraits that provide a "portrait" of Solomon, but also, in effect, provide effigies of Louis as the new Solomon, both as a Crusader king ("Wisdom") and as a French king in Eastern circumstances ("Parables" and "Proverbs"). These images of Solomon are the climax of the second section, which is actually completed, as we have already seen, with the frontispieces of Maccabees and Ruth.

These frontispieces are clearly the main focus of the decorative program of this manuscript, but they are not the sole elements. An additional important aspect is found in the large decorated initials that begin the text of each biblical book in this codex. All of the initials are done in Gothic style and color, with the painted and ornamented initial set on a gold ground. Besides the repertory of floral and abstract geometric gothic design, six of these initials are also historiated, containing figures that complement the book which they introduce. What can we learn from these six examples?

First, it is interesting to see which books have the historiated initials, and what is depicted in each case.

On folio 2r, at the start of Genesis, the initial "D" contains a Dominican friar seated and writing in a book.

On folio 53v, at the start of Leviticus, the initial "N" contains an image of Moses standing, holding the tablets of the law and gesturing toward the Lord with his right hand, who appears gesturing to him in the sky at the upper left.

On folio 120v, at the start of II Kings, the initial "U" contains a standing, frontal image of king David, crowned and holding an orb surmounted by a cross, and a scepter topped by a fleur-de-lis.

On folio 155r, at the start of III Kings, the initial "A" contains a messenger kneeling before King David to tell him of Saul's death. The distraught king seated, tears his garments in grief.

On folio 221r, at the start of IV Kings, the initial "C" contains an image of King Ahaziah falling headfirst from a window in his palace to his death.

Finally, on folio 297r, at the start of Tobit, we see in the initial, "T," Tobit tenderly burying a Jewish kinsman killed by the Assyrians.

Working our way backward through this series, we see first of all that the choice of books to receive historiated as opposed to mere decorated initials is somewhat random, and there is no particular explanation for why there are six or why these particular books have been chosen to receive the historiated initials. Nonetheless, the themes chosen for the historiated initials are clearly purposeful. The Tobit initial focuses on the piety of this holy man and reminds us of Louis joining in the burial of his fallen soldiers in Egypt. The fact that three initials for Books II–IV Kings are chosen is no surprise, given the importance of these books in the first section of the Bible. Some of the main themes recognized in the frontispieces are also alluded to here. First there is the effigy of the king in full regalia, a parallel to Louis, in effect, as a new Crusader king. Then there is the news of the death of a royal figure brought to the king. For Louis this imagery would carry a poignant reference to the news of the death of his brother, Robert of Artois in February 1250, following the Crusader attack on the Muslim army at Mansourah.[529] The death of Ahaziah is also shown as the fulfillment of Elijah's prophecy in IV Kings 1. Even though the text does not specify exactly how Ahaziah died, he is shown falling literally and symbolically from power, the victim of his lack of faith in the true God. In the initial for Leviticus, which shows Moses holding the law of God, we can see the representation as a sign for Louis, the new Moses, to uphold God's law as well. Finally, the Dominican scribe on folio 2r seems to indicate something important about how this manuscript was done, which I address later in the chapter.

Before looking into the circumstances in which this book may have been produced, we can conclude our discussion of the book itself with a consideration of the style of the artist. As noted earlier he is a painter of great accomplishment who is able to combine both French Gothic and Byzantine imagery with impressive skill. The frontispieces demonstrate both the sophistication and the high level of quality that this artist could achieve in his biblical imagery. The iconography and, to some extent, the figure style of these frontispieces is clearly drawn from the French and Byzantine sources available to him. The most striking and novel aspect of these frontispieces is, however, the ornamental designs that appear, mostly taken from the repertory of stained-glass windows. These designs and the essentially French Gothic character of the painted initials clearly indicate the French background of this artist.[530] What is impressive, however, is the way he has been able to combine elegant French Royal models with equally impressive Byzantine imperial models in producing his end result, in terms of not only the ornament, but also the figure style, iconography, and *mise en page*. Examination of the iconography has enabled us understand the varied sources on which this master's work is based. Analysis of his style can also tell us something about his training and other contemporary work that he may have participated in. Given the fact that only one figure painter seems to have been employed in Arsenal MS 5211, we may understand that he was an artist with an established reputation, to be called on for an exclusive commission from the king.

What are the characteristics of his style, and what other works are most closely related to his miniatures in the Arsenal Bible in stylistic terms? Just as we have seen in earlier major manuscripts from Jerusalem and Acre, codices such as the Melisende Psalter or the Riccardiana Psalter, the style of the miniatures in the Arsenal Bible features a blend of East and West that gives it its distinctive character as a Crusader work. In this case, however, the formal handling, its distinctive "look," is based primarily on a marriage of Gothic naturalism with Byzantine figure design. Indeed it is this union of Gothic and Byzantine together with the individual style of this master that is notably original with him, and unprecedented at Acre.[531]

The figures in these frontispieces, be they standing, seated, kneeling, walking, or reclining, shown frontally, in three-quarter view, or in profile, demonstrate a command of design and an ease of representation that is immediately convincing and impressive. These figures are organically conceived and have naturalistic proportions but tend to be somewhat stocky, often with large heads, hands, and feet. The few nude figures demonstrate a careful observation of the human body and a fluid manner of joining the limbs to the torso. The clothed figures feature draperies that are substantial, but clearly articulate the parts of the body with emphasis on the arms and shoulders, the torso, and the lower legs, depending on the pose.

The manner in which these figures are painted give them a certain monumentality and a volumetric quality that enables them to hold their own even set against the standard gold grounds in these frontispieces. The faces and exposed parts of the body are finely modeled in light and shade. The method of painting the faces, for example, seems to be based on a Byzantine technique combined with Gothic line. We see modeling in terms of sometimes dark, sometimes light greenish-grey or greyish-brown shading. Overall, there is a smooth integrated slightly three-dimensional effect of the skin defined by line, outlining one side of the nose and brow, as well as the eyes, sometimes with a linear extension from the eye back toward the ear, which often gives these figures what Buchthal referred to as a spectacled effect. Line is also important in the definition of the figure, outlining the body and the draperies, giving rhythmical shape to the folds: black outlines and white edge lines. The linearism is part of the Gothic quality of this artist, but it is distinct from the long straight extensions or the rather more flat decorative patterns of, for example, the masters of Morgan MS 638. In the Arsenal painter we see lines that define bulging forms and three-dimensional drapery patterns, some quite complex.

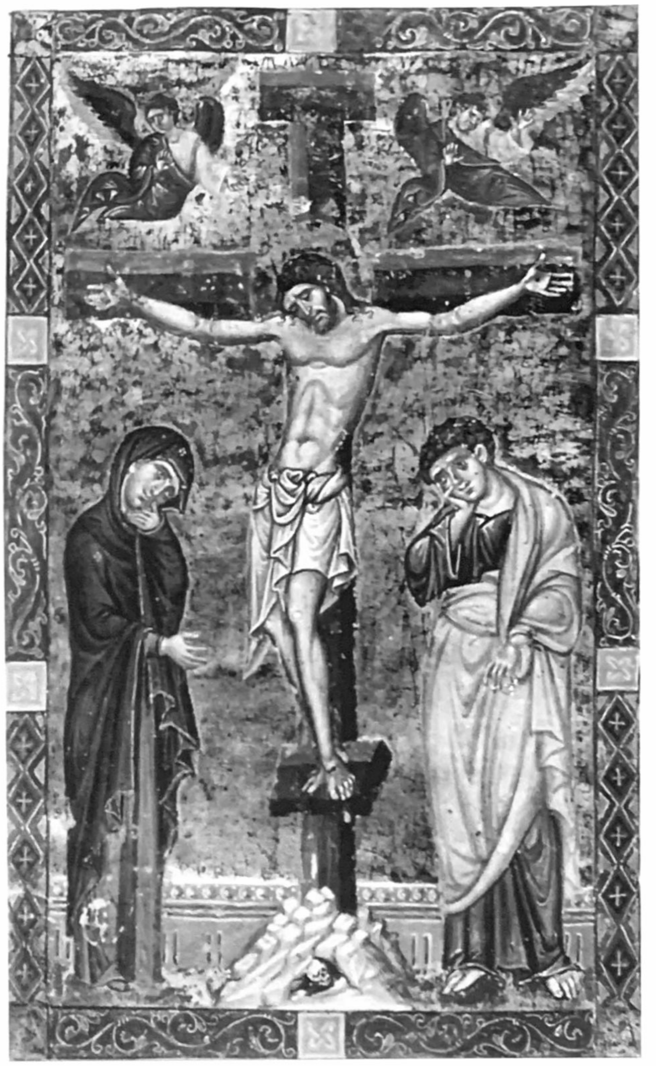
Finally we can notice that these figures are painted virtually without any emphasis on highlights. The color palette is regular, based on soft hues, mainly reds, roses and pinks, blues, grays, with occasional greens, and tans. The grays and blues of the figures tend to be dark and strong, forming a consistent appearance through these frontispieces against which the other colors can be seen. The system of modeling is based on modulated variations of lighter and darker shades of these colors and does not rely on Byzantine chrysography or the yellow or white highlights often found in earlier Crusader painting. The smooth finish of the skin and colored garments is also notable in that on close observation it appears quite painterly.

Not only can one sometimes see aspects of brushstrokes, but also it is possible to note subtle linear highlights blended into the coloration of the face, for example. Viewed in the normal way, the artist achieves a representation that suggests an integrated, even lighting over the figure, resulting in an effect of convincing three-dimensional volume. Furthermore, the figures move, gesture, and pose in a natural way that dramatizes their presence.

By contrast with the figure style, the handling of the settings is simplified. Apart from the ever-present ground line, indications of setting are usually minimal with certain exceptions. Where there are important landscapes, as with the scenes of Moses and the Israelites, or Elisha and Elijah, or significant architecture as seen in the Joshua and Judith, or the three Proverbs frontispieces, these too are also handled in terms of distinctive design. The mountains are plainly based on Byzantine types, and they are one of the few elements in these paintings that regularly utilize white highlights.[532] The architecture is variable according to the needs of the story. In the case of Joshua, the crumbling walls of the city of Jericho show strongly defined masonry and walls and towers topped by crenellations that reflect Crusader fortifications. The walled city in the Judith frontispiece shows a typical Gothic walled-city convention in terms of three-dimensional forms and red and blue color, without the explicit indication of masonry. The three Proverbs pages, however, are striking in contrast to the other frontispieces by virtue of their dramatic use of the Gothic pointed arches as an indication of location.

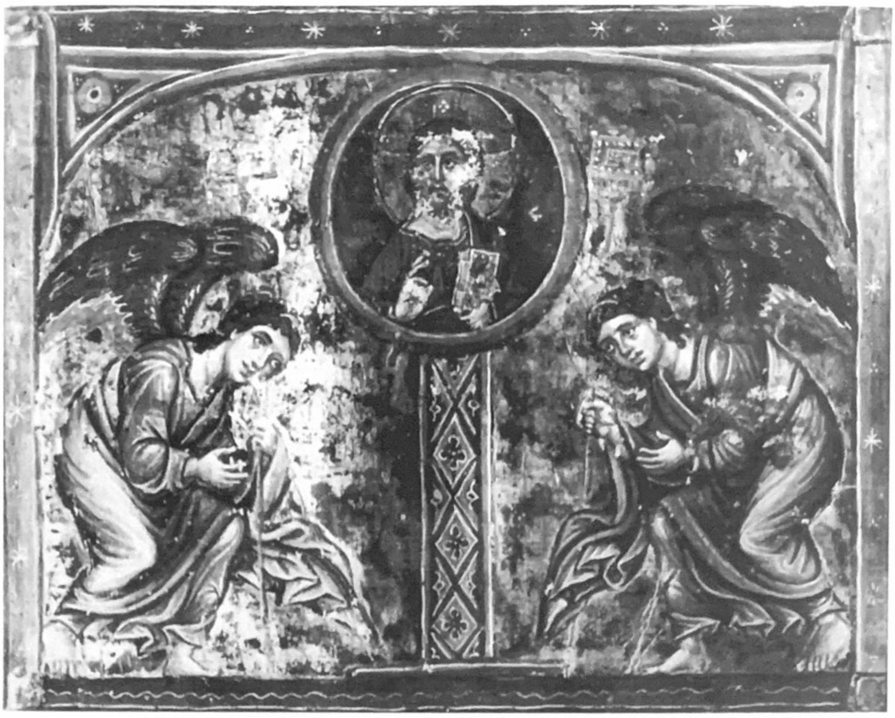
In sum, with few exceptions, the artist shows impressive control in the design and painting of these figures, a repertory of figures whether large or small, that seem so homogeneous in all aspects as to be the product of one hand.[533] The artist is obviously using traditional conventions of design here, drawn from both Gothic and Byzantine sources, but he blends them so skillfully that he brings his figures to life by infusing these conventions with his own acute observation of the visible world, his own command of Gothic naturalism. He appears clearly to be a French-trained painter who has had the opportunity to study important, high-quality Byzantine miniature painting during his formative period. The result in the Arsenal Bible is an ensemble of figural decoration that is rooted in strong French Gothic and Byzantine traditions, yet is also creative and distinctive. The sophistication and finish of the painting in the Arsenal Bible define its individual style. As an ensemble of outstanding quality and as a program of painting in a personal book for King Louis IX, this achievement "takes its place among the great Bible illustrations of the thirteenth century."[534] It is also original. We have not seen a program of this size and complexity, nor have we seen this style in Acre before 1250.

To the extent that this style is something new, not seen in Crusader, Byzantine or western European painting to this time, the question arises whether it has any close parallels. Buchthal proposes that "the nearest stylistic relatives to the Arsenal Bible are... the manuscripts in Perugia and Padua; the figures and scenes in the initials of the Perugia Missal, especially, are so similar that they might almost be the work of the same master."[535] Let us consider these manuscripts and other relevant *comparanda* to assess their relationship to the Arsenal Bible and their importance for understanding the production of manuscript painting in Acre.



149. The Perugia Missal, Bibl. Capitolare, MS 6 (olim 21): fol. 182v, Frontispiece to the Canon of the Mass, Crucifixion (full-page panel). (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia)

THE PERUGIA MISSAL, *C.*1250 (FIGS. 149–151, CD NOS. 72–79): There is in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Perugia a liturgical manuscript, which because of its calendar and because of its painted decoration has particular importance for our understanding of artistic developments in Acre in the mid-thirteenth century. Now designated as MS 6, this codex is a large missal in Latin written by a French scribe, with two panel miniatures, one of which actually contains a historiated initial "T" for the start of the Canon of the Mass, and four other regular historiated initials.[536] The calendar is notable because of several features. First, there is at 12 July a commemoration of the "dedicatio ecclesie Acconensis," with an octave on 19 July for this dedication. This seems clearly to be a reference to the retaking of the city of Acre by the Crusaders on 12 July 1191 and a rededication of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross. It is an important reference because it provides a clear liturgical link between this manuscript and the city of Acre, where we interpret the codex to have been done and where this codex was intended to be used, presumably in that church. Second, the characteristic entries found in earlier manuscripts made for Jerusalem use are mostly lacking in this calendar, which places further emphasis

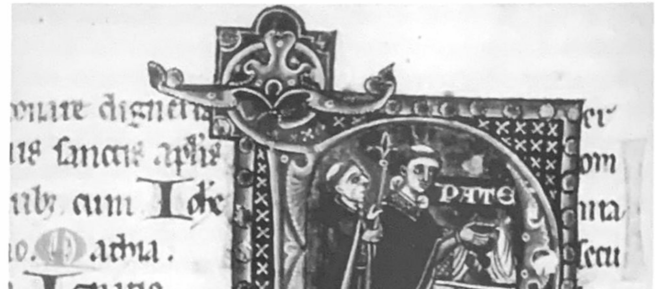


150. The Perugia Missal, fol. 183r, (T)e igitur..., (headpiece), Christ between two worshipping angels. (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia)

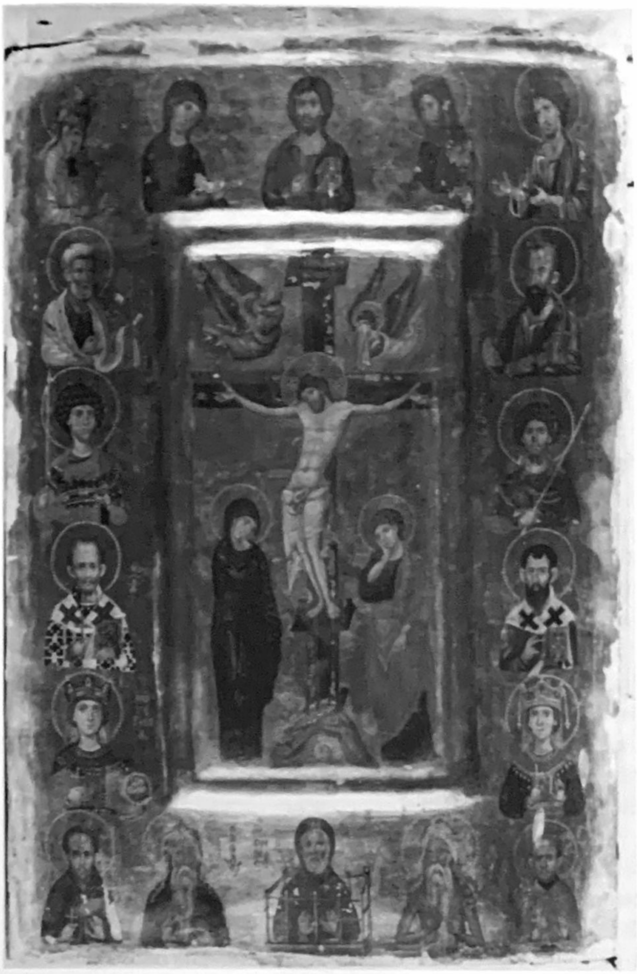
on the references to the "ecclesie Acconensis." Some other notable new entries that are found include a commemoration for St. Francis on his feast day, October 4, and one for St. Dominic on 5 August. These two entries are slightly later insertions, that is, done by a different hand, but very soon after the basic calendar was prepared. This seems to accord with the idea that the manuscript was intended for the use of the cathedral, that is, not for either the Franciscan or Dominican houses in Acre, and that these entries were added to the main calendar shortly afterward, to bring it up-to-date as it were. It is also interesting that the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin on 2 February, is now referred to here as the "Ypapanti domini," as it is also in the Riccardiana Psalter, using the Byzantine term for this commemoration of the Latin Purification of the Virgin, but citing it in Latin.[537]

As mentioned earlier, the scribe who wrote the calendar and the text of this missal appears to be French, but the painters who decorated the book have been the source of some discussion. Buchthal astutely identified the work of at least two separate painters in this codex, one who did the two panel miniatures, including a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion. The other painter executed the four historiated initials and the major decorated initials.[538] When Buchthal published this manuscript in 1957, he used as his primary comparison for the Crucifixion, the Ryerson Diptych, a pair of panels he attributed to a Venetian painter, now in the Art Institute of Chicago[539] (Appendix no. 130, Figs. 412, 413). His claim however that "the closest parallel for the illustration of the Crucifixion... both stylistically and iconographically" is this panel painting is no longer valid and must be reconsidered.

In fact the closest iconographical parallels to this Crucifixion can be seen to be a Crucifixion in another missal, Egerton MS 3153, now in London, which Buchthal knew and discussed[540] (Fig. 153), and an icon painting in the collection of



151. The Perugia Missal, fol. 185r, (P)er omnia..., (historiated initial) Priest celebrating Mass. (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Perugia)



152. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 104/1732, Panel with the Crucifixion, surrounded by the busts of holy figures. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

St. Catherine's at Mount Sinai, first published by Weitzmann in 1963, about which Buchthal did not know in 1957[541] (Fig. 152). The closest stylistic parallel to this Crucifixion and especially to the closely related headpiece with the historiated "T" decorated with a medallion of Christ worshipped by two bowing angels, is a work Buchthal also did not know in 1957. It is a fresco painting discovered in Istanbul in 1967, in a chapel with scenes of the life of St. Francis, apparently done in Constantinople during the period of the Latin Empire.[542] Significantly for our understanding of painting in Acre at this time, both of the painters working in the Perugia Missal can also be seen to be closely related to the master of the Arsenal Bible and to other works done in Acre about this time. Detailed consideration of these points can help us to better understand the new developments in painting in Acre.

Buchthal's stylistic distinction of hands is still useful and shows once again what a sharp eye for style he possessed. In the panel miniatures we see statuesque and expressive figures, with strong sculpturesque qualities. In contrast to the Arsenal Bible master, however, the first Perugia Missal painter employs substantial highlights, and there is strong use of light and dark shading to enhance the volumetric quality of these figures. Moreover, the skin tones are painted with greenish-gray shading and the feet have reddish outlines, both also characteristic of icon painting. In particular the draperies of the angels on both miniatures are complex and voluminous with vigorous white highlighting. We also notice agitated passages of drapery that float out from their arms ending in sharp points. The dynamic action of the angels in both panels is contrasted with the tranquility of the central figures of Christ in both cases, and in the Crucifixion Mary and John are standing quietly, lost in their grief, mainly expressed in their hand gestures and inclined heads. Overall the figures seem to have stocky proportions similar to those of the Arsenal Bible master, and there are similarities also in the repertory of decorative ornament in the border of the Crucifixion panel and the vertical stem of the "T" to the ornament of the Arsenal Bible frontispieces.[543] These similarities seem to be those associated with a common workshop tradition, however, and do not indicate the work of a single artist.

Besides the differences in the volumetric treatment of the figures and the use of highlights, the stronger indications of interest in Byzantine icon painting technique in the first Perugia painter's work is another distinguishing aspect. Also the characteristic treatment of the faces, although similar in design, shows smaller eyes with greater emphasis on a deeply shaded "glancing eye" treatment. We also note that only sometimes is the linear definition of the eye, with the linear extension of the eye along the side of the head, included, as with the standing Virgin in the Crucifixion panel. Here as elsewhere, however, the artist's interests are much more aimed at three-dimensional modeling and much less at the linear clarity of the Arsenal Bible master by comparison.

The second Perugia Missal artist was responsible for the smaller, more conventional historiated initials and the few decorated initials without figural designs. Again, as in the Arsenal Bible, these initials in the Perugia Missal are completely French, although there are some variations in design. By and large the figures in these initials are fleshy and thickset, with large heads and emphatic gestures. By contrast to the panel miniatures, the figural designs in the initials are somewhat simpler, much more linear in emphasis with less interest in volumetric quality or the use of highlights. This artist does not explore the use of light and dark shading to anything near the same degree. Thus, to paraphrase Buchthal, it is as if this French-trained artist is given more robust Crusader models to imitate – especially those of the first Perugia Missal painter and possibly also certain Arsenal Bible figures – which he translates into works that partake of this workshop style but are quite different in their linear simplicity.[544]

The problematic part of Buchthal's discussion derives from the fact that he links the style of the first Perugia Missal painter with that of the Ryerson Diptych and that of the second Perugia Missal painter with that of the Arsenal Bible.[545] In the first case, we can perhaps agree that the artist of the Ryerson Diptych is a Venetian-trained painter, but my argument is that he was a Venetian-trained Crusader artist working in Acre who was a follower of the Perugia Missal artist, not the source of inspiration for his work. By contrast, the first Perugia Missal painter was in fact French, not Venetian in background.[546] Indeed, as Weitzmann has argued, the likely iconographic model for the first Perugia Missal painter's Crucifixion panel is a panel painting – an icon painting – a purely Byzantine example, or a Crusader version based on a Byzantine model, or both. But the primary stylistic inspiration seems to have come from the workshop of a painter whose main extant production is in Constantinople, whom I discuss later. In the second case, this artist surely based his style on the first Perugia Missal artist in whose workshop he seems to have been employed, and also on the work of the Arsenal Bible master as part of the larger Acre workshop milieu. Consider the details of this proposal.

When Buchthal published the Crucifixion panel in the Perugia Missal in 1957, the best work available for comparison *was* the Ryerson Diptych, despite its differences in iconography and style. Now, however, clearly the work most closely related is the Crucifixion panel from Acre, a "Crusader" icon in St. Catherine's Monastery that Weitzmann published in 1963[547] (Fig. 152). Indeed it is instructive to examine all three Crucifixion examples cited by Weitzmann in his groundbreaking article: a purely Byzantine version,[548] the Crusader icon panel,[549] and the Perugia Missal miniature (Fig. 149). The dead Christ on the cross is similarly tranquil, even serene, in all three cases, but both the iconography and the style is notably different between the Byzantine and the two Crusader examples, and they are slightly different between the two Crusader examples as well. Jesus is nailed to the cross with the older convention of four nails in the Byzantine icon and on the Crusader icon, but the miniature has only three nails. The latter is a very recent development in the early thirteenth century, which is here no doubt part of the artist's French Gothic training.[550] The loincloth of Christ is transparent in the Byzantine example with a rolled knot closure at the waist. It is somewhat ambiguously opaque and partly transparent in the Crusader icon with a kind of double knot at the waist, but in the miniature it is clearly fully colored white with a single knot that is combined with a series of folds over the groin. Nonetheless the shape of the loincloth with the pointed fold on the left side is similar in the two Crusader examples – very different from the irregular circular hem profile found on the Byzantine icon – although the legs of Christ fill the cloth more fully in the Perugia image. The cross itself is substantial in all three examples,[551] but in the Byzantine icon the main beveled part of the cross piece is darkly shaded on its lower horizontal and right vertical part. For the two Crusader examples, however, the main beveled feature is lightly shaded on the upper part of the horizontal crosspiece and on the left vertical part. This handling of the beveled members seems to be a characteristic of Crusader panels that appear to have been done in this workshop. The golden, crossed haloes of Christ are all three rather distinctive. The Byzantine example shows the beautiful burnished version that emphasizes the radiance of light, whereas the two Crusader versions have the same matte gold as their backgrounds. In the case of the icon, it is a cross halo with white simulated pearls set in a red circular border – a typical halo type found in Crusader icon painting workshops. The miniature has an incised halo border only, occasionally used by Crusader icon painters – but not used by the Arsenal Bible master, who has painted borders only. All three Crucifixions have blood flowing from the wounds of Christ at the hands, feet, and side, but surprisingly it is the Byzantine icon with the more copious amounts.

In the case of the inscriptions, including that on the *titulus*, all three are again different. The Byzantine example has only "IC XC" in red on the *titulus*, with another inscription below designating the Crucifixion, both of which are in Greek, of course, and both of which may in fact be repainted. The Crusader icon has different inscriptions, but again, notably, they are all in Greek. The angels, Mary and John are identified, and then on the *titulus* between the letters "IC XC" are the Greek words "O BACILEVC THC DOXHC," "the king of glory," a very Byzantine choice and one which no doubt reflects the wishes of the patron who ordered this icon.[552] By contrast the Perugia miniature has no extant inscriptions, or at least nothing survives if any were originally included on the *titulus* or on the gold background. In the case of the Perugia Missal, of course, we know the patron must have been a Latin clergyman who ordered this Latin liturgical book, so that if any inscriptions had been intended, they would have been in Latin.

Stylistically the figure of Christ is more slender and elongated in the Byzantine icon, compared with the more volumetric, even sculpturesque Crusader versions. Furthermore the details of the anatomy are slightly different in all three, but the two Crusader examples share the round kneecaps and curved muscle line on the leg, as well as the small oval shape on the chest. The conventions for the muscles on the arms are, however, more similar in the Byzantine icon and the Perugia miniature, compared with the smoothly rounded forms of the Crusader icon. The loincloth folds in the two Crusader paintings are similar in the way they are drawn and in their volume.

Similar findings are also seen with the figures of Mary and John. On the Byzantine icon they stand in normal Byzantine poses with heads slightly inclined and restrained hand gestures, the Virgin holding out her right hand up toward Jesus and John holding his right hand to the side of his head. Both figures express a sorrow more internalized than outwardly expressive. In the two Crusader examples, however, not only are their poses more distinctive, with heads inclined more dramatically and with the right side of the Virgin's maphorion forming a sharp downward point, but their gestures are also more specific and complex. The Virgin has lowered her right hand but still holds it out in the Perugia miniature, whereas in the Crusader icon she allows it to be covered with her drapery. Otherwise, however, as Weitzmann points out, these main figures coincide to an astonishing degree.[553] Both Virgin figures share a distinctive gesture with her left hand, where she places her hand with raised thumb close to her nose and face as if on the verge of tears. John's sorrowful gesture of holding his right hand to his head is further emphasized by the placement of his little finger across his cheek toward his nose and leaning his head more heavily on this hand. His left hand is the same in both cases, held downward with the four fingers spread out. The colorism of Mary and John changes, however. In the Byzantine icon, their colors are, for the Virgin, a dark maroon maphorion with gold hems and red tassles, whereas John is in pastel gray and green. In the Crusader icon these colors are completely changed with the Virgin uniformly in very dark blue with yellowish highlights, apparently imitating Byzantine chrysography. John is in a very dark blue or maroon tunic with similar highlights, covered with a stunningly bright red cloak. In the Perugia miniature, the overall colorism is by contrast similar to the Arsenal Bible, both in terms of the French Gothic use of red and blue in the frame, and in the Virgin's blue and gray drapery, colors typical of the main figures in many of the frontispieces.

John's salmon cloak and blue tunic also have some parallels with figures in the frontispieces of the Arsenal Bible.

Stylistically, the figures of Mary and John are notable because in contrast to the thin, attenuated figures in the Byzantine icon, they are much more robust, monumental, and sculpturesque in the two Crusader paintings – somewhat more so in the Perugia panel than in the Crusader icon. John especially is turned more frontally, and so we see him in the breadth of his body. The heavy draperies that both figures wear are striking as are the highlighting and the use of light and shade. Although it can be said that all three paintings use some highlighting and employ light and shade, certainly the Perugia Missal painter uses them most agressively. Indeed, one sees the gray-green shading of the flesh tones in the Byzantine manner even more notably in the Perugia miniature than on the Byzantine icon. The Perugia painter seems to have studied and knows the main techniques of good Byzantine-style painting, or at least what these figures look like, including the red outlines seen on John's feet.

The three Crucifixions differ most perhaps in regard to the representations of the mourning angels. Whereas on the Byzantine icon the angels are tiny and their gestures are directed toward an expression of "behold the Crucified Lord," in the Crusader examples the angels are much larger and their gestures are different. In the Crusader icon the angels are violently mourning as expressed by their contorted bodies and by their hands held to their weeping faces. In the Perugia miniature, the angels are again larger and more active, but their hand gestures are more exclamatory and indicative. Weitzmann notes that the angels in the Crusader icon reflect an overall heightened emotional pitch, with a greater emphasis on the emotional content that reflects a Western-derived, Crusader temperament in contrast to the more controlled and modulated tenor of the Byzantine image. This observation holds true for the Perugia miniature as well, where the angels, although "somewhat different in type . . . nevertheless show the same emotional expressiveness and merely represent variants within the same mode."[554]

Weitzmann noted the distinctions discussed here, and his interpretation was that the Perugia miniature should be dated very slightly later than the Crusader icon, but still *c.*1250. He also suggested that these paintings might have been done in the same workshop, an issue I consider in more detail later. In the end, however, it is striking that although the two icons have certain features that link them more closely, in terms of the way they are painted, it is the Perugia miniature panel that shows the more painterly characteristics of Byzantine technique, an issue that raises the question of where the style of the first Perugia artist may come from. What seems clear is that it did not come directly from either of the icon painters that we have been discussing here, and certainly not from the Ryerson Diptych, which by contrast looks quite different and was apparently done later.[555] Nor can we locate the origins of the first Perugia artist's style in earlier products of the "Acre scriptorium." The Crucifixion of the Naples Missal, done much earlier, *c.*1200,[556] presents some of the basic iconography seen later, with four nails, the gestures of John,[557] and the mourning angels with handkerchiefs. The style of the Naples Missal painter is very different, with short stocky figures and less heightened emotional content.

There is also nothing else that we can identify at Sinai that fully corresponds to this style or that can be dated clearly to 1250. There is, however, a group of small panels that seem to have been part of a Great Deësis, which are worth mentioning here as possible evidence for the contemporary presence of the Franco-Byzantine style at Sinai. We have already seen panels identified as part of Great Deësis groups from Sinai that we have proposed to date in the 1230s, including bust-length images of Christ, interceding figures of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, and pairs of archangels.[558] There are additional small panels of bust-length figures of Christ, the Virgin, and St. John that seem to be related to those earlier works, but appear on stylistic grounds to be more developed formally, and dating after the Mileševo and Studenica parallels noted above.[559] Compared with the earlier examples, these images are more linear in design, with greater use of highlights and strongly characterized faces. They also seem to be characterized by the boldly outlined eyes with pronounced definition that includes a strong linear extension back toward the side of the head. Their significance is that to some extent these panels exhibit a style that corresponds to an early version of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style in Acre. At this point we cannot say whether they should be dated to the 1240s, to 1250, or to the 1250s, but they seem to show that this style existed in Sinai in various versions.

These various possibilities notwithstanding, the first Perugia painter's style seems to have its closest link not to the Arsenal Bible – although it is surely related in general workshop characteristics – nor to these possibly contemporary works from Sinai, but to the work of a remarkable painter who painted a small chapel in Constantinople about this time with a monumental figure of St. Francis and a cycle of scenes from his life. It is these fresco paintings that show the closest stylistic features in technique and form to the two large panel miniatures in the Perugia Missal. Consider the evidence.

The St. Francis Chapel in Constantinople: In 1967 C. L. Striker discovered a small chapel in the diaconicon complex of a Byzantine church that had been taken over by the Latins after the conquest of 1204. The chapel had originally been decorated with mosaics by the Byzantines, but the Latins introduced a program of frescoes largely obliterating the earlier work. This chapel was walled up when the church was later returned to Byzantine hands in 1261 and left in obscurity when it came under Muslim control in 1453 and was transformed into a mosque, the Kalenderhane Djami, as we know it today. This small chapel had been decorated during the Latin occupation with fresco painting, not in true fresco technique but *fresco al secco*. Fragmentary remains of the program of decoration were found, partly in situ and partly fallen, having flaked off the wall. This program is focused on a large standing figure of St. Francis flanked by scenes of his life. The fresco paintings were conserved between 1968 and 1972, and a montage was done by C. L. Striker with E. J. H. Hawkins between 1977 and 1979.[560] Out of a total of more than one thousand fragments, Striker and his team have been able to reassemble about 40 percent of the bits of fresco in their original position. A selection of the main figural fragments are now on display in the National Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.

The chapel itself is small, entered through a forebay 2.5 meters square. In front of the apse of the chapel is an arched vault 60 cm wide on which paired Greek Church Fathers were painted on the soffits of the arched surface.[561] Fragments of two of these figures remain enabling us to know that they were approximately 1.6 meters high, without their haloes. The painting surface of one of the fathers is continuous with that of the painted Latin inscription appearing adjacent to the arched vault on the front surface of the arch of the apse semidome. This demonstrates that these Byzantine figures were part of the chapel decoration. Enough of the Latin inscription survives to identify and reconstruct it as a ten-word passage from Psalm 25 (26): 8, "DOMINE DILEXI DECOREM DOMU *(s tuae et locum habitionis gloriae)* TUAE."[562] The apse of the chapel is 2.2 meters at its widest, 3.6 meters high at the crown of the semidome, and 2.2 meters deep from the front face of the semidome to the rear wall. There are three windows below the semidome, each one 80 cm wide and 1.6 meters high. The function of this chapel and its forebay is unclear, but the inscription suggests that it may have been used as a sacristy, that is, for the celebrants to prepare for the liturgy. In any case, the inscription is a famous verse, most frequently found in the *Lavabo* prayer, during which the priest cleanses his hands in preparation for the consecration in the canon of the Mass.

> Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas et circumdabo altare tuum, Domine, ut audiam vocem laudis, et enarrem universa mirabilia tua. Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuae, et locum habitationis gloriae tuae.[563]
>
> With the pure in heart I will wash my hands clean, and take my place among them at thy altar, Lord, listening there to the sound of thy praises, telling the story of all thy wonderful deeds. How well, Lord, I love thy house in its beauty, the place where thy own glory dwells.

The main decoration of this chapel is a program, the configuration of which appears to be similar to early altarpieces devoted to St. Francis, as seen in the examples from Pescia and Pisa.[564] In the center of the apse, the figure of St. Francis stood frontally with a large open book in his left hand. Essentially only the book, his hands, and a small passage of drapery at his waist survive. The red framed panel in which he stood is 1.1 meters × 35 cm wide at the top × 50 cm wide at the bottom. This means Francis was about half the size of the paired Church Fathers at the entrance to the chapel. Above St. Francis was a small lunette containing a bust-length Virgin in a maroon maphorion with white highlights. She holds the child tightly across his chest in an unByzantine manner, flanked by two bust-length angels, one on each side.

Flanking the figure of Francis were ten scenes of his life, five on each side. Fragments of seven of the ten scenes have been located into their original positions even though only three of these scenes can be precisely identified.[565] A number of significant fragments exist uncontextualized (mentioned later). The sizes of the scenes of the Life of St. Francis all vary according to their location in the semidome, but the rectangles that contain scenes two and three to the left of the main figures are estimated to be 49.7 × 44 cm, measured along their central axes. This means that the figures of the friars that appear in them are approximately 30 cm high, or about one-third the size of the central figure of St. Francis.

This fresco program is a major find and is significant for the following reasons. First, it is the earliest exant program in fresco painting devoted to St. Francis East or West, well before the paintings in the lower and upper church in Assisi, and the only such program in the Near East during the thirteenth century. Second, it is clearly done in Constantinople during the Latin Empire, sometime between 1228 and 1261. Third, the style of the extant fragments indicates that the workshop responsible for these frescoes contained both a Crusader painter, who did the St. Francis cycle, and a Byzantine painter, who did the Greek Church Fathers. What are the stylistic characteristics of the Crusader work?

C. L. Striker reports that "shortly after the discovery of the St. Francis frescoes in 1967, the late Hugo Buchthal happened to visit Istanbul, and he immediately identified the style of the frescos to be the same as the painter of the Paris Arsenal Bible." Striker continues, "the similarity between the Kalenderhane frescos and the Arsenal Bible, first recognized by Buchthal, is confirmed further by detailed comparison of the two works in such features as palette, modeling, gesture, costume, and treatment of landscape and architectural background."[566] At this point Striker offers a series of comparisons to demonstrate their relationship.

1. The treatment of the rocky outcropping behind the birds St. Francis preaches to in scene 5 can be compared with the landscapes in the Creation cycle of the Genesis frontispiece in the Arsenal Bible.
2. The craned-neck posture and gesture of the friar standing behind the crenellated wall in scene 2 is comparable to the scribe seated before Solomon in the Wisdom frontispiece, or a number of other figures, like King Saul in the frontispiece for I Kings.
3. The costume and headdress worn by the woman in the scene of St. Francis performing a healing miracle, scene 3, is similar to those worn by women in the Tobit and Job frontispieces.
4. The green and yellow striped garment worn by a female figure in two of the uncontextualized fresco fragments is strikingly comparable to the blue-green and yellow costume worn by Judith in the frontispiece to Judith of the Arsenal Bible.[567]

In addition to the comparisons with the Arsenal Bible, Striker also points to certain parallels with Crusader icon painting. He stated earlier, in 1982, that the frescoes are "very similar, on the one hand, to the paintings of the Paris Arsenal Bible, a relationship first observed by Hugo Buchthal, and on the other hand, to the wings of a Crusader triptych at the monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai published by Weitzmann."[568] This triptych, a major work done in Acre in the 1250s and first published by Weitzmann in 1963, has four scenes of the life of the Virgin on the inside surfaces of the two wings. Weitzmann proposed that the artist of these four scenes was "a French painter working in Acre" based on their style and iconography. He concluded that with regard to the Arsenal Bible and the Acre Triptych wings, "we are dealing with products of the same local tradition and that, therefore, our triptych is the product of a workshop in Acre and of approximately the same date as the Arsenal Bible, that is, around the middle of the thirteenth century. We would not even exclude the possibility that both miniatures and icons were actually produced in the very same workshop."[569] We will reconsider the issue of workshops in Acre below, but Striker adds the St. Francis painter to the same Crusader stylistic orbit by saying, "there is consensus that both the Arsenal Bible and the Sinai icon are French or of French heritage. Based on this, it is more likely that the St. Francis painter was of French heritage than that his origins were elsewhere."[570] Furthermore, he points out that while there is too little evidence to judge whether any of these works are by the same painter, "they [the Arsenal Bible and the St. Francis frescoes] are sufficiently close to suggest that both are the product of the same, probably small group of painters who produced, as called on, manuscript illumination, mural painting, and, to judge from the further similarity to these works of an icon at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, panel paintings as well."[571]

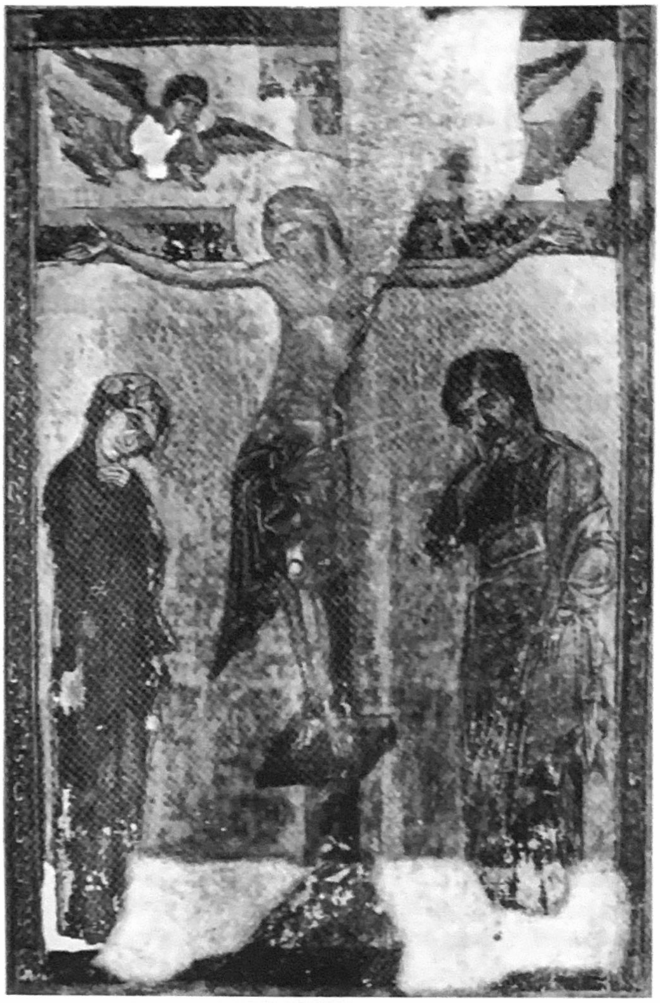
By describing these painters as French, the authors I have cited all mean that we are dealing here with Crusader painters in Acre and Constantinople whose primary training may have been in the French Gothic tradition, but whose working style combined both French Gothic and Byzantine characteristics to form the unique Crusader style that we associate with Acre, and now with Constantinople, in the mid-thirteenth century. The question is, to which of these Crusader artists in Acre is the St. Francis painter most closely linked, and how can we understand the workshop organization in Acre in light of the claims that book painters, icon painters, and fresco painters were working there together?

As the story of painting in Acre unfolded between 1957 and 1982, we have seen that the primary representatives of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style in Acre in the early 1250s were the Arsenal Bible and selected icons now at Mount Sinai, including the Crucifixion icon (App. no. 104/1732, Fig. 152) and the inner wings of the so-called Acre triptych (App. no. 66/753, Figs. 157–160). There is no doubt that the St. Francis painter is related to the Arsenal Bible and the Acre triptych wings as discussed earlier, and the specific examples given provide the evidence in terms of formal parallels. But now that we understand the French Gothic–Crusader background of the first Crusader painter of the Perugia Missal, it seems that in fact the closest links can be seen between him and the St. Francis painter in terms of technique, handling, and execution, as well as design. Consider the following points.

1. Whereas the pose and gesture of the friar in scene 2 of the fresco is indeed comparable to certain figures in the Arsenal Bible, the painterly execution of the figure is much closer to the bowing angels and figures of Christ, Mary, and John in the Perugia Missal. Notice the greenish-gray shading of the skin tones and the white highlighting on the faces. Compare in particular the friars in scenes 2 and 4 and the faces of some of the uncontextualized fresco fragments[572] with not only the faces of the various figures in the Perugia Missal panels, but also the beautifully modeled torso of the figure of Christ.
2. The handling of the convention for delineating the eyes is a major index for identifying the painters participating in the Acre style. This mode of painting the eyes and their relation to the face and head differs, however, according to the way it is carried out. Although the linear definition of the eyes can be seen in the fresco and in the miniatures with a linear extension back toward the side of the head in these figures, the emphasis is much more on the deeply shaded glancing eye and the three-dimensionality of the head, than on the rolling eyeballs and the somewhat pop-eyed look of the Arsenal Bible master. In fact, if anything, the Perugia Missal painter is slightly closer to the Arsenal Bible master in this respect than is the St. Francis painter. But both the St. Francis master and the first Perugia Missal artist are more interested in a sculpturesque, volumetric, instead of a decorative linear effect.
3. The design and painting of the hands and feet of the various figures in both the frescos and the Perugia missal panels are relevant *comparanda* as well, partly drawn to our attention by the prominence of the hands in scene 2 as well as some of the uncontextualized fresco fragments.[573] The feet of St. John and the bowing angels clearly show the red outlined handling also dimly seen in the frescoes in scene three. The fact is that this technique, which is characteristic of that employed in fresco and panel painting, is also adopted by the first Perugia Missal painter.
4. Another interesting minor comparison between the fresco painter and the Perugia Missal concerns the profile figure of the woman of Narnia, an uncontextualized fragment,[574] and the profile figure of the angel in the Resurrection initial by the second Perugia Missal painter.
5. The drapery of the Perugia Missal panels, which is such an important feature of these miniatures, is difficult to compare directly with the frescoes because of the accident of what survives. What is clear is that there is major interest in white highlighting in the frescoes, as seen in the Virgin and Child in the lunette, but most of the other examples have to do with the rather more simplified habits of the standing friars. Hence we do not see the same examples of dynamic poses and complex, voluminous draperies in the extant frescoes. There is a suggestion of swinging drapery folds with white highlights in the fragments of the green and yellow costume, or in the somewhat disjointed and headless figure of St. Francis among the uncontextualized fragments.[575]

In fact, however, a most interesting comparison for the drapery style of the first Perugia Missal painter is found in a Sinai icon of the Annunciation, as noted by H. Belting.[576] Here we see the vigorous pose of the striding angel who wears a light blue robe over a copper brown tunic with an intensive system of white highlights. We also note the flaring drapery dropping from his arm and coming to a point and the convention for delineation of the eyes typical of this Acre style. While this painter definitely does not paint figures as fleshy or substantial as those in the Perugia Missal panels, there can be no doubt that he is closely related to the first Perugia Missal painter. Furthermore, there can be no doubt that the painter of this Sinai icon is also working in the Franco-Byzantine Acre Crusader style, the style that Weitzmann noted is the most widespread among the Crusader icons now preserved in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.[577]

THE EGERTON MISSAL, C.1250S (FIG. 153, CD NO. 80): The final important comparison for the first Perugia Missal painter is with the artist of the Egerton Missal,[578] another participant in the Acre style of the 1250s. This is an interesting liturgical manuscript also written by a French scribe[579] that has been attributed to the patriarchate of William of Agen, that is, after



153. The Egerton Missal, London, British Library, Egerton MS 3153: fol. 82v, Frontispiece to the Canon of the Mass, Crucifixion (full-page panel). (photo by courtesy of the British Library, London)

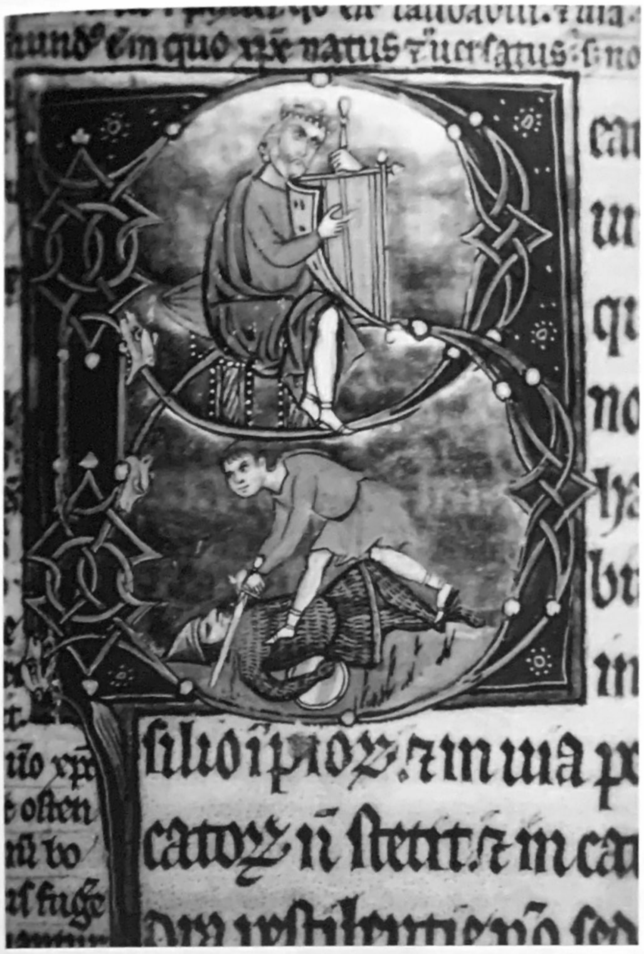
1262, but that I am dating on the basis of its style closer to mid-century.[580] Surprisingly, its calendar is unlike that in the Perugia Missal. It is much more closely related to the earlier Jerusalem calendars in various ways, not the least of which is the inclusion of the commemoration of the liberation of Jerusalem on 15 July, and the omission of the dedication of the "ecclesie Acconensis" on 12 July. Also its entries for the feast days of Sts. Dominic and Francis are much later additions, presumably done after the manuscript had left Acre. In all of these aspects, among others, the calendar is very different from that of the Perugia Missal. In light of this, it is perhaps surprising that the full-page Crucifixion miniature is closely linked to the example in the Perugia Missal, but certain decisive differences indicate that it is done by a different artist, probably slightly later than the Perugia Missal.

The Egerton Missal is badly damaged and the Crucifixion miniature is now conserved with a gauzelike substance over the folio to stabilize the painting, but we can see enough to make certain observations. The quality of the artist is hard to discern because the surface is abraded, but the style is less robust. Clearly the handling of the design produces more slender, less full-bodied figures than what we see in the Perugia Missal. Despite the surface abrasion there seems to be some indications the artist employed white highlights however. The Crusader style of the artist appears to be even more French in its palette with a pink and blue frame, and draperies that appear to be blue, gray, and pink. The figures of Mary and St. John seem to be copies of the Perugia Missal type figures in poses, gestures, facial types, eye delineations, and colorisms. Christ is quite slender with a voluminous loincloth. The folds are complex with a single knot at the waist; it is colored gray with white highlights and has a very emphatic pointed flair at the left side. Iconographically the cross resembles that in the Perugia panel the way it is shaded, but the fact is that the Egerton Christ is fixed to the cross with four nails demonstrates this artist was not necessarily copying the Perugia miniature, but perhaps one of the iconic versions. To the extent that we can see what remains of them, the angels above do resemble the angels on the Ryerson Diptych, but as we have already seen, the precise arrangements of each of these components is variable within this workshop tradition. What we can conclude is that the Egerton Missal painter is indeed a follower of the first Perugia Missal painter, another member of a large and very active group of painters that was working in Acre during and after Louis IX's residency there between May of 1250 and March of 1251. Furthermore, there is no reason to see any Italianate elements in the work of this painter. He is part of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, which apparently sprang into existence in response to the presence and the needs of Louis IX, his entourage and his army, and, after his departure, the continuing French presence in Acre in the persons of the members of the French regiment. I discuss the circumstances of the workshops in Acre in which this style is found later, after due consideration of other relevant examples of how this style developed.

We can conclude our consideration of the Perugia Missal with a look at what painting we can identify that is linked specifically to the second painter, who specialized in historiated initials. For this there is an important manscript in Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare (MS C.12), a book of Old Testament selections.[581] It is written in Latin and contains the Psalter, the books of Daniel, the minor prophets, and the Maccabees. It is decorated only with historiated initials; there are no panel miniatures.

THE PADUA BOOK OF OLD TESTAMENT SELECTIONS, *C.*1250S: (FIG. 154, CD NOS. 81–105): The Arsenal Bible notably omitted the Psalter and any books of the Prophets, and this book now in Padua is focused precisely on those books. This codex is, however, written in Latin, not Old French; it includes the Book of Maccabees, which the Arsenal Bible also contains, but the system of decoration in the Padua book is entirely different. The Padua book is also clearly done somewhat later than the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal, but it is linked to their production by certain iconographic features. Moreover, if we doubted the impact of French Gothic manuscript illumination on the earlier Crusader painting in Acre even slightly, this manuscript will erase any lingering reservations.

The layout of the Padua codex, starting off with the eight-part Psalter, is typical of thirteenth-century French Psalters, and the historiated initials that begin each of its parts follow the typical French program that was studied so usefully by G. Haseloff.[582] As Buchthal points out,[583] the artist of the Padua codex mostly retains the basic French iconography and focuses on King David as the author of the Psalms in the traditional



154. The Padua Manuscript of Old Testament Selections, Bibl. Capitolare, MS C. 12: fol. 1v, The Psalter: (B)eatus vir . . . , (historiated initial) David plays the psaltery, David slays Goliath. (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Capitolare, Padua)

way. But the artist loses the iconographical precision of many of the scenes in the French cycle, or the English iconography in the one case of Psalm 68. No longer is the artist basing himself on a literal illustration of the first lines of the Psalm *ad verbum* but is instead following some kind of workshop model, or possibly even a set of rather generalized written instructions, in which the specific and direct link is often broken between text and image. The most egregious examples show the images losing contact with the meaning of the Psalter text and substituting a completely bland picture that functions in most cases merely as a textual illustration of David with other figures. In the case of Psalm 109, however, which in the French thirteenth-century tradition regularly presented an image of the Trinity, here there is the very rare image of Jesus with God the Father, omitting entirely the dove above them. The result is a series of scenes that mostly emphasize royalty in the person of King David, that show the participating figures in French costumes, some as monks or as clergy, and transform the Lord into Jesus Christ for the benefit of the Christian reader. What is also evident is that the style of the figures, although still showing a Crusader synthesis of Byzantine facial and head types with French Gothic linear design, is much more strongly French in flavor. This is conveyed not only by the Gothic style of the painted initials and their ornament, but also emphatically by the colorism of the initials and the costumes of the figures, in Gothic pink, blue, and red, along with some tans and browns.

Buchthal has called attention to the fact that the illustrations for the books of the prophets have the most explicit Byzantine figure and head types among the historiated intials in this codex.[584] This may be explained by the models the artist was using, but in the case of these historiations also, the models are mostly French. There is one exception, the scene of the angel speaking to Malachi (fol. 287r, CD no. 103), for which no exact French precedent is known.[585] There is also one of the prophet illustrations that is unfinished, the faces and flesh passages in the historiated initial for the Book of Micah (fol. 236v, CD no. 97). Here we can see, for example, how the artist designed the heads and faces, put in the basic shading, colored in the hair, but then failed to complete the face and head with the linear elements in reddish brown and brown or the white highlights that characterize the finished figures. What is also apparent, this oversight aside, is that it is in the faces of these figures in the prophet book initials that we find the use of the Acre type of eye delineation, the kind we have seen in earlier manuscripts such as the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal. This convention is absent from the Psalter illustrations, but it reappears in the illustrated initials to the prophet books, not systematically, but recognizably as part of the artist's repertory of design.

The books of the Maccabees also follow standard French iconography from contemporary Bibles[586] (fols. 295r, 338r, CD nos. 104, 105). The style is consistent with the earlier twenty-one initials. The figures remind us both of the initials of the Perugia missal and purely French manuscripts such as the Moralized Bibles; and the colorism, design of the initials, and their ornament is purely French, but the Acre style eye convention is less consistent than with the prophet illustrations. These characteristics certainly identify the artist as different from the second painter of the Perugia Missal or the painter of the Egerton Missal, which has initials of a much more generic sort, not explicitly French. What we see is the assertion of French characteristics done after the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal were done, possibly even long after Louis IX seems to have left Acre. The exact date is unknown, but may have been in the later 1250s, based on parallels with certain characteristics that we can see in the panel paintings to be considered later. Buchthal concludes his comments on the illustrations of the Padua codex by restating his findings on "the French origin of their iconography and the French basis of the style." Furthermore he says it is the interesting synthesis of certain Byzantine features with the French aspects of style and iconography that give "the scriptorium of Acre" its distinct character in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[587] What, however, should we understand by "the scriptorium of Acre" in this period?

WORKSHOPS AND ARTISTS IN ACRE AND THE MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE'S ON MOUNT SINAI: MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION: So far our findings with regard to artistic developments in Acre around the year 1250 and in the years afterward are that we have numerous practitioners working on miniature and panel painting who combine French and Byzantine aspects into a distinctive Crusader style. What can we say about the workshop circumstances of these artists? Hugo Buchthal in effect began the discussion of this issue when he wrote the following:

> It is here always referred to as "the scriptorium of Acre," as its exact location still eludes us. The "ecclesia Acconensis," the consecration of which is recorded in the calendar of the Missal at Perugia, was probably the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, which was in the possession of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre; but as none of the distinctive Jerusalem feasts appear in the calendar, it is unlikely that the manscript was written there.... It is quite possible that the biblical and liturgical manuscripts written in the "scriptorium of Acre," which owed its existence to the intitiative of St. Louis, were produced in the Dominican house of that town, which counted among its most important religious foundations.[588]

This is an important point of departure, but this whole question is due for reassessment.

Consider first the number of artists whose work we have examined so far. Based on the estimate that we have proposed up to now, there was at least one master painter for the Arsenal Bible, two for the Perugia Missal, one each for the Egerton Missal and the Padua Book of Old Testament selections, and one artist each for the Crusader Crucifixion icon, the Acre triptych inside wings, and the Annunciation icon. The St. Francis master in Constantinople seems to be distinct from any of these painters, but they all seem to share the Acre style of *c.*1250 and later. In each of these cases, we can also consider the possibility, indeed the likelihood that these master painters were assisted by one or more assistants or apprentices. In the the Arsenal Bible this assistant may have done the painted – as distinct from the historiated – initials, as may also have been the case with the Perugia Missal, the Egerton Missal, and the Padua Old Testament book. This means that in terms of just the works we have discussed so far, we could be looking at eight masters and four or five assistants – a total of twelve or thirteen painters. This is a remarkable number given that, as far as we know, the evidence suggests that none of these artists was working in Acre before King Louis IX arrived there in May 1250. Moreover, in the entire period of Acre from 1191 up to 1250, we have never seen evidence of more than one or two painters working there at any one time, certainly no indication of a "critical mass" for ongoing workshop production. If we attribute the sudden surge of artistic activity in Acre to the arrival of Louis IX and the stimulating effect of his patronage, a proposal made in effect by Buchthal, Weitzmann, and Weiss, what can we understand the workshop circumstances to have been starting in 1250?

Looking first at the books we have considered, it appears that there is clear evidence for two or three workshops. The liturgical books, that is, the missals, and possibly also the Padua Old Testament selections book, with its extensive glosses on the various texts, would most probably have come from the "scriptorium of Acre." By this we mean the atelier under the patronage of the patriarch of Jerusalem at this time. These patriarchs were either Robert of Nantes or Jacques Pantaleon. Robert was patriarch since the time the Crusader barons came back to power after the end of the civil war. He came to Syria in 1244, accompanied Louis IX on his ill-fated Crusade, and was active on behalf of the Church in the Holy Land. His leadership provided a beneficial effect on the Church in the Latin Kingdom until his death on 8 June 1254, shortly after Louis sailed for France.[589] The see lay vacant until his successor could be named following the death of Innocent IV. The new pope, Alexander IV, named Jacques Pantaleon to be the new patriarch in April 1255. Jacques Pantaleon, like his predecessor, was also a Frenchman, born in Troyes. He had been former archdeacon of Liège, and since 1252, bishop of Verdun. He arrived in Acre in June 1256, just as the War of St. Sabas was breaking out, and held his position until he was himself elected pope in August 1261.[590] Despite the absence of these patriarchs from Acre on ecclesiastical business from time to time, their home church and their scriptorium was in Acre in these years. This scriptorium was indeed the successor to the "scriptorium of Jerusalem," which had been transferred to Acre in 1191 and surfaced sporadically as the source of illustrated manuscripts between 1191 and 1244, as discussed in earlier chapters. This scriptorium was presumably located in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, the patriarch's co-cathedral, and the cathedral of the bishop of Acre as well. The manuscripts we are attributing to this scriptorium were, based on the precedent of the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem during the twelfth century, primarily Bibles or Bible extracts, gospel books, or liturgical service books, although certain important illustrated prayer books may have been done there as well. All of these manuscripts were written in Latin by French scribes, as we have seen, and decorated by painters working in Acre, who were not necessarily part of this scriptorium. I return to this point shortly.

The Arsenal Bible commissioned apparently by the French king, was written in Old French, also by a French scribe, but there is no reason to suppose that it was written in the patriarchal scriptorium in Acre. The fact that it seems to have been a personal book, and the fact that the scribal "portrait" in the historiated initial at the start of the manuscript depicts a Dominican, clearly suggests that the codex may have been done in the scriptorium of the Dominican house in Acre.[591] The substantial Dominican interests in Bible studies in Paris are well-known, and it is possible that when the king developed an interest in a book of Bible selections written in Old French, his personal confessor, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, himself a Dominican, could have arranged to have the book written at the Dominican house in Acre. Indeed, the Dominicans may have helped Louis to find the artists he needed to execute the decorative program for this book.

One of the interesting issues discussed by C. L. Striker in his study of the fresco paintings in the St. Francis chapel of the church that later became the Kalenderhane Djami in Constantinople is the identification of that church during the Latin Occupation between 1204 and 1261. In 1982, Striker discussed the French heritage of the Arsenal Bible painter and the icon paintings found on the inside wings of the so-called Acre Triptych and their relationship to the style of the St. Francis cycle in the frescoes of the chapel. He then observes, "if this French connection is valid, it may also be helpful in identifying Kalenderhane during the Latin occupation or at least connecting it with historical sources, which has not yet been possible. By a process of elimination, the most likely candidate for identification with the building in this period, improbable as it may appear, is an anonymous French Dominican monastery mentioned for the first time in 1233 and then indirectly in 1238, 1239, 1244 and 1252."[592] In the final report published in 1997, Striker continues to maintain this possibility, although this association has now been questioned and a case has been made for linking the church with the Franciscans, as the fresco cycle obviously suggests.[593] It cannot as yet be shown unequivocably that the Franciscans or the Dominicans were located in this church during the Latin Empire, but it would be logical to find the Fransciscans there, as has recently been argued. Even if the Dominicans may not have been located in this church, although the jury is still out on this verdict, the documentation makes clear they were certainly located in Constantinople during the Latin Empire, and it is still possible that the Dominicans in Acre assisted Louis IX in finding a worthy artist for his handsome Bible by bringing an accomplished painter to Acre for the commission, a painter who had worked for the Dominicans or the Franciscans on the St. Francis Chapel in Constantinople. The evidence surely indicates that it was not the St. Francis master himself, but someone whom this painter had perhaps trained in his workshop and who later came to Acre.

One of the important aspects of this hypothesis is that the writing of the Arsenal Bible by a Dominican scribe, and the artist for decorating this book, whom the Dominicans may have helped the king to locate, are two separate issues. There is direct evidence for the Dominican scribe, a Frenchman, which both Buchthal and before him, Berger, commented on.[594] The artist may or may not have been a Dominican, however, and may or may not have been a member of the Dominican scriptorium in Acre when he was working on this project. We should recall that we have argued the closest links between the St. Francis Chapel frescoes and the Acre style are seen in the work of the first Perugia Missal painter. This painter presumably worked for the "Acre scriptorium" of the patriarch when the Perugia Missal was done, and therefore we must also consider the possibility that the patriarch is also a candidate to have helped the king to locate suitable painters for his Bible in Acre. The issue of where and when these painters worked in Acre, however, directly forces us to deal with the works of art for which no written text was involved, namely, the icon painting.

WORKSHOPS AND ARTISTS IN ACRE AND THE MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE'S ON MOUNT SINAI: ICONS: As discussed earlier, Weitzmann originally proposed that the Crusader icons he discussed, namely, the Crusader Crucifixion icon, and the inside wings of the "Acre Triptych," now held in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, were done in Acre.[595] In fact, he begins his 1966 discussion of what he calls the French Crusader masters by saying that "in the thirteenth century, and especially in the second half, the production of icons by Crusader artists was so extensive that one can identify several workshops, each of which had a distinct style of its own. These shops must have existed side by side and, on occasion, must even have joined forces for the execution of individual pieces. One of the most prolific of such workshops was. . . very closely linked with the scriptorium of Acre which produced illustrated manuscripts such as the missal in Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare cod. 6, and the Bible in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, cod. 5211."[596] As noted earlier, however, I am arguing that these very two manuscripts were done in separate workshops and were painted by different artists. Weitzmann's idea, however, that there were "several workshops" is instructive and can be examined further with regard to the development of his own ideas and other considerations as well.

By 1982, however, Weitzmann had revised his thinking about the location of the artists in their icon workshops, and in different publications he then proposed to locate them in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. In one article he then stated his belief that the icon workshop that produced the Acre triptych "was located in Sinai."[597] In the "Annotation" to his earlier articles from 1963 and 1966, written in 1980, but published also in 1982, he states quite specifically, "I believe now that the large group of French paintings was not brought from Acre but rather made at St. Catherine's, probably by a painter who came from Acre."[598] In the introduction to this same volume, he writes that these "Latin artists . . . worked either in the Holy Land at large or, in considerable numbers, in the monastery itself, where they had apparently established a colony."[599] This change in his thinking raises two issues for us to consider here: First, which is more likely, that the Crusader artists painting these icons were working in Acre, or they were working in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai? For those artists who were working in Acre, where were they working in Acre?

To engage the first question, consider the number and functions of the so-called Crusader icons in the collection at St. Catherine's Monastery.[600] Weitzmann himself is responsible for the research work of having identified approximately 120 of what he called "western-influenced icons" done by "Latin artists" in the collection at Sinai, the overwhelming majority of which date to the second half of the thirteenth century and many of which belong to the Franco-Byzantine Acre Crusader style group. These icons are notable because of their Western-influenced iconography and Crusader stylistic features that distinguish them from purely Byzantine work, and they also have either Latin or Greek inscriptions, or have both Latin and Greek inscriptions on the same icon.[601] If we look at the function of these icons, we can immediately recognize that overall they belong to several categories of imagery. The main groups are (1) painted iconostasis beams, with images of the liturgical feasts; (2) icons of the liturgical feasts in the form of single panels, with a large number of Crucifixions and images of the Dormition of the Virgin; (3) icons of the Virgin and Child seated or standing, including single panels, diptychs, and some triptychs, many of the single panels with site-specific Sinaitic iconography; (4) icons of individual saints or groups of saints, prominent among which are images of soldier saints, some standing, but most of whom are mounted; (5) icons containing images of the Deësis often associated with apostles or other saints, or individual panels that collectively comprise the Great Deësis, including angels in a pose of prayer; and (6) a selection of other single panel images among which are those of the Last Judgment, the *Maestas Domini*, and the image of Elijah.

The striking fact about these panels is that, with some significant exceptions, the majority are mostly relatively small and therefore are portable. Clearly many were intended primarily for some kind of private devotional use, or could have functioned that way even if they were modeled on Byzantine liturgical icons meant to be used in church services and in a formal ecclesiastical context, such as being placed on the templon screen or set on the proskynetarion.[602] The uses that these kinds of icons could be put to were therefore very likely one of the following.

One obvious use was that an icon was commissioned to be an ex voto gift for the monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, to be hung in the main church or one of its chapels with special dedications. The motivation for the gift could be any number of things. The icon could be offered in conjunction with a prayer to St. Catherine, or to Christ, to the Virgin, or to other saints, for thanksgiving, as an act of penance, to ask for the safety of a relative in battle or in prison, for healing, for protection in travel, for the grace of death in Christian circumstances; the list goes on. This would clearly help explain the large number of icons there, the iconography of some of these panels, and the reasons for their presence. This means that one source for many of these icons was from Frankish pilgrims to Sinai. In the case of some with Greek inscriptions, another source could have been Christian pilgrims of other Eastern Christian backgrounds who would approach a Crusader artist for such an image in preference to a Byzantine icon painter, or because the Crusader artist was more available to them. These icons are icons for pilgrims of mostly a non-Orthodox background who are ordering holy images mostly modeled on Byzantine icons by non-Byzantine, that is, Crusader painters.

A second obvious likely use was the icon as a personal devotional image for private prayer, a religious image that could be carried by its owner or recipient for this purpose, not given away. Most of these icons are clearly very closely modeled on Byzantine sources, but a few are strongly Western in inspiration. We will see this especially with some of the smaller triptychs and some of the most explicitly Western paintings. The Western characteristics are evident either in terms of style or iconography, or both, such as some of the little triptychs with the Virgin and Child, or the Maestas Domini panel, or the icon of the Deësis with the Twelve Apostles. Many of these icons may have been originally commissioned for personal use and even include images of their patrons or donors, but were then eventually given to the Monastery of St. Catherine's, either by the owner later in life or perhaps by a relative in honor of the owner. It is in any case important to distinguish between the probable original function of these icons when commissioned, in contrast to how and why they eventually made their way to Sinai. The distinction of who the intended recipient was and who the patron or donor was is clearly also important in several of these icons, in which the images of the donors or someone meant to be commemorated by the donor was included in the image. The iconography of these donors was popular among the Western pilgrims, and we find them earlier, in the twelfth century, associated with the icons painted on the columns of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.[603]

A third use would have been in the context of Byzantine ecclesiastical settings. Some of these "Western-influenced" icons are large; some are even bilateral; most – the great majority – have Greek inscriptions. Clearly it is likely that some of these larger "Crusader" icons were painted either for Western patrons to give to Greek recipients or directly for Greek patrons, and these icons were either given directly to the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai or came there indirectly later on. In some cases, such as the impressive bilateral icon of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (App. no. 97 1568), done by a Crusader painter of Venetian background, even with its Latin inscriptions it hangs in the main church of St. Catherine's today.

A fourth possible use for which these icons could have been commissioned would have been for a Latin ecclesiastical setting. Even though we have no official indication of icons becoming part of the Latin liturgical services during the thirteenth century, we know that icons had begun to appear in Latin churches and their chapels during the twelfth century. We have pointed out, for example, this phenomenon when discussing pilgrims' accounts in the twelfth century, and we have noted the somewhat parallel development of the choir screen with images in Latin churches, known as the *tramezzo* in Italy, especially in Franciscan churches, or the *jubé* in France.[604] We should also note the growth of the function of the painted panel as an altarpiece, changing its position from an altar frontal, to one of an altar retable in the thirteenth century. Because "as a general rule, the altarpiece, unlike its predecessors such as the frontal and the *paliotto*... originated on side altars before arriving at centrally located main altars,... " we can readily see some of these relatively small icon panels serving in this role in Crusader churches.[605] We can also imagine that these Crusader icons may have helped to stimulate the use of the painted panel altarpiece more widely. Finally, obviously some of these icons also could have been made for a church in Acre, or for the Latin chapel at Sinai in the Monastery, St. Catherine of the Franks, as it came to be called. Icons were clearly growing in importance in the thirteenth century as religious objects that all religious communities deemed important, and that drew them all together in different ways.

With these points in mind about the icons, it is also relevant and worth inquiring into the somewhat parallel case of the existence of Latin manuscripts and Crusader paintings in Greek manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, as evidence for the presence of Latin monks and pilgrims in the thirteenth century. Weitzmann has pointed out that with one exception, no Latin manuscripts survive at Sinai, although there is evidence of the existence of a small number that appear to have been destroyed much later, based on the appearance of flyleaves from Gothic Latin codices in certain Greek bindings.[606] He does, however, discuss two Greek manuscripts with "Crusader" illustrations. One is a Psalter and New Testament, Sinai MS 2123, which is dated 1242.[607] The full-length image of St. Paul, which appears in this codex on fol. 84v with Western iconography and Italo-Byzantine Crusader style led Weitzmann to suggest that the artist may have been Venetian in background and that the manuscript may have even come from Venice. The later, Renaissance period, paintings also found in the manuscript suggest that the book came to Sinai after the medieval period. Another manuscript, a *Sticherarion* with musical notations, Sinai MS 1216, has a series of images of saints (bust length) and feast scenes done in wash-drawing technique, reminiscent of similar pictures done in this technique, which appears occasionally in Byzantine manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[608] Weitzmann illustrates the Dormition of the Virgin on fol. 149r from this codex. Although expressing uncertainty regarding whether this was done by a "Latin artist," he notes that the iconography is unusual and has its closest parallel in a Crusader icon that was apparently done by a Crusader artist of Venetian background that I discuss later. He also remarks on the style of the figures with regard to the "rolling-eye" convention, that is, the linear definition of the eyes, which he finds similar to the Acre convention discussed earlier in terms of the Arsenal Bible, the Perugia Missal, and the icons of the Acre Franco-Byzantine style group.[609] In this case, however, the manuscript appears to have been written and illustrated at Sinai, in the absence of any other attribution.[610] With only these two cases of illustrated manuscripts from Sinai we admittedly have a tiny and limited sample. Nonetheless I suggest that with these codices we have an interesting possible parallel indication of what we seem to be dealing with on a much larger scale with the more numerous icons, namely, that some of the "Western-influenced" icons could have been done in St. Catherine's. It is also possible, however, that some – in fact, many – could have been done somewhere else – Acre is the most likely place – and brought to Sinai as a devotional gift or spiritual donation. The case of each icon must be studied intensively on an individual basis.

From these considerations we can propose the following observations as part of our working hypotheses. First, it is clear in discussing the icons, not to mention other types of painting, that we must attempt to distinguish among several important issues: Who was the person who commissioned the icon, who was the recipient of the icon, who might the icon have been commissioned to honor, what was the function of the icon, in primary and secondary use, where was the icon commissioned, where was it produced, and where was it intended to be used? I have endeavored to raise these issues here at the outset of what will be an extended discussion of numerous different Crusader-painted icons and other illustrated manuscripts. In each case we must pose these questions, examine the evidence carefully, and see what answers we can give in the current state of our knowledge.

Second, it seems likely that, as proposed earlier, "Western-influenced" icons were painted both in Acre and at St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. The reason most pilgrims would have for approaching a Crusader icon painter in Acre was that it was practical and efficient to commission such paintings in Acre before setting out on the journey to Sinai while waiting for transport, and "Crusader" icon painters were apparently readily available in Acre. For some pilgrims, however, they may have only realized their interest in having an icon painted after they had arrived at the Monastery of St. Catherine's. Of course pilgrims were only one category of patrons involved; there must have been many others, including "resident Crusaders," that is, Frankish settlers and merchants, Latin and Eastern Christian clerics, among others. As stated at the outset of our inquiry after discussing only a few examples, evidence seems to indicate that many of these icons were painted in Acre, but a certain number must have been painted on Sinai as well. Again, we have to consider this question on a case-by-case basis.

Where did these artists work at Sinai, or in Acre? At Sinai we know that apparently some, probably a small number of Latin monks lived in the monastery during the Crusader period. All Latin religious at St. Catherine's Monastery were under the protection of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem who, along with the pope in Rome especially, enjoyed remarkably harmonious relations with the abbot of the monastery during most of the thirteenth century. In the hierarchy of the Latin Church in the Holy Land, the Latin monks were directly placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishop of Petra, who oversaw day-to-day practical matters. They had their own chapel, St. Catherine of the Franks, a chapel that continued to exist up into the eighteenth century.[611] Although we do not know exactly where in the monastery they might have had a painting workshop, it may well have been linked to where they lived.

The circumstances of these Latin monks should not be overestimated, but the existence of resident Latin monks in the monastery seems likely in the thirteenth century. No doubt their chapel was very small; there are many such small chapels in the Monastery of St. Catherine even today, even if this particular one has disappeared. In the economy of the place, too, the cells where the monks lived could have also served as their workplaces for painting, in one of the cells or in a small room next to where they were living.

In Acre the issue of where these icon painters may have worked is much more complicated because of the presence of other painters – apparently many other painters – who did illustrations for the manuscripts as well. The indisputable fact about the icon painters in Acre is that they painted exclusively religious paintings, but the manuscript illustrators in the second half of the thirteenth century would be called on to paint both sacred and secular works. Therefore, one likely place for the icon painters to have worked was in the house(s) from which the Latin monks at Sinai must have come. The main house, as I suggested earlier, was likely that of St. Catherine's in Acre.[612] They could also have been monks associated with the patriarchate or with the Benedictine houses in Acre. They also might have been Dominicans or Franciscans, although it would seem likely that some mention of this fact would have been noticed by the historians of the mendicant orders. It is not impossible, however, that the master painter of the Arsenal Bible was a Dominican, or even a Franciscan, but we have little on which to base such a claim, save for the purely circumstantial evidence presented earlier.

In light of the fact that numerous manuscripts done in Acre from *c.*1260 on were secular, however,[613] we must also consider a paradigm for artistic workshops that reflects that of Paris, already well established there by 1250.[614] It is reasonable to think of Paris in relation to Acre, not only because of the presence of King Louis IX, who links the two centers and who seems to be the stimulus for much new manuscript production in Acre, but also because Paris was rapidly becoming the main center for manuscript illumination, not only in France, but also in Europe by the mid-thirteenth century. In this regard, a great deal of light has been shed on the production of manuscripts in Paris by the recent study of Mary and Richard Rouse.[615] In keeping with their proposals for locating where in Paris the production of manuscripts was done, how they were being executed and by whom, it seems that we can use this model, albeit on a drastically reduced and modified basis, to apply to Acre.

Just as there were scribes, parchmenters, *libraires*, and painters working in central Paris well before 1250 as the Rouses have demonstrated, it seems likely that, mutatis mutandis, a similar, but much smaller enclave for the production, decoration, and even the sale of books could have been set up in Acre in 1250 and thereafter. Acre of course had no university to stimulate book production in that direction, that is, for the academic study of texts, but it did have many literate and educated patrons who wanted books, and some obviously wanted decorated books, and it is especially the decorated books that we are concerned with here. I propose that just as Paris had its centers of production where the parchmenters, painters, and *libraires* lived and worked, there was also a street somewhere in Acre, which cannot as yet be located exactly, where these people lived, had their shops, and did their work. Even if in the 1250s the scribes were mainly still found in the religious houses, and many painters were also religious as well, some of the scribes and some of the painters must have been secular, that is, purely commercial – more in number as the years went by after 1250. They could have taken work in a religious house or scriptorium on contract, or in their own workshop situation.

The presence of the panel painters in Acre must also be related to such a center of activity. Even though not a single example of the hand of an icon painter who also worked in one of the extant illustrated manuscripts can as yet be demonstrated, the coherence of the "Acre style" among these artists clearly indicates some active means of interchange and interaction. Even if the panel painters were all religious, perhaps working partly at the house of St. Catherine's in Acre, just as the painters for the "scriptorium of Acre" were all religious, they still had common needs. They would have to obtain their materials, they would want to discuss their work with other artists, religious and secular, they would wish to know what kind of work was being done by others, and perhaps they would even find some interested patrons in a workshop-type environment that brought them all together, or at least allowed them to mix together and observe each others work. The proposed street in Acre where painters of all types, scribes, carpenters, parchmenters, and *libraires* could be found is my suggested model.

I am offering this overall paradigm for the sudden appearance and the growth of painting – all kinds of painting – in Acre as a working hypothesis to test as we examine a whole series of works done from the time of Louis IX on. We shall see if this proposal can help us better understand the realities of what the complex evidence presents to us as "Crusader painting in Acre" as we examine the major extant works and consider their historical context.

THE ACRE FRANCO-BYZANTINE CRUSADER STYLE, *C.*1250S: Before moving on to additional works of art, one other issue requires some discussion: What was the source of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style we see in the Arsenal Bible, the Perugia and the Egerton Missals, the Padua Old Testament selections book, and the various icons apparently done in Acre, and related work, so closely identified with the presence of King Louis IX? The important feature about the Acre style in question is that it is a mature and basically fully formed style. It is not one likely to have been achieved by a painter of French Gothic background "just off the boat" suddenly working with Byzantine models in a Crusader context. Nor could it likely have been achieved by a Crusader-born artist who received his primary training from a French Gothic painter without further work and experience. Rather, it displays the sophisticated synthesis of French Gothic with Byzantine formal characteristics, the product of some years of experience and development. This suggests the work of a Crusader-born artist trained in the first instance by a Crusader master of French Gothic background. This Crusader-born artist was also acquainted with Byzantine techniques and Byzantine iconography, to which was joined a solid knowledge of Crusader painting. Or it suggests an artist who, having been born in the Latin East somewhere, was trained by an established Crusader master, who commanded the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style.

In proposing this interpretation, I am not overlooking the problem that Weitzmann observes in his discussions of "Crusader icons," namely, the difficulty we face when trying to identify the artistic background – whether French or Italian, or otherwise – for many of these Crusader painters. As he says, "no doubt Italian and French elements are combined in . . . our whole group of icons." And "the respective share of these two nationalities will . . . be one of the main problems in the discussion of the Crusader icons."[616] He then continues, "attempts to distinguish the nationalities of the icon painters may not always be successful, simply because Italian and French artists working side by side and apparently having models from both countries available, gradually developed a style and iconography which, when fused with Byzantine elements, resulted in what one might simply call Crusader art."[617]

We can provisionally accept the idea of French or Italian "nationalities" here, meaning largely regionally, linguistically and culturally defined artistic characteristics, as long as we make suitable historical distinctions for what this meant in the thirteenth century, in contrast to the modern idea invented largely in the nineteeth century and developed further in the twentieth. But we cannot accept the idea at face value of "Italian and French artists working side by side, . . . " who "gradually developed a style and iconography which, when fused with Byzantine elements, resulted in . . . Crusader art." Nor can we accept the idea that what is normally found in a Crusader workshop is "Italian and French artists working side by side." What we normally find in a Crusader workshop is *Crusader artists working side by side*, although obviously they may reflect different artistic traditions in their backgrounds and training. It is of course possible that from time to time a Western artist comes to Acre for example, and joins the painting establishment. Such a painter, if he were young and still developing as an artist, could learn the Crusader style, transforming his own original style. The problem is that it is difficult to identify such a newcomer in thirteenth-century Acre. In fact, we have certain evidence that clearly suggests when mature European artists came to the Holy Land working in a fully developed personal style, they largely retained the style of their primary training. This indicates that it is highly unlikely that an artist who came from the West suddenly became a Crusader artist working in a fully realized Crusader style.[618] The result is we must revise our thinking to understand that in the thirteenth century a Crusader artist is largely to be understood as born and trained in the Crusader East. He is a Crusader painter because he has been trained by a Crusader master in a style that synthesizes western European and Byzantine elements with local Levantine components, that is, by a master who generally already commands this synthesis. Although we have assumed the phenomenon in the past, we have as yet no specific, clearly documented example, so far as I know, of an Italian or French or German or English (or Byzantine) thirteenth-century painter who can be seen working in the West and then comes to the Holy Land where his style is then transformed into that of a Crusader painter working in a fully formed mature Crusader style. We only have evidence of different phenomena. We know of German painters who come to the Holy Land, or possibly Constantinople, and copy Crusader or Byzantine models in their sketchbooks, in the cases of the artists of the Freiburg Leaf, the Wolfenbüttel Sketchbook, and the Halberstadt Cabinet.[619] We also know of the Paris-Acre

Master who comes to Acre from Paris and paints for nearly twelve years in what is essentially a Parisian Gothic style of the 1270s.[620]

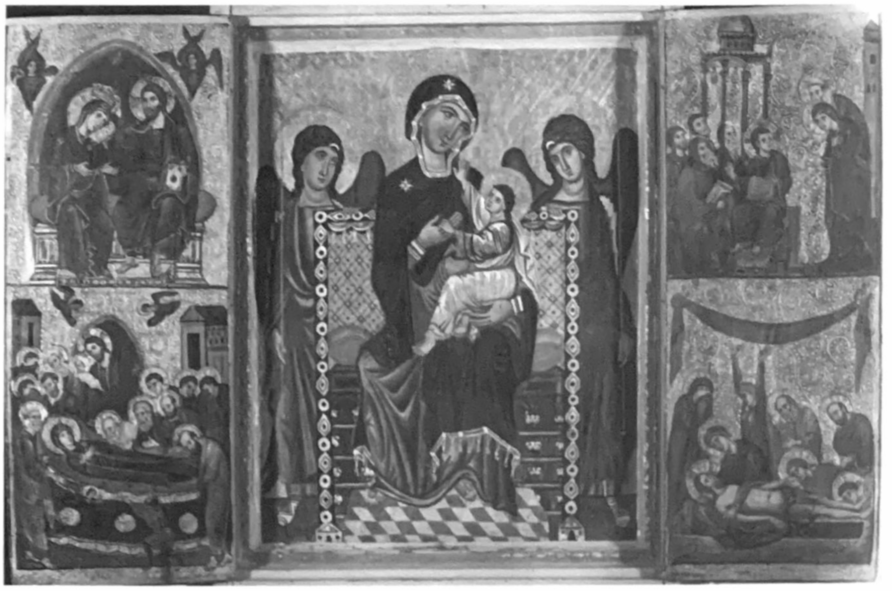
This concept of a Crusader artist should not be taken to the other extreme, however. Unlike Pace, we should *not* go so far as to say that "the very nature of 'Crusader painting' eludes all efforts to verify the nationality of its artists; we could go so far as to say that if the origin of the artist can really be detected, his work must no longer be labelled as 'Crusader.'"[621] This view, which was formulated at the time when Belting's idea of an "artistic lingua franca" in the Mediterranean world was being discussed intensively,[622] obscures two facts. First, we can often say something about the artistic tradition from a European region, which plays a prominent, perhaps even central part in the stylistic identity of a Crusader painter. Second, the most distinctive aspect of a Crusader artist is in any case his Crusader stylistic formation, not his European connections. That means we must start with the recognition of an artist as a Crusader artist and then analyze his Byzantine, western European, and Levantine characteristics, whatever they may be. That means the approach we wish to take, in other words, what we are concerned with first and foremost, is to identify the nature of the Crusader artist and his work. So in the end we can agree with Weitzmann and Pace in the sense that verifying the "national" origin of the artistic heritage of a Crusader artist is not something we can always know for sure, although for the overwhelming majority – if not nearly all – Crusader artists their place of origin is the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

What, then, does it mean to say that a Crusader artist has a French Gothic or a Venetian background? In this discussion I mean that although an artist is born of Crusader parents, resident in the Holy Land, the ancestry of these parents may be French, or the master he is trained by may have derived his Crusader training in a setting that privileged the French Gothic tradition, or the Venetian tradition, or some other Italian regional tradition, whatever the case may be. But the style he learns as an apprentice is essentially a Crusader one, that is, one in which the Western tradition, whatever it is, has already been synthesized with the Byzantine and the local Levantine components. Obviously not every Crusader artist follows this paradigm, and wide variations are possible. My point is that seeking to find a European national origin for the style of any particular Crusader artist is, in any case, not the most fruitful way to approach the study of his work. We must start by recognizing his work as Crusader and then analyze what is Crusader about it in terms of its components.

Therefore, whoever invented the mid-century Franco-Byzantine Crusader style or whatever workshop fostered its birth, it is not likely to have been a European newcomer to Crusader Acre when it apparently first appeared in the latter part of 1250 in some of the manuscripts and icons we have discussed. In contrast to the style of a later artist, like the Paris-Acre Master, who apparently came to Acre directly from Paris in the late 1270s, *c.*1280, the Acre Franco-Byzantine Crusader style in the 1250s was a mature synthesis of Eastern and Western elements. The style of the Paris-Acre Master was, by contrast, almost purely contemporary Parisian Gothic when he arrived off the boat, and, as we shall see, it remained substantially Parisian Gothic during his entire twelve years in Acre. The Acre Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of 1250 is a fully formed Crusader development with Near Eastern touches that suggests vigorous activity in its new surroundings, especially in Acre, but also in Constantinople and Sinai. In fact it is precisely because of the existence of this style virtually simultaneously in both Acre and Constantinople *c.*1250, and possibly also in Sinai, so far as we know now, that the likelihood must be entertained that the origin of this style, or at least its roots, surprisingly it seems, probably lies in Constantinople, or much less likely perhaps, in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. Unfortunately the bases for arguing this suggestion are almost entirely circumstantial and *ex silencio*, but the argument must be considered nonetheless.

We basically know nothing, or very little, about Crusader painting in Acre or Constantinople, or Sinai, in the decade of the 1240s. In Acre, however, there seems to have been no painting done, especially after 1244, because of the political and military situation, until King Louis IX arrived from Egypt. In Sinai we have no icons in the Crusader "Western-influenced" style that can be firmly dated into the 1240s as yet, only the Deësis panels that can be dated to the mid-thirteenth century at best. In Constantinople, on the other hand, the possibility exists that work was being done that no longer exists, that has not yet been recognized, or has not yet been excavated. It is indeed possible that such work forms the basis for the style we see so skillfully employed in the St. Francis Chapel. The master of the St. Francis frescoes headed the workshop that produced the paintings in the St. Francis Chapel and may have produced other works which no longer exist. Whatever these works were, the possibility exists that this master and his assistant(s) worked in Constantinople for several years, in the middle or late 1240s before doing the chapel project. This would have given him the time to develop this style to the level of maturity and high quality we see in the frescoes and given his assistant(s) time to train and to learn this style as well. It was in Constantinople that they could have learned the Crusader style, as possibly residents of the Latin Empire where both essential traditions, the French Gothic and the Byzantine, obviously existed and could have been synthesized. There certainly they could have studied Byzantine manuscript illumination and fresco painting, and there the process of synthesizing the Eastern and Western components into a genuine and distinctive Crusader style could have been accomplished.

Sinai could also be a possible source. We do in fact have the early thirteenth-century St. George icon now in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, which appears to have been the joint product of a Byzantine painter and a Latin sculptor. Weitzmann at least has proposed that it was done in Sinai, but others have suggested Constantinople and Cyprus as well.[623] The issue is not resolved for this icon, and, as we have seen in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, there are only a small number of other "Crusader" icons attributed to Sinai in the first half of the thirteenth century. These icons collectively, and the St. George icon in particular, exemplify the unresolved state of the question when the issue of how Acre, Cyprus, Constantinople, and Sinai are related in this period is raised. Further, Sinai as an artistic center to some extent must be viewed as surprisingly diverse in character. As Weitzmann argued, whereas the bulk of icons produced in the thirteenth century were Byzantine, and most of the artists there were Greeks, "yet there never developed an indigenous,



155. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 66/753, the Acre Triptych: central panel and interior side wings. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

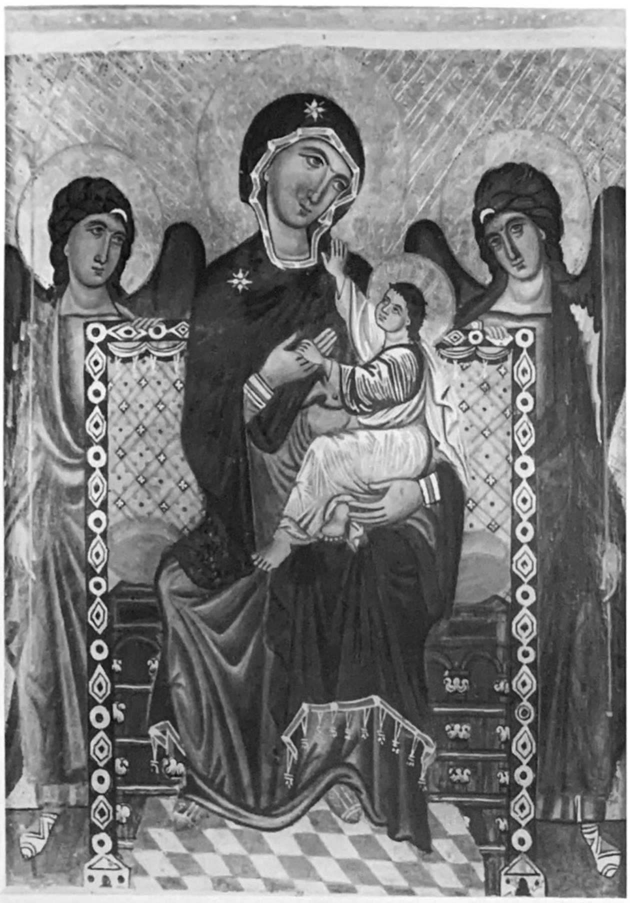
Sinaitic style. Masters were called from outside, be it Cyprus or Constantinople or elsewhere, worked at Sinai for some time, and were then replaced by the next team."[624] The Latin monks who worked at Sinai must also have come and gone – presumably to and from Acre – and they must have been stimulated by the Greek icon painters with whom they worked in proximity. It is partly that stimulus that would have inspired the union of French Gothic and Byzantine or various regional Italian and Byzantine traditions to create the Crusader styles we are discussing.

Unfortunately we know nothing specific about how this style came to Acre, whatever its source. We know nothing about the precise artists. We do not know the means by which the various artists and patrons could have transmitted to Acre the specific sources we find in, for example, the Arsenal Bible, that is, whether they were sketches on loose sheets or as ensembles of drawings in more elaborate model books, or examples in finished manuscripts. As research moves ahead, however, we hope to learn more about what painting there was in Constantinople in these years, what icons could have been made in St. Catherine's Monastery in the 1240s, who the artists were, and how it was that an artist and a style so important for Acre, could have possibly originated outside the Latin Kingdom, either in the Latin Empire of Constantinople or in Sinai. What is fascinating to observe is that just as the St. Francis chapel project employed artists of diverse backgrounds, one a Crusader painter and one a Byzantine painter, so, too, in Acre we encounter a similar phenomenon in the so-called Acre Triptych.

CRUSADER ARTISTIC ACTIVITY BETWEEN 1254 AND 1268: When Louis IX departed for France on 24 April 1254, the Latin Kingdom and its capital city, St. Jean d'Acre, was in excellent condition, although perhaps not as excellent as it had been between 1220 and 1244. Within two short years, however, the kingdom of Jerusalem was plunged into a new civil war, focused on the rights and property of the major Italian maritime powers in Acre, known as the War of St. Sabas. It appears that the realignment of power that resulted from that conflict, in which the Venetians defeated the Genoese with the help of the Pisans, later also assisted by the merchants from Marseilles, enabled the Venetians eventually to establish commercial dominance in Acre and caused the Genoese to flee to Tyre. While the smoldering animosities among the Italian merchants continued to complicate commerce all along the coast of Syria-Palestine after 1258, some of the effects of this conflict also became visible in the artistic production of St. Jean d'Acre.

THE "ACRE TRIPTYCH," *C.*1256–1260 (FIGS. 155–162, COLOR PL. 4 APP. NO. 66/753): We have already had occasion to consider briefly aspects of the paintings on the inside wings of the "Acre Triptych," a major work done in Acre after the departure of Louis IX in April of 1254.[625] The scenes of the life of the Virgin referred to earlier are important examples of the Franco-Byzantine Acre Crusader style, related generally to the earliest manuscript illumination during the time of Louis IX's residency in Acre. The triptych is, however, a complex work that requires careful examination. Besides the four scenes of the life of the Virgin on the inner wings, the central panel presents a monumental image of the Virgin and Child enthroned with two flanking angels. On the outside surface of the two wings there are also two saints standing under round arches: St. Nicholas on the left wing and St. John the Baptist on the right.

Returning to the scenes of the life of the Virgin, we can see some important additional features about their iconography and style. The four scenes are Christ among the Doctors in the Temple (upper right wing), the Threnos (lower right wing), the Dormition of the Virgin (lower left wing), and the Coronation of the Virgin (upper left wing). These scenes are unusual as a cycle; Weitzmann could not discover a comparable series.[626] The idea of smaller scenes that flank the enthroned Virgin and Child, clearly not a Byzantine format, is frequently found in Italian panel painting, but whereas the Threnos and



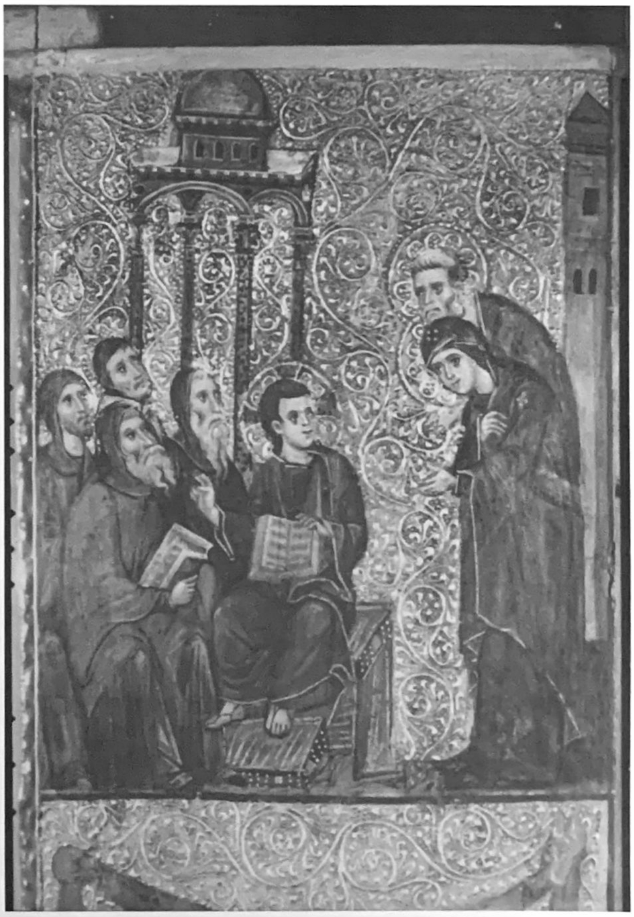
156. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 66/753, the Acre Triptych: central panel with the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Standing Angels. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai). See COLOR PL. 4

the Dormition are commonly represented in cycles of scenes of the Passion in such examples, the finding of Christ in the Temple and the Coronation are rare.[627] This suggests a specific commission for a special purpose. The series does not read convincingly as a narrative or strictly liturgical sequence; rather the four images make more sense as scenes that gloss the relationship of Mary and Christ, who appear in the large cult image on the central panel. This "program" and some of the specific iconography is very "Western-influenced" as is the content of the scenes, with its emphasis on the human relationship of Jesus and the Virgin and its focus more on a devotional function. Each scene is in fact a synthesis of Byzantine and French Gothic iconographical and stylistic aspects which clearly link these images and their artist as belonging to the Acre style group.

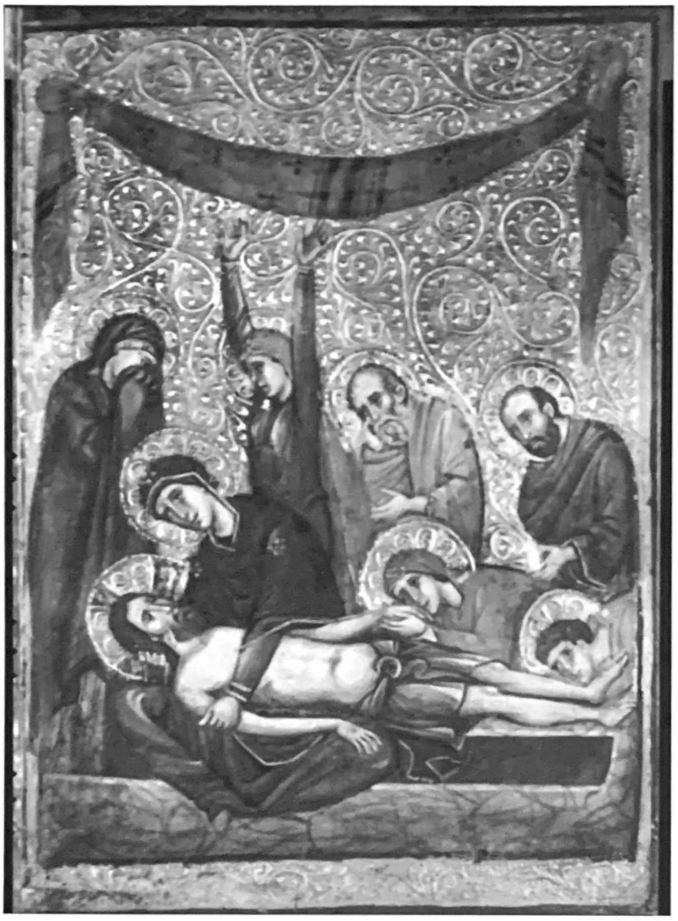
Weitzmann has discussed the Byzantine and Western aspects for these scenes in detail, and there is no need to rehearse his points here. We can recall, however, that each image, whatever its Byzantine parallels, is based on Western, mostly French sources, such as the Moralized Bibles or other French manuscript illumination or stained glass, models mostly drawn from the same general repertory that has been identified for the Arsenal Bible. Furthermore, each scene focuses on some aspect of the relationship of Jesus and Mary throughout their lives. The scene of Christ among the Doctors (Luke 2: 42–50) represents the Virgin as a worried mother seeking safety for her young son. The choice of this scene, the only real story in Luke of Christ's youth, is interesting, and the composition and action places emphasis on the tender relationship of mother and son by showing Jesus interrupting his discourse to turn and speak to his anxious mother (and father).[628]

In the Threnos, the theme of the caring mother tending to her son is dramatized not only by the circumstances of the event, but also by the outpouring of grief by those pressing in closely around her as well as by her pose. In contrast to the purely Byzantine version in which she is in effect gently taking Jesus to the tomb, here she is positioned as if seated frontally somehow on the tomb, unwilling or unable to let him go as she embraces him on her lap. We are here at the moment where the Lamentation merges with the Entombment, before the Western image of the Pietà emerges as a separate devotional image.[629]

The Dormition depicted here is the most purely Byzantine scene of the four. In this case, however, the relationship is reversed, and it is now the caring son, Jesus, who looks after his mother. The most Western-influenced aspect of this scene is, as Weitzmann indicated, the pose that Jesus takes.[630] He cradles the soul of the Virgin in his hands and, bending over affectionately, almost leans out of his mandorla in a most un-Byzantine manner.



157. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 66/753, the Acre Triptych: right side interior wing, upper register: scene of Christ discoursing with the elders in the temple, found by his parents. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

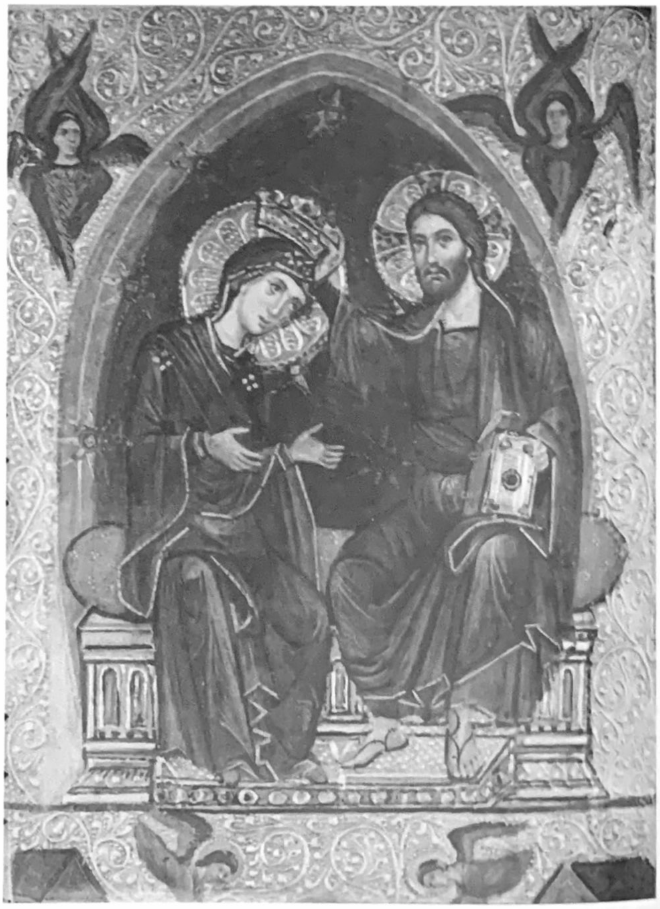


158. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 66/753, the Acre Triptych: right side interior wing, lower register: the Threnos. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

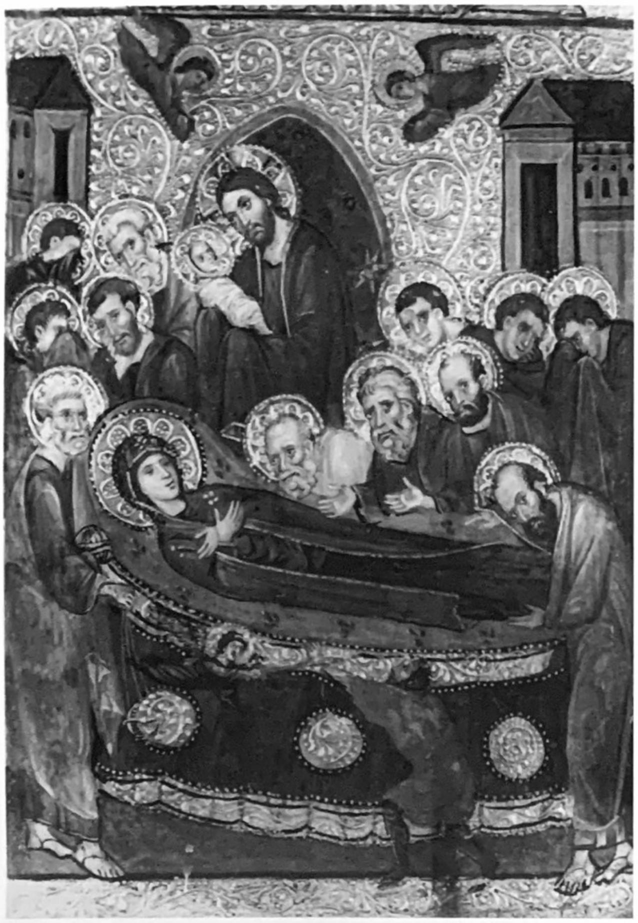
The Coronation of the Virgin is the most French – and the least Byzantine – of these scenes. Although the Triumph of the Virgin may have Italian roots,[631] it is French Gothic art that celebrates the Coronation of the Virgin, as Verdier has shown, in portal sculpture and manuscript illumination, however, not in panel painting.[632] The few early Italian examples of this iconography are clearly dependent on French inspiration.[633] Here again Jesus cares for his mother by giving her a place in heaven next to his – she is a *synthronos*, – recognized through his act of coronation as the queen of heaven for all the world to see.

Taken together, these four scenes demonstrate a radical departure from Byzantine icon painting by introducing a whole new devotional tone and content. To paraphrase Belting, the stories of the Life of Christ and the Virgin were being selected and retold in a new way in Western art that invited the onlooker's empathy and offered not only new ways of seeing these events, but also stimuli to sympathetic and affective participation.[634] And, as Derbes points out, these changes in pictorial narrative began to occur well before the age of Giotto or Duccio; in fact they began in the mid-thirteenth century, and we see evidence of these changes here in Acre.[635]

What is remarkable about this triptych, however, and distinguishes it from western European parallels is not only the new content of the imagery, but also the special multicultural stylistic character of work, looked at as an ensemble. The inside surfaces of the wings are clearly done in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style associated with Acre in the 1250s, but the central panel of this triptych is done in a very different style indeed. We have already commented on the style of the four scenes, a masterful combination of French Gothic line and color design with Byzantine-style figures and head types. The work is done in the painterly manner of the first Perugia Missal painter, but with looser brush work and much less deep shading of the faces as in Byzantine technique. The emphasis is on volumetric faces developed with linear outlines and white highlighting. The conventions for the rolling eye treatment are notably much less regular than we see in either the Arsenal Bible or the Perugia Missal.[636] Here the spectacled effect, with the eye completely circled and a linear extension back toward the ear, is minimized, seen, for example, on the St. Peter figure in the Dormition. Instead, the pupil is often partly surrounded with white highlighting, with linear outlines above and below – sometimes completely separate, sometimes linked around the inner or the outer part of the eye, and sometime with the linear extension. This more painterly handling seems to be found in a number of icons in the Franco-Byzantine Acre Crusader style, all of which seem later than the three works *c.*1250 discussed earlier.[637]



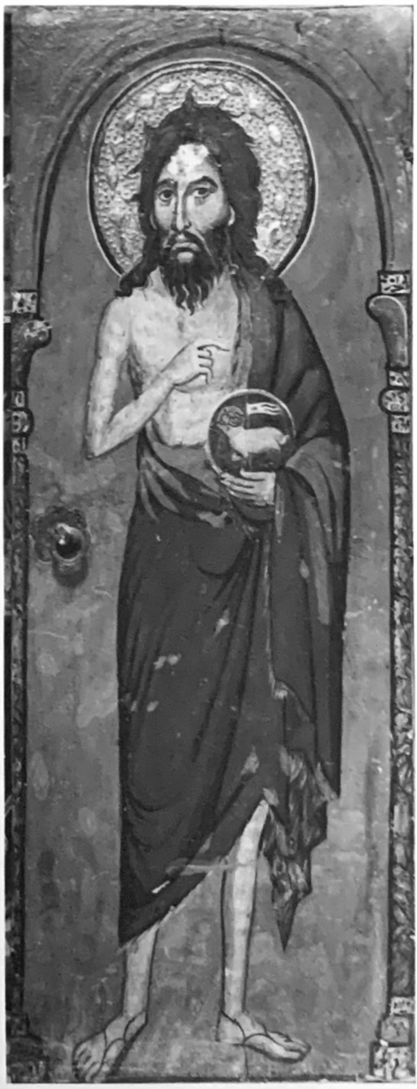
159. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 66/753, the Acre Triptych: left side interior wing, upper register: the Coronation of the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



160. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 66/753, the Acre Triptych: left side interior wing, lower register: the Dormition of the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

By contrast the central panel shows us a monumental image of the Virgin and Child enthroned with two standing angels, that is clearly executed by a Crusader painter with an Italian, not a French Gothic background. It is a very different Italo-Byzantine Crusader style in Acre done by an artist using a Byzantine icon as his model, specifically possibly an early thirteenth-century example at St. Catherine's, Mount Sinai.[638] As Weitzmann says, "a comparison between these two Virgin icons shows quite clearly that the Crusader artist followed a Byzantine model much more faithfully than a Dugento artist working in Italy would have done. Yet the Western temper asserts itself in many respects in this instance. . . . In the Crusader panel the Child clings to the Virgin by holding her right hand as if to steady himself; he looks up at her face and tries to reach it with his other hand. . . . Baby-like behavior such as holding the Virgin's hand has no place in a Byzantine icon of the Virgin. The fundamental difference of two religious concepts manifests itself here in all clarity, despite the fact that the Western artist tried to copy a Byzantine model as closely as he could."[639]

With the proviso that I would prefer to read here, "the Crusader artist" instead of "the Western artist," Weitzmann notes the major stylistic features of the Virgin and Child, including the stocky proportions of the figures, the large, fleshy faces and hands, and the softly modeled drapery.[640] Italian ornamental vocabulary is noted in the tooled nimbi with rinceau and palmette design, and the background with a diamond pattern. There is also the gold and black pearl and bead studded frame of the throne, and the foreshortened red and white tile floor. Although he notes a parallel between this tiled floor and a slightly later work from the circle of Guido da Siena,[641] overall he somewhat tentatively attempts to attribute this image to an artist from Apulia, largely on the bases of the ornamental vocabulary and general comparisons with the design and execution of the Virgin.[642] Pace, however, challenged this attribution directly, correctly in my view, noting that these proposed similarities were not convincing. He pointed out that some of the important stylistic features of the icon found no parallel in Apulian paintings in general, or in the frescoes of the crypt of S. Vito Vecchio in Gravina that Weitzmann was discussing specifically. In particular he noted "the icon displays a spatial setting, with the angels partly behind the throne, a three-quarter profile for all the figures, a use of painterly shading in the faces of the Madonna and the angels, and a peculiar style of representing



161. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 66/753, the Acre Triptych: right side outer wing, Standing figure of St. John the Baptist. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai).

folds."[643] In the face of this challenge, we must consider the origin of this artist's Italian background to be as yet unresolved.

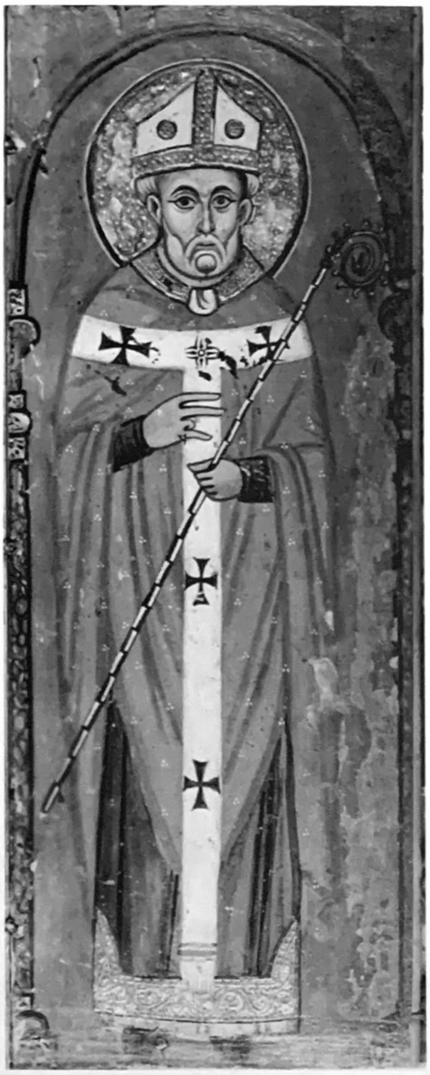
The Apulian connection, however tempting, seems untenable for explaining the Crusader painter's artistic background in the Virgin and Child. And despite Weitzmann's comment "that a clearly definable influence from Pisa or, for that matter, from Tuscany in general, though it had the best known Ducento school of panel painting, . . . has not yet been traced among Crusader icons,"[644] our attention is in fact drawn to the Tuscan area for this central panel for several reasons. First, Weitzmann himself noted possible links to Tuscany in certain details. There is an ornamental vocabulary in Tuscany that includes the diamond and pearl border and the red and white tiled floor in empirical perspective, as Weitzmann pointed out.[645] Also we find images of the Virgin and Child that provide viable comparisons for this representation in terms of style and iconography. Second, Anne Derbes, although acknowledging that in Tuscany, Pisan painting would seem to provide the most likely prospects, has pointed clearly in the direction of Siena, by proposing to see parallels of this Virgin type in the oeuvre of Guido da Siena and his circle.[646] Let us reconsider the characteristics of this central panel and the treatment of the triptych as a whole.

One of the new developments found in this triptych is the intensive decoration of the backgrounds, haloes, certain passages in the textiles, and even the border frame of the central panel, with gilding over raised gesso or with incised patterns in the gold grounds. None of the three early works we discussed employed these highly decorative techniques extensively, but we did remark on the fact that borders of the haloes in the Perugia Missal panels were incised. In the triptych, the wings have extensive raised gesso work, whereas in the central panel the ornamental vocabulary is exceptionally rich in both design and technique. The outer border is a raised gesso version of the diamond and pearl painted design found on numerous Crusader icons of the Acre group. Weitzmann found specific parallels for this painted type in early Pisan paintings.[647] The raised gesso technique of the border, which unites the central panel with the wings, finds its only other presence within the central panel in the cloth of honor on the back of the throne of the Virgin. There we see its raised pointed tetra-lobe designs in diamond forms that echo the same larger pointed tetra-lobe designs painted on the hanging itself. The cloth of honor is, however, understated and clearly subordinated to the bold gold and black frame of the unusually shaped throne,[648] with its decoration of round beads with open centers and two-part hexagons or the strongly stated red and white checkerboard floor under the throne. The tiled floor looks like the artist's decorative attempt at some kind of empirical perspective, but looked at closely, apparently the design is applied to a form that was possibly originally a footstool in the artist's model. The idea of the tiles is found in Tuscan painting, as Weitzmann noted, but in the example he cites, which is apparently a later repainted passage, it is applied to an entire floor across the front of the panel. It is not clear when the floor in the Tuscan panel was painted, or repainted. The fact is that the idea might just as well have originated here in Acre as there, or could even be the result of repainting in the Acre panel.[649] The throne decoration – and indeed the shape of the throne itself – is not paralleled exactly by any known extant Italian work either, but it seems to be a boldly decorative interpretation of what are usually more understated designs found on wooden thrones in central Italian painting of this period.[650]

There can be no doubt, however, that the incised diamond-shaped designs on the gold background, which harmonize with the textile pattern on the cloth of honor placed across the back of the throne, and the incised foliate and palmette patterns on the haloes of the Virgin, Jesus and the angels, or the round stippled dots which texture the background and the haloes, are entirely Italian, not Byzantine or French. In fact this panel contains one of the richest examples of Italianate incised tooling of any extant Crusader icon. This is again a technique that can be found flourishing at this time in Tuscany.[651] Thus, just at the time that the raised gesso or *pastiglia* technique became popular in the Near East among the Crusader artists as a less expensive way of achieving the effects of the more costly repoussé sheets of precious metals on panel painting,[652] the incised decoration also becomes widespread in Italy and the Near East.[653] The Acre Triptych is one of the most remarkable Crusader examples of this phenomenon in the 1250s in Acre.

There are also the two large standing frontal figures on the outside surfaces of the wings of this triptych, images of St. Nicholas on the left and St. John the Baptist on the right. Weitzmann initially attributes these two figures to the same painter who did the central panel; he also claims that this fact provides "proof that the triptych was indeed perceived as a unit and that the center and the wings were executed at the same time."[654] Certainly the two standing figures share with the figures of the central panel similar fleshy faces, similar conventions for the eyes, the same love of decorative forms and the same *pastiglia* in the haloes (as seen on the inside wings) and on the lower hem of Nicholas's liturgical garment under the chasuble. But the differences in facial type with emphasis on the large, long nose in the Virgin and angels, the design of the more round as opposed to the more elongated face, the greater linear precision of the eye convention, the differing proportions of the figures, and the simpler draperies, all suggest the work of a Crusader artist of somewhat different background for these two standing saints. The two outer wings are also distinguished from the inner images in another obvious and important way, by having a red ground, not a gold ground, an idea that also possibly suggests knowledge of Cypriot painting in the second half of the thirteenth century.[655] The artist of the outer wings is close in style to that of the artist of the central panel, but his personal manner of design and painting is nonetheless somewhat different.

Where then does one find these artists' backgrounds? The figure style of the Virgin and the angels with large heads and somewhat melancholy looking faces, with softly painted draperies and with thickly painted chrysography that appears to be "poured" over the body of the Christ child, all seems distinctive. This corresponds to the peculiar proportions and pose of the Virgin with the oddly projecting knee out to the left, and the strange disjunction between the rather large-headed and vertical upper body and the somewhat unclearly defined, broad and massive lower body. It is not an artist that we see elsewhere in the Crusader East, and we certainly cannot find an exact parallel to his work in Italy. But it is to Tuscany and with artists in the circle of Guido da Siena that the most interesting similarities seem to exist. Derbes draws our attention to the Virgin's facial type, with its almond-shaped eye, smoothly



162. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 66/753, the Acre Triptych: left side outer wing, Standing figure of St. Nicholas in episcopal regalia. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

arched brow, and especially its demure smile.[656] If we compare the work of the Madonna del Voto Master, with his individual wide-browed, long-nosed Virgin facial type, its curious flat forehead, and its relationship of the face and head with the border of the maphorion, there seems to be a kinship of design that suggests our Acre artist may also have been originally trained by a Crusader master familiar with this school.[657] Furthermore, we can concretely point to a Byzantine icon, the mid-thirteenth-century Virgin Hodegetria in the church of the Carmine in Siena, as a possible model for painters working in the Guidoesque style.[658] Looking at the Byzantine icon, then at the Madonna del Voto dossal, and then at the Virgin on the Acre Triptych, one can see a relationship of design and painted form that can help us further understand the possible Tuscan background of our Crusader painter's training. Finding a more exact parallel may not be possible, but locating the artist's ultimate background in Tuscany with links to "Guido-style works"[659] in the region of Siena and Pisa is significant for reasons discussed later.[660]

With the two standing frontal saints on the outside wings, it is more difficult to produce exact comparisons. Standing saints under arches are found all over the medieval world, East and West, but it is not possible to cite precise *comparanda* for these two figures as such, posed in an architectural setting. The question here is whether the painter who did these outer wings has the same artistic background as the artist of the central panel, despite the observed differences. The fact is that these frontal standing figures also seem to be the work of a Crusader artist of Italian background. Besides the stylistic features mentioned earlier, the figure of St. Nicholas even features a bold black and white geometric decorative design on the crozier that reminds us of striking Italian geometric designs in Dugento painting and the aesthetic of black and white *opus tessellatum* in Venetian marble floors.[661] His work is, however, distinct in handling from that on the central panel.

Weitzmann was ambivalent about the background of this artist, who did Sts. Nicholas and John the Baptist, but he favored Apulia. Pace has argued that southern Italy is an unlikely background for the painter of these figures, however, as well as for those on the central panel, for reasons of artistic style and the methodology of analysis and interpretation.[662] In fact, these saints on the outer wings compare most favorably, especially in terms of the handling of the head and face, as well as the figure style, not with the figures of the central panel of the Acre Triptych, but with a series of icons which Weitzmann originally attributed to a painter he called the "Master of the Knights Templar," nomenclature that is no longer tenable and that I later propose to change.[663] This comparison is not new; Weitzmann advanced the idea himself in 1966.

> The painter who depicted John the Baptist and St. Nicholas of Bari seems to have specialized in the representation of saints in a frontal position. We have by his hand – and this is one of the rare cases where a considerable number of icons can be grouped together as characteristic of the work of an individual artist – about half a dozen icons, all of approximately the same size and with two or three saints standing side by side. Among these icons is one with two saints, one of whom is Symeon Stylites [Fig. 193, App. no. 11/64] on his column, a figure so similar in its facial features to the St. Nicholas on the triptych wing that, . . . , the assumption of a common hand is justified.[664]

An equally important comparison is made with another icon, the Virgin and Child flanked by St. John the Baptist and Moses (Fig. 194, App. no. 43/428), a work done by a Crusader artist of Venetian background, which Weitzmann characterized as working in a linear Venetian style.[665] Weitzmann recognized these affinities when he concluded his discussion of "the Master of the Knights Templars" group of icons with the following observations:

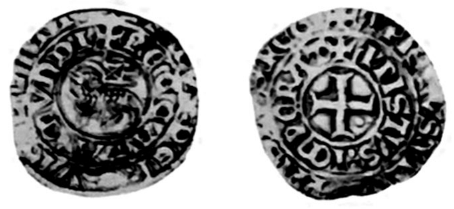
> The hard, linear style of our [St. Nicholas/St. John the Baptist] master has affinities . . . with the icons of the of the second Venetian group [=the linear Venetian style], and while there are distinct differences, it is difficult to decide whether these should be interpreted in terms of different localities or merely in terms of individual artistic personalities. In other words, there is a possibility that our Master of the Knights Templars may have been another Venetian after all or, even if he was a South Italian, may have had a strong connection with Venetian art.[666]

I believe Weitzmann is correct to attribute the basic background tradition of this Crusader painter of St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist, by the artist he originally called "the Master of the Knights Templars," to Venice, even though he remained ambivalent in discussing these paintings, and tended to favor an attribution to Apulia for the background of this artist long after 1966. For the moment, what is particularly significant is that Nicholas and John the Baptist are painted by an artist who is different from that of the central panel.[667] His facial type is clearly recognizeable, a beautiful synthesis of the sophisticated modeling of the Byzantine[668] with the more linear and decorative Venetian type. Note especially the subtle modeling of the faces and the expressive eyes, which look directly at the viewer, which we find in the icon with the standing Virgin and Child (Fig. 194, App. no. 43/428). Note the similar proportions of the figure of St. John the Baptist in this icon, as well as his costume, and those of the St. John on the Wing of the Acre Triptych (Fig. 161, App. no. 66/753). Note the comparisons of the faces in these figures as well as with that of Moses. Nicholas was popular in the Veneto as elsewhere in Italy, of course, as can be seen in an impressive Pisan altarpiece from the church of S. Verano, where he is also represented as a Latin bishop with his Western miter and crozier.[669]

Meanwhile, St. John the Baptist is a combination of the Byzantine ascetic figure wearing only his hair shirt as seen in thirteenth-century icon painting,[670] but holding a typical Western iconographic symbol, the disc with the *Agnus Dei*. The appearance of this disc is unique among Crusader icons from Sinai, where John appears most often in his intercessory pose as part of the Deësis group without an attribute.

The *Agnus Dei* in a tondo or medallion format, both as an independent symbol and as an attribute of St. John the Baptist, goes back to Early Christian/Early Byzantine art, examples of which can be seen, for example, in mosaics at Ravenna in the sixth century, where the lamb appears without the banner of salvation.[671] This tradition continues at least partially in medieval Italy where one can see the lamb in a medallion, for example, in the tribune vault mosaics of the Cathedral Baptistery in Florence,[672] but Italian painted representations of St. John the Baptist with the lamb on a disc as an attribute are unknown to me in the thirteenth century. Not so, however, in France, where St. John appears in thirteenth-century sculpture as a statue-colonne at Chartres and Reims cathedrals, holding his attribute as we see it here.[673] Of course the format of a standing holy figure gesturing and holding a disc is well-known from the apostle figures lining the nave of Sainte Chapelle.

On the Acre Triptych wing, the lamb with a halo around his head appears facing forward, with his front right leg raised and a white banner behind him emblazoned with a red cross. There was certainly no Byzantine source for this imagery, because the imagery of the lamb as a representation of Jesus had been forbidden in the East since the council of Constantinople in 692. The early-thirteenth-century French imagery mentioned earlier could have been part of the tradition out of which this image appeared in Acre. But the work most relevant to the Acre triptych wing seems to be a remarkable new coin minted certainly after 1251, and apparently *c.*1260 in Acre or Antioch with this iconography. There is no doubt that this rare coin should be placed in the context of the new coinage with Christian inscriptions instigated by the papal legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, and struck in Acre from 1251 on, whether it was minted there or not. But the gold *Agnus Dei* bezant is a special coin, anonymous and undated, that has on its obverse the Paschal Lamb, with the inscription *Agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi.*[674] On the reverse is the inscription, + *Xpistus:vincit Xpistus:regnat* + *Xpistus :imperat* (Fig. 163). Just as we see in the painting, the lamb is nimbed, and behind him appears the banner of salvation. These examples differ from the related French antecedents because the banners billow out from cross-staffs, so that the cross is part of the staff and is not on the banner itself. The two Crusader examples are not exactly the same either, suggesting that neither was the precise artistic model for the other,[675] but they both seem to find their common context in the Crusader capital city.



163. Acre: golden *Agnus Dei* bezant. See COLOR PL. 7 (photo: after Slocum catalogue)

This numismatic image of the *Agnus Dei* is the closest comparison piece to the medallion, but it is not the only example that may be relevant here. We find among the seals used by both the Hospitallers and the Templars, examples which feature the *Agnus Dei*. The most interesting example for the Hospitallers is the seal used on a document of 1221, in which Cardinal Pelagius settled a dispute between the Knights of St. John and the Templars over the town of Jabala.[676] As for the Templars, it is remarkable that among extant seals, the imagery of the *Agnus Dei* is the most prevalent with nineteen surviving examples, although none is directly connected to the Holy Land.[677] Templar Masters in France, Aragon, and especially England used this motif on their seals, including the important English master, Richard of Hastings, one of the two Templars who commissioned a translation of the book of Judges into Old French in the third quarter of the twelfth century.[678]

It is immediately evident that the image of the *Agnus Dei* in a medallion-shaped configuration, besides being the attribute of St. John the Baptist, is a generic symbol of the lamb in the Book of Revelation where it is associated with the book of the seven seals. Here in Acre, however, two events occurred that might have been related to or even stimulated this unusual iconography, namely, the minting of the new *Agnus Dei* coin *c.*1260 and the sweeping 1258 agreement concluded jointly by the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights designed to end internecine rivalries among them.[679] Future research will determine whether the Acre Triptych may have been specifically commissioned with either event in mind, but for the moment, we can note the parallels all of which tend to indicate a dating in the late 1250s or the early 1260s, perhaps *c.*1260.

In both images of St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist, therefore, we find an interesting synthesis of East and West. St. Nicholas wears Western episcopal vestments, but he blesses in the Greek manner. St. John is holding an attribute that looks rather French Gothic in origin, but his figure style and costume is decidedly Byzantine in type, quite in contrast to the Gothic images on the French cathedrals. As a pair they represent the two most popular saints both East and West in the thirteenth century, figures that here also link this triptych to the liturgy. Nicholas is dressed in liturgical garments ready to celebrate the divine mysteries; the attribute of John the Baptist represents the *Agnus Dei*, that is, the image of Christ taken from St. John's Gospel, I, 29: "Behold the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world." With these beautiful words John the Baptist proclaimed his recognition of Jesus as the Messiah. As a part of the Latin liturgy these words, "*Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi*," are found in the prayer known as the *Agnus Dei*, which comes after the kiss of peace is given, just before communion.[680]

In sum, Sts. Nicholas and John the Baptist introduce us to this triptych. It is a triptych that has the character of a specific Crusader synthesis appropriate to its function not only as a devotional work in honor of the Virgin, but also as a liturgical altarpiece for the Latin rite. The presence of saints Nicholas and John the Baptist in conjunction with the Virgin and Child on the central panel forms an introduction to what we will find inside the triptych when it is open. They also form a prelude to an iconography we will find in the later Middle Ages, namely, that of a variation on the Deësis, where the Virgin and Child now replace the figure of Christ alone, and Nicholas and John the Baptist are the intercessory figures, a group we find in the fourteenth-century chapel mosaics of St. Isidore in San Marco in Venice.[681]

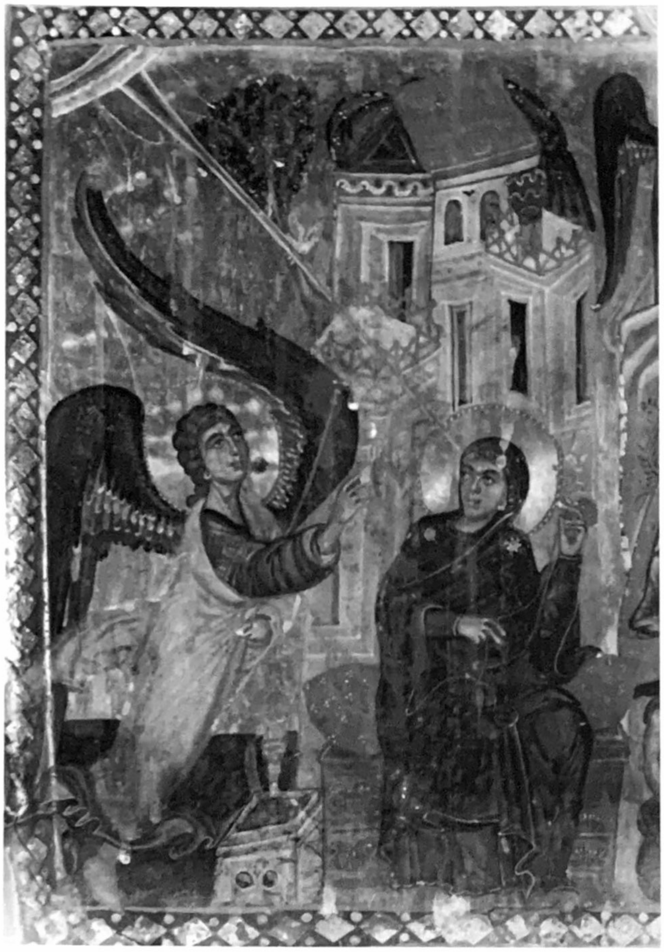
What then can we say about the date of the Acre Triptych and the circumstances of its commission? Like the artist of the Arsenal Bible, the painter of the Virgin and Child in the Acre Triptych was someone whose master's primary training may have been Western, indeed Tuscan, but who certainly had been exposed to considerable Byzantine and Crusader painting as well. In this case the artist may well have been working in the latter part of the 1250s or early 1260s, some years after the Arsenal Bible was done, but his Crusader combination of East and West shares with it at least one notable feature. Just as the Arsenal Bible Master combines the dramatic ornamental vocabulary of stained-glass windows with the Franco-Byzantine figural style of the frontispiece miniatures, the Acre Triptych Virgin and Child master combines the intense decoration of painted and incised ornamental surfaces with his monumental Italo-Byzantine Crusader figure style of the enthroned Virgin and Child with angels. Furthermore, this Triptych is linked by small details to the earlier icon paintings of *c.*1250. We notice, for example, that the haloes of the holy figures on the inside wings are given the same lovely red borders with white pearls that are found on the Crusader Crucifixion icon that we compared with the Perugia Missal Crucifixion panel.[682]

In the case of the Acre Triptych, of course, the distinguishing feature is the combination of what are in effect, three Crusader stylistic variants – one from a Franco-Byzantine tradition for the inner wings, the others Tuscano-Byzantine for the central panel, and Veneto-Byzantine for the outer wings – in the same work. This multicultural Crusader workshop product is of course not unique; we have already seen mutatis mutandis the pairing of Byzantine and Crusader painters in Constantinople, and we will see other examples later in Acre as well, for example, in manuscript illumination. But in the case of the Acre Triptych we may wonder what occasioned such a distinctive commission in Acre at this time.

The Acre Triptych is remarkable as a Crusader work for its stylistic richness and lavish decoration, for its notable and unusual programmatic content, and for its remarkable and special iconography. Its appearance in Acre seems to parallel certain major political, military, and economic developments that took place in the later 1250s, centered on the War of St. Sabas. The distinctive features of the Acre Triptych include the combination of a French-influenced and two Italian-influenced Crusader styles in one work. The significance of this combination as a direct reflection of the situation in Acre seems to lie in the fact that the Venetians and Pisans had expelled the Genoese as a viable commercial power in the capital city by 1258. The Acre Triptych appears to reflect the new reality of French and Italian presence and power in Acre, which was brought together in this work, perhaps as a commission linking French with Tuscan and Venetian interests.

Could this work have been ordered as an important diplomatic gift made to recognize the consummation of a major treaty? We have no concrete event,[683] no specific church,[684] no particular patron(s), and no exact moment to propose, as yet, for this work to have been called into existence. We cannot definitively say what the use of three Crusader artists or styles signified. Nor is it known exactly what the Tuscan background for the central panel painter, along with those of Venetian and French background for the wings, meant in this ensemble. But it seems very likely that it was meaningful in some way for both the patron(s) and the recipient(s), as well as for the function of the Triptych. In light of the numerous works of Crusader icon painting that can be associated with Crusader artists of Venetian background in Acre from *c.*1260 on, the fact that here an artist of Tuscan background was used for the main cult image seems worthy of note. It is certainly significant that an artist of Genoese background was not used. The commission of the Acre Triptych could well have been intended to cement Tuscan, French, and Venetian ties in some way during or, more likely, just after the War of St. Sabas. This could have been intended in terms of personal relationships, or in terms of some kind of political and economic cooperation, where the multicultural stylistic repertory of the triptych would have been meaningful to those involved.

Or perhaps the Acre Triptych was commissioned for a confraternity or a religious order in Acre, or a group of confraternities. For a confraternity, membership was normally open to people of one place of origin, for example, from one of the Italian city states.[685] Seen this way it would perhaps be significant for the commission that the central panel had Tuscan connections, and the presence of artists from other backgrounds could be explained as constituting the available resources of the atelier where this work was produced. We shall have to await the findings of further research to help us understand the intent of the patronage and the function of the work more clearly and specifically. However, based on the monumental Virgin and Child images commissioned in Italy for members of confraternities and religious orders in Tuscany, images such as Duccio's *Rucellai Madonna*, done for the Laudesi in 1285[686] or Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna del Bordone* done for the Servites in 1261,[687] such patronage would surely be possible and not unlikely in Acre.[688] Not only do we note the overwhelming focus on the cult of the Virgin which characterized the devotional attention of many confraternities and orders, and certainly also



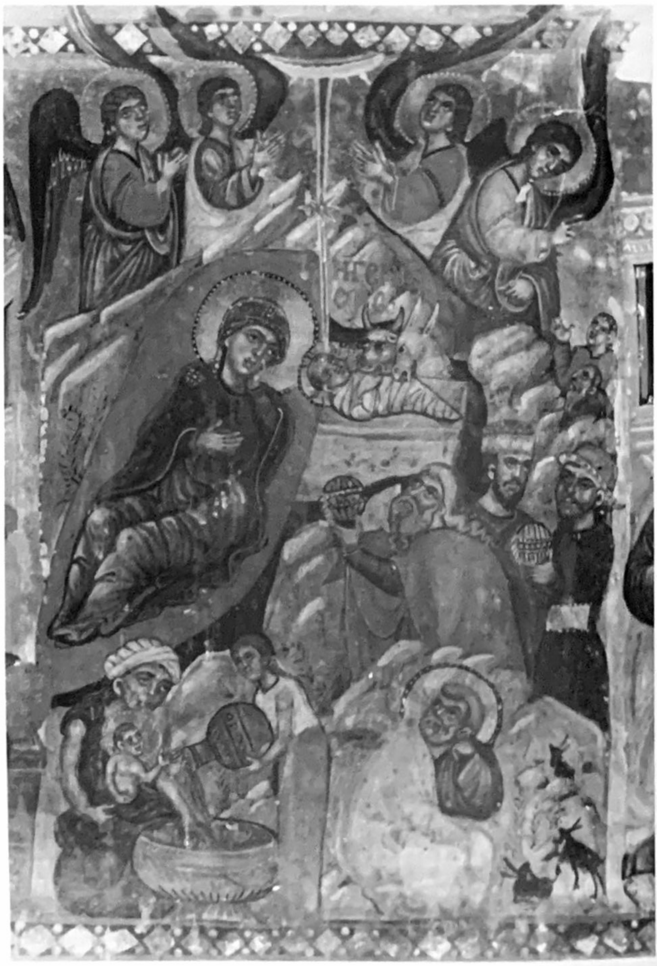
164. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 105/1744, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Annunciation. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

the Carmelites, for example, but also the choice of Sts. Nicholas and John the Baptist, two of the most important and universally revered saints in the Byzantine and Crusader East. Taken together these features would be attractive and characteristic of the religious interests among several possible confraternities or orders in Acre in the late 1250s or the early 1260s. Whoever the patron eventually turns out to be, the Acre Triptych, done let us propose between *c.*1258 and 1261,[689] seems to be surely an important indication of the growing multiculturalism of the Crusader artistic milieu and increased sophistication in the interactive development of Acre-based Crusader painting.

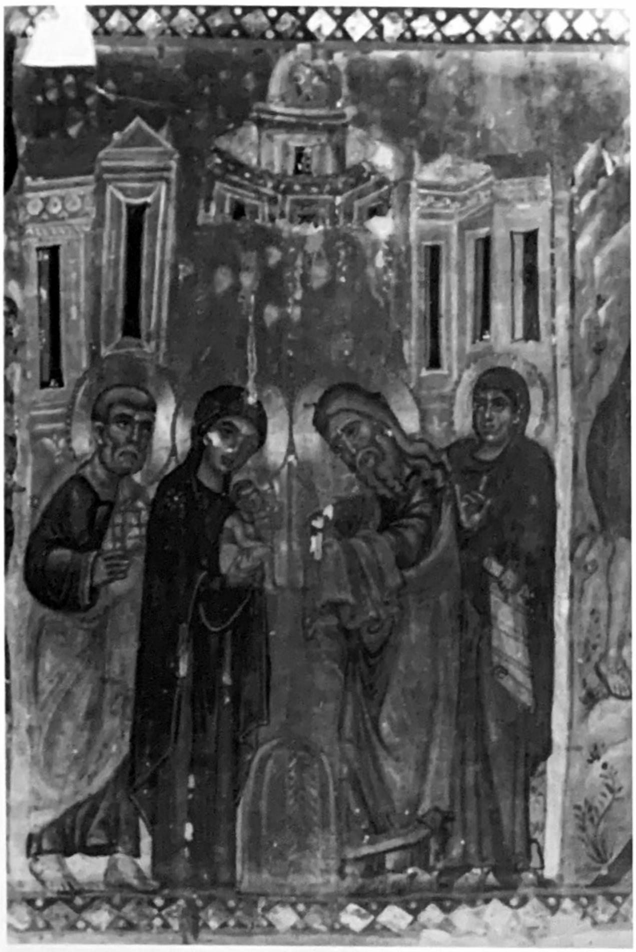
We can test our findings in regard to the Acre Triptych by examining another large and important work done about 1260, an iconostasis beam now in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.

THE ICONOSTASIS BEAM OF THE TWELVE FEASTS, *C.*1260: There are in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai a number of special works, iconostasis beams painted with the scenes of the twelve liturgical feasts drawn from Byzantine images of the *dodekaorta*. In contrast to the panels just discussed, these beams were apparently made for a particular chapel, to decorate the top of the templon screen.[690] Given the existence of a special chapel for Frankish pilgrims served by Latin monks at St. Catherine's, the Chapel of St. Catherine of the Franks, as it became known later, iconostasis beams decorated by Crusader painters with measurements corresponding to the dimensions of this chapel would seem to have been made for use there. Two of these beams were clearly done by Crusader artists, one by an artist working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.[691] The scenes contained on this latter beam are strongly characteristic of Crusader work and can be related directly to Acre images of *c.*1250 (Figs. 164–76, App. nos. 105, 106, 107/1744–1746, Figs. 393, 394, 395). Their style and iconography raise several important questions about the function of this beam, however, including exactly where it was originally intended to be used and the reasons for its commission and execution.[692]

The main images that appear on these beams are the twelve great feasts of the Byzantine calendar, starting with the Annunciation and ending with the Koimesis. On the Crusader-commissioned examples, such as this one, it is common to expand the cycle with one to three additional scenes. In the case of this beam, the scene of the Last Supper is added, in its correct liturgical place between the Entry into Jerusalem and the Crucifixion. As Weitzmann points out, "in Byzantine art the Last Supper has great liturgical significance, being usually grouped



165. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 105/1744, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Nativity and the Three Magi. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



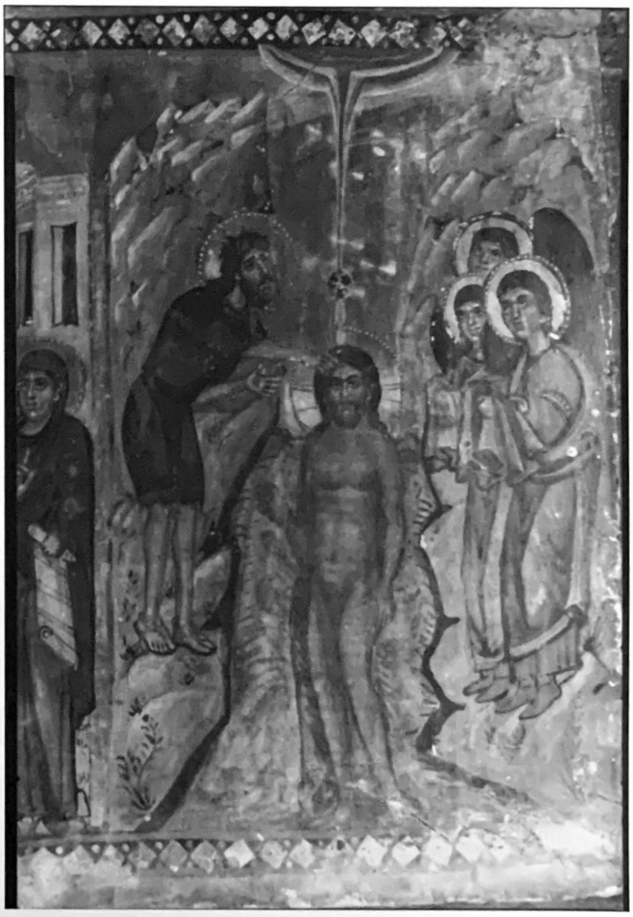
166. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 105/1744, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Presentation in the Temple. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

together with the Washing of the Feet,..., but they are not part of the great feast cycle, and this intrusion may thus be attributed to a Western mind."[693]

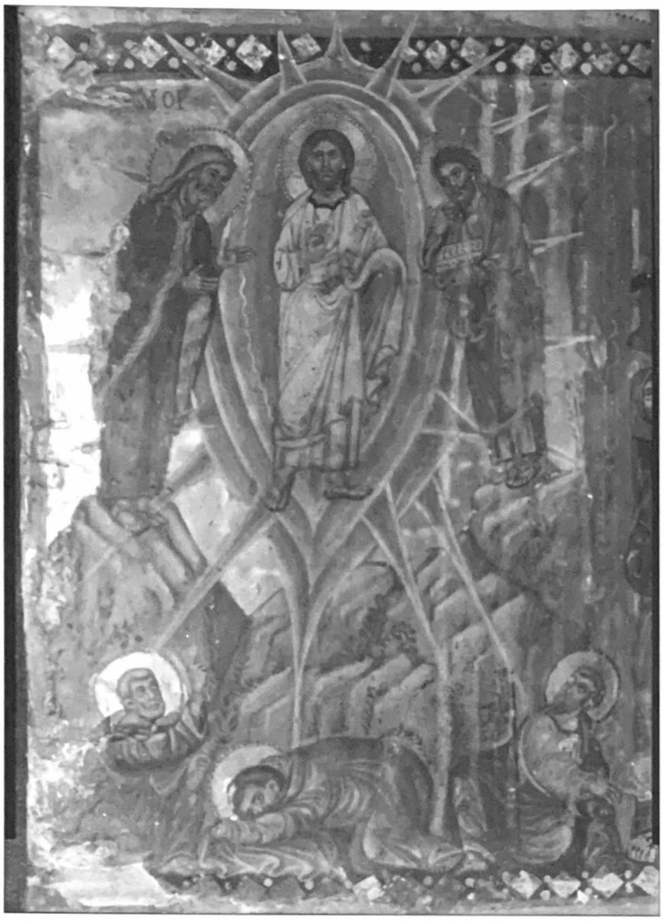
The beam with its thirteen scenes has been published already, but the entire cycle is worth considering further, with all the issues that the scenes raise.[694] The most familiar image from this beam is the Crucifixion,[695] which relates directly to the earlier Crusader icon and the miniatures in the Perugia and Egerton missals. Weitzmann discussed the Crucifixion at some length in 1963, noting the close iconographical relationship with the earlier Crusader Crucifixion icon and the Perugia Missal Crucifixion in terms of their poses and gestures, but pointing out the different style of this artist. The sturdy and thickset figures, the greater solidity of the bodies, and the voluminous folds of the loincloth led Weitzmann to suggest a Crusader painter of Italian background, but one who was clearly integrated into the characteristics of the Acre school of painters. On the basis of further discussion in 1966 in which he compares the work of this painter with a Venetian diptych now in Bern, Weitzmann proposed to identify Venice as the place of origin for this Crusader painter or the place of his training.[696] I would propose to modify this assessment to indicate that this artist was a Crusader artist with significant Venetian influence in his training.

His Venetian "background" notwithstanding, the painterly style and the iconographic details taken together, such as the treatment of the beveled cross, his use of the red halo borders decorated with pearls, the rolling-eye convention – all of these aspects indicate an artist well-acquainted with Crusader icon painting in Acre. It is also notable that the inscriptions on this image are written in Greek, indicating something important, either about the function of this beam or its intended location, or both. But the Greek letters are timidly formed and rather inelegantly painted on the crossarm by the head of Christ, suggesting an artist – or some assistant[697] – who was not fully comfortable with Greek. Other features also suggest a Western-trained artist, such as the rectangular format of the scenes, instead of the customary Byzantine arched configuration.[698] The framing ornament of golden diamonds and white pearls set on a black ground seen here, found in Pisan painting and used widely in Crusader work, is also employed in a raised gesso version on the Acre Triptych, as discussed earlier. By contrast with that work, however, the haloes here are done in a Byzantine technique, creating the effect of rotating wheels, instead of the elaborate ornamental aesthetic expressed in raised gesso *pastiglia* often found in these Crusader works.[699]

Some of the scenes on this beam show that the Crusader artist was able to follow his Byzantine model accurately, without significant iconographic changes. These scenes include the



167. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 105/1744, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Baptism of Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

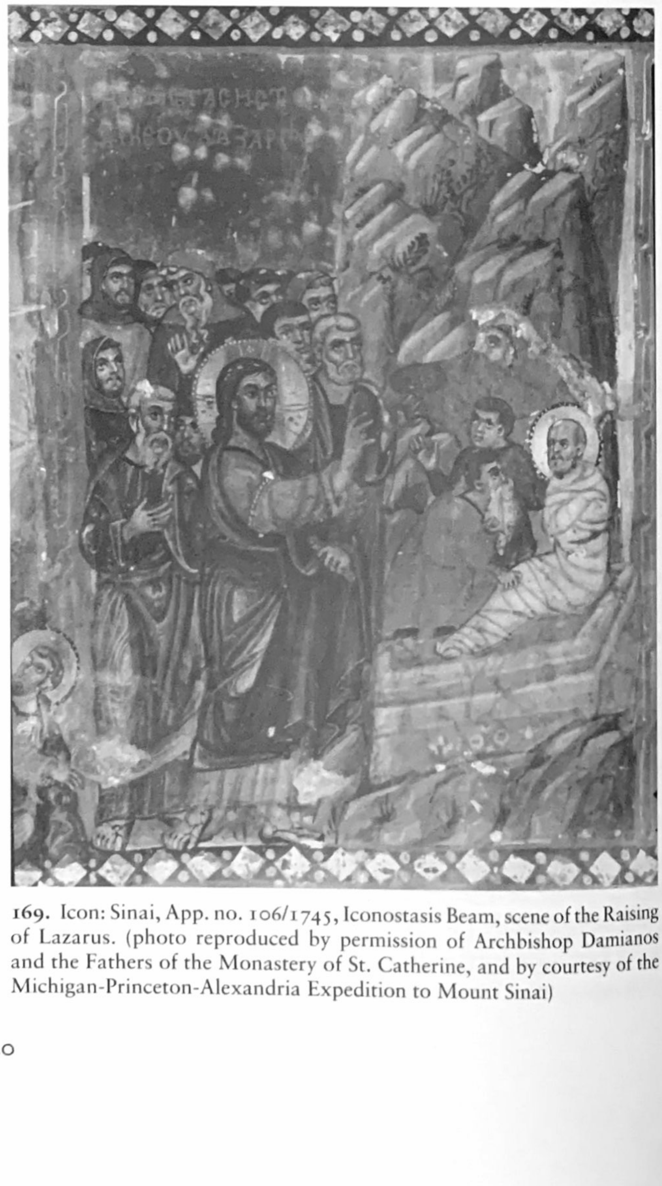


168. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 106/1745, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Transfiguration. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

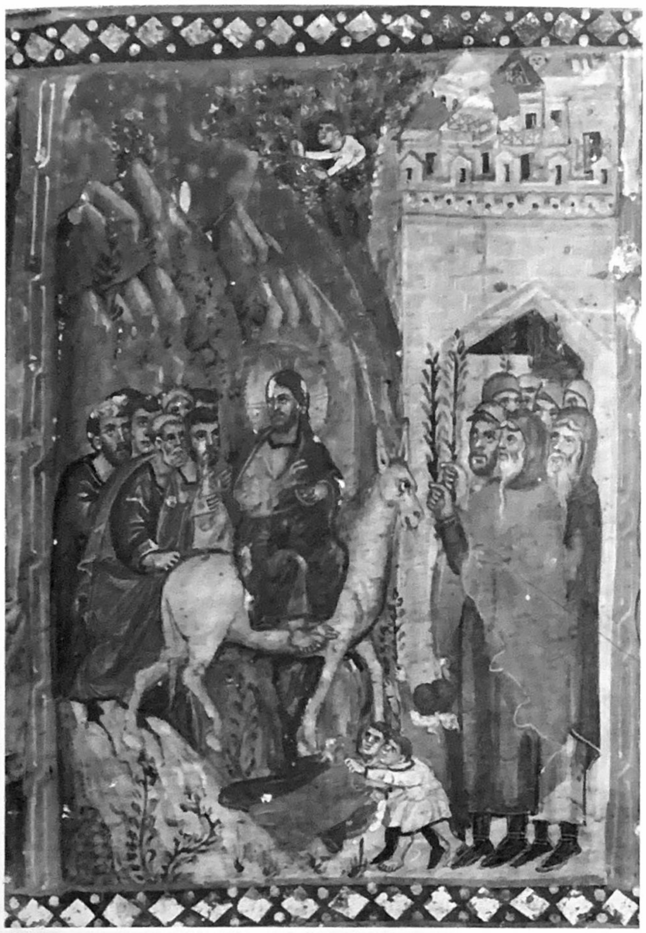
Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Harrowing of Hell.[700] Although it is true that there are occasional variations, for example, the artist emphasizes the element of surprise to the Virgin by posing her with her back turned to the angel in the Annunciation, but otherwise the basic iconography of these scenes is entirely traditional Byzantine imagery.

Other scenes on this iconostasis beam, however, indicate that this Crusader painter, although he looked at Byzantine art through a Crusader training grounded in the Venetian tradition, "imitated Byzantine models as closely as possible, but on occasion consciously inserted an element of Western iconography or invented new details."[701] Weitzmann points out, for example, that in the Pentecost scene, the Crusader painter has revised the standard Byzantine iconography. First, the apostles are seated in a manner approximating a circle following Western medieval convention, and second, instead of having Peter and Paul jointly seated in the central place of honor, here Peter is alone given this distinction, again a totally Western choice.[702] In discussing the Koimesis scene, Weitzmann poses the difference between what he calls a "carelessness in iconographical accuracy" with deliberate programmatic choice. In this image the group of apostles at the bier of the Virgin, usually led by St. Paul and placed on the right side, at her feet, has been replaced by a group of four angels. Besides their un-Byzantine location, their iconography and function are also entirely Western: They hold orbs and scepters, paying her homage. Thus, like the program of the Acre Triptych, here again we see a deliberate celebration of the Virgin with her regalia as queen of heaven, a completely Western interpretation.[703] In the image of the Raising of Lazarus, the standard Byzantine iconography of Lazarus standing at the entrance to his tomb is totally changed by depicting him seated upright on the lid of his sarcophagus.[704] This representation seems to be more of an example of iconographical deviation by an artist not thoroughly trained in Byzantine imagery, and not familiar with the specifics of the biblical text of John 11: 38–44. Finally, in the case of the Last Supper, decidedly Western iconography has been introduced by the imagery of St. John, the beloved apostle, reclining on Christ's chest, and the presence of Sts. Peter and Paul holding attributes in their hands.[705]

Among the various scenes that reflect Crusader sensibilities on this iconostasis beam, perhaps the most interesting and significant iconographic choices are found in the Nativity scene, which is combined here with the Adoration of the Magi. Whereas the iconography of the Nativity follows fairly standard Byzantine conventions, it is the representation of the three magi that excites our special interest. In Byzantine and Western iconography in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the magi are normally characterized as an elderly bearded figure, a middle-aged bearded figure, and a youthful beardless figure. In the West after the tenth century, the magi are also



169. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 106/1745, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Raising of Lazarus. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



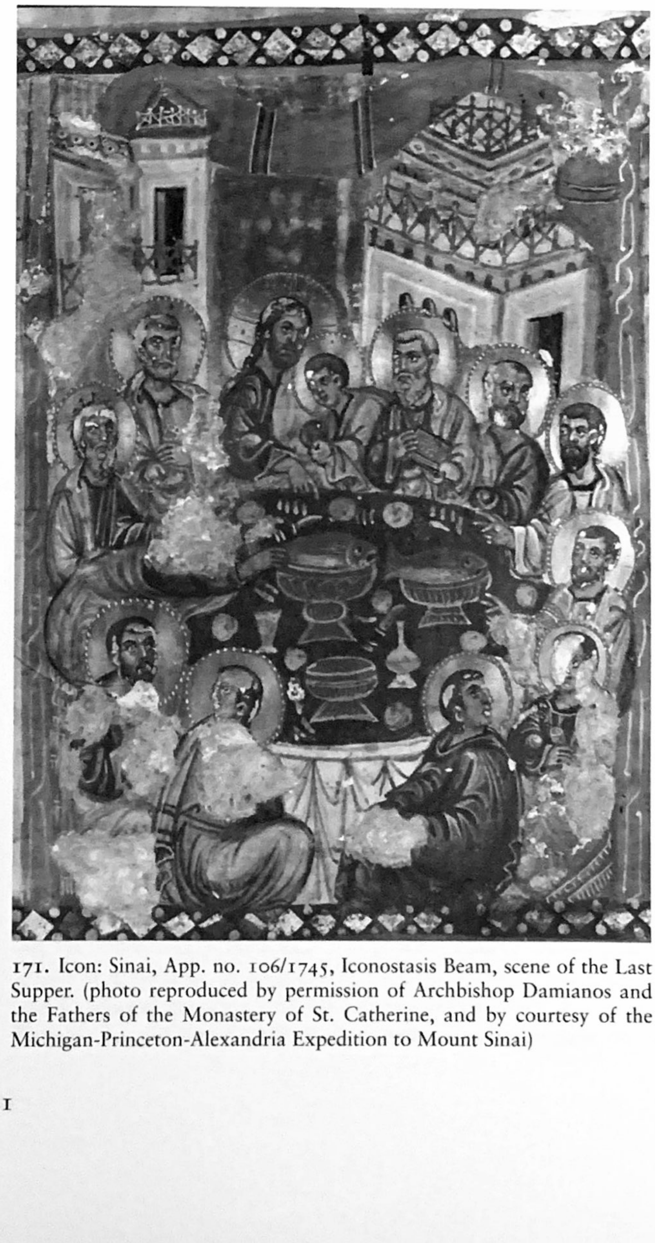
170. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 106/1745, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Entry into Jerusalem. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

regularly depicted as kings wearing crowns, but in Byzantine art they continue to wear Persian dress as Easterners.[706] Here, however, it is evident that they are all three quite distinctive and follow neither tradition. The eldest figure, with long flowing white hair and beard, wears a striking red cloak; the central figure, who is much more youthful, wears a short beard and an Italian nobleman's cap decorated with ermine. The third magus, who is also bearded, is represented as a Mongol. He has the Mongol physiognomy and wears a characteristic Mongol cap.[707]

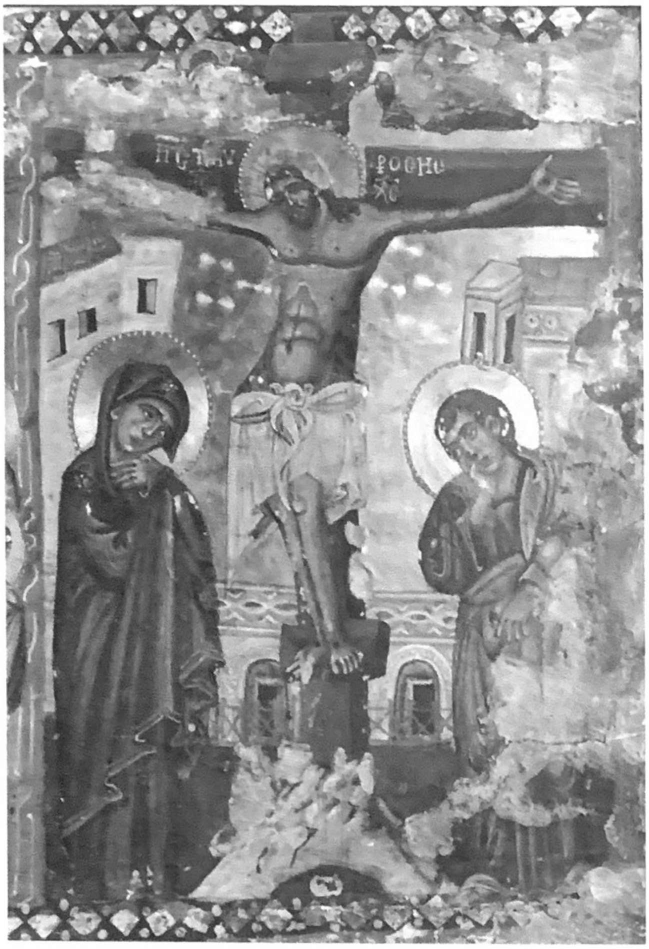
Weitzmann noted this departure from standard iconography and he proposed to identify the Mongol as a representation of Kitbogha, the Nestorian Christian general in command of Mongol forces in Syria in the late 1250s.[708] Although Weitzmann recognized the middle magus as a Westerner, he declined to attempt to identify him or the other older figure. Instead, having gone this far, he concluded that "with the portrait of Kitbuqa, the Nativity picture becomes an expression of the oecumenical hopes of the Pope, St. Louis, and all the Crusaders that an alliance with the Mongols would be a first step toward making Christianity the world religion."[709] I believe we can, however, go further with the interpretation of this image.

Recall that in 1260, after the Mongols had conquered Baghdad, Aleppo, Harenc, and finally Damascus, the prince of Antioch and the king of Armenia had treated with the Mongol general to avoid attack on their own territories. As a result of their peaceful overtures, Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and Hetoum, king of Armenia and Bohemond's father-in-law, were apparently invited to accompany Kitbogha when he entered Damascus with the victorious Mongol army at the beginning of March 1260, according to the account of the Templar of Tyre. As we have seen earlier in the chapter, Runciman characterized it in dramatic fashion: "the citizens of the ancient capital of the Caliphate saw for the first time for six centuries three Christian potentates ride in triumph through their streets."[710] Here I propose to see this image as additional indirect evidence for the factual accuracy of what the Templar of Tyre reported.

Looking again at the Nativity scene with the three magi, I suggest that these three figures represent Hetoum I as the eldest magus in his royal red robe, Bohemond VI in his noble Italianate dress, and Kitbogha, the victorious Mongol general.[711] They appear here in honor of the remarkable alliance, that, as Weitzmann suggested, for a fleeting moment offered the hope of making Christianity a world religion. Kitbogha "was said to be descended from one of the three Wise Men from the East," hence his appearance here as a magus, with his other "Eastern" Christian allies.[712] His physiognomy is characterized as Mongol, and he wears a typical Mongol cap decorated with gold. He also wears a beautiful purple robe with circular



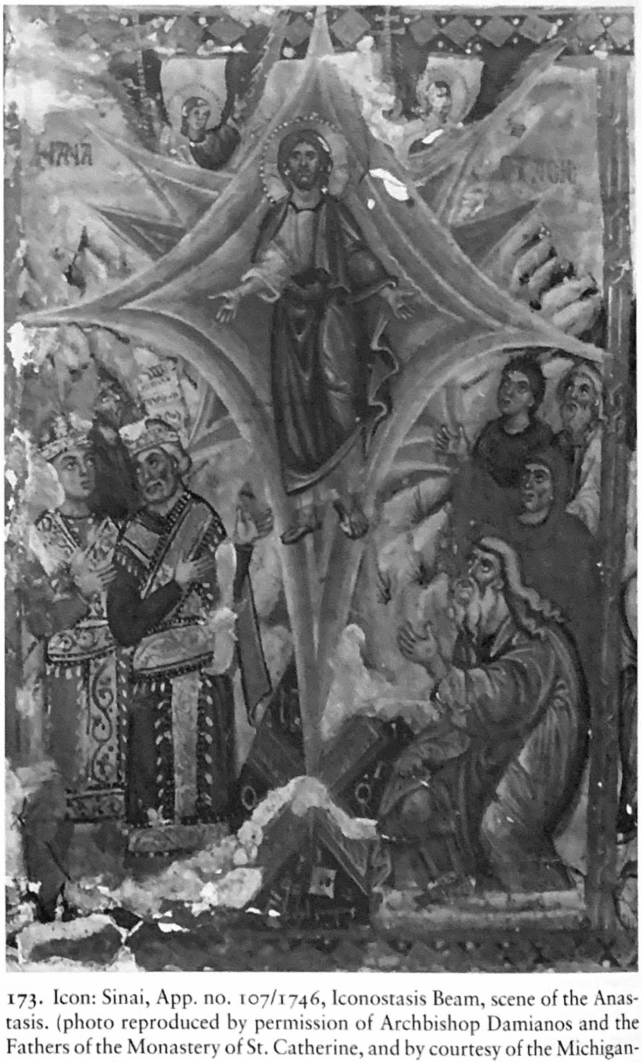
171. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 106/1745, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Last Supper. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



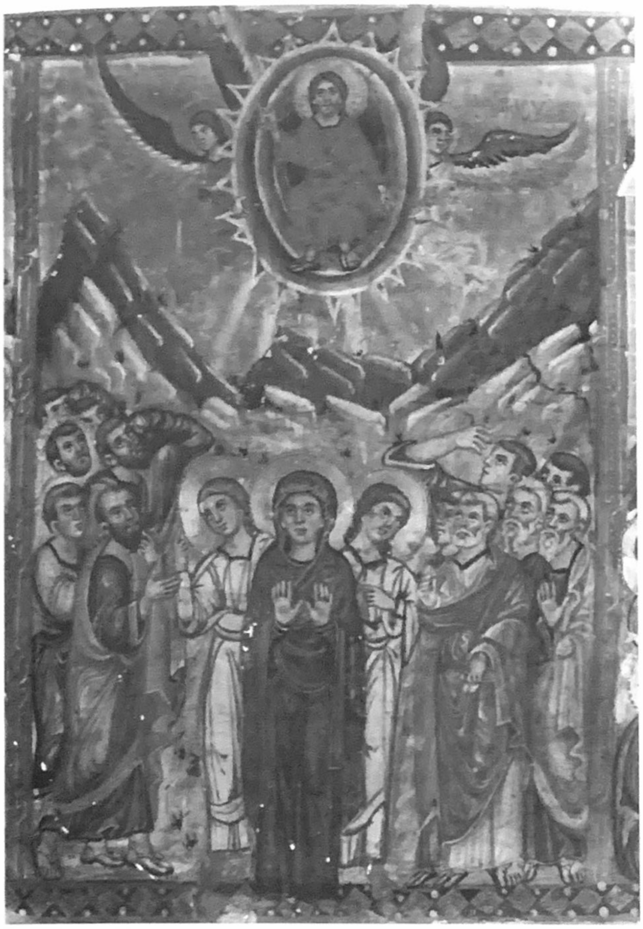
172. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 106/1745, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Crucifixion. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

golden designs and a wide gold belt bordered with pearls.[713] The Mongols are famous for the importance they put on sumptuous garments and the royal use of gold.[714] Hetoum, the Armenian king, had reigned since 1226, so he, who had ruled for an amazing thirty-four years by this time, was the eldest magus. Although we have no image of Hetoum I to compare with this image, his brilliant red robe is a characteristic feature of royal and princely Armenian portraits in the second half of the thirteenth century, as seen in the Gospels of Queen Keran (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2563, 1272) or the Prince Vasak Gospels (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2568, thirteenth century).[715] We also see royal red robes in the portrait of Prince Oshin from the Oshin Gospels (New York, Morgan Library, MSS 740 and 1111, 1274), which features also Bishop Johannes, the brother of King Hetoum I, in his sumptuous chasuble of blue with large golden fleurs-de-lis.[716] Johannes was noted for his interest in rich textiles, so the lavish garments in this remarkable dedication page, recently reunited with its Gospel Book (MS 740) in the Morgan Library, cannot be surprising.[717] Hetoum and Kitbogha both carry round golden vessels, the nature of which is similar to, but not the same as, pierced globes used as incense burners by the Mamluks.[718] Bohemond's Crusader ancestry as ruler of Antioch was, of course, ultimately Italian, hence his aristocratic Italianate costume. Again, we have no portrait of Bohemond to compare here either, but a slightly later image of his beardless relative, Tancred, exists in the William of Tyre codex, Paris, BN MS fr. 9084, on fol. 42r. The manuscript dates from the 1280s and is discussed in Chapter 7, but the miniature demonstrates a characteristic Crusader imagery for a Crusader prince, similar albeit somewhat more simplified in its details of the headgear.

One unusual feature of these special magi is the fact that all three are bearded. It is not surprising that the Hetoum would be depicted with a long white beard because he is represented at the eldest magus, and in any case he was the oldest of these three figures. Having been crowned king in 1226 at a young age, he must have already been about fifty years old in 1260. Kitbogha as the youngest magus is the least likely to have been bearded according to iconographic tradition in regard to this scene. However, there can be no doubt of the artist's intent to represent a Mongol physiognomy here, and this thin beard type is standard imagery for Mongol leaders at this time, even if we do not have a portrait of Kitbogha with which to compare it.[719] Bohemond presents a special problem, however. Westerners at this time were distinguished from Greeks and others in the Near East at this time by not wearing a beard, as we know from various accounts.[720] In this case, however, it is first of all typical of the "middle" magus to wear a beard in the iconography of



173. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 107/1746, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Anastasis. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



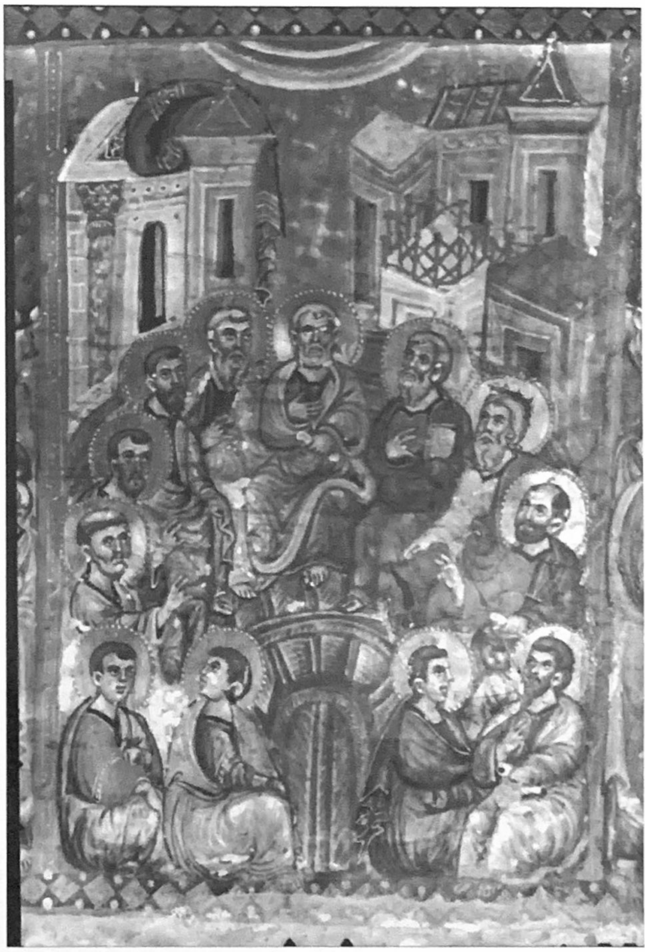
174. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 107/1746, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Ascension. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

this scene at this time, and second, even though we do not have a portrait of Bohemond to compare with this image, it was not uncommon for Crusaders to adopt Eastern style in their modes of dress and appearance. Furthermore, the whole point of Bohemond as magus was the idea of representing him as coming from the East, so the artist appears to have combined the Italianate headdress with the Eastern-style beard to characterize the count of Tripoli in his special role for this image.

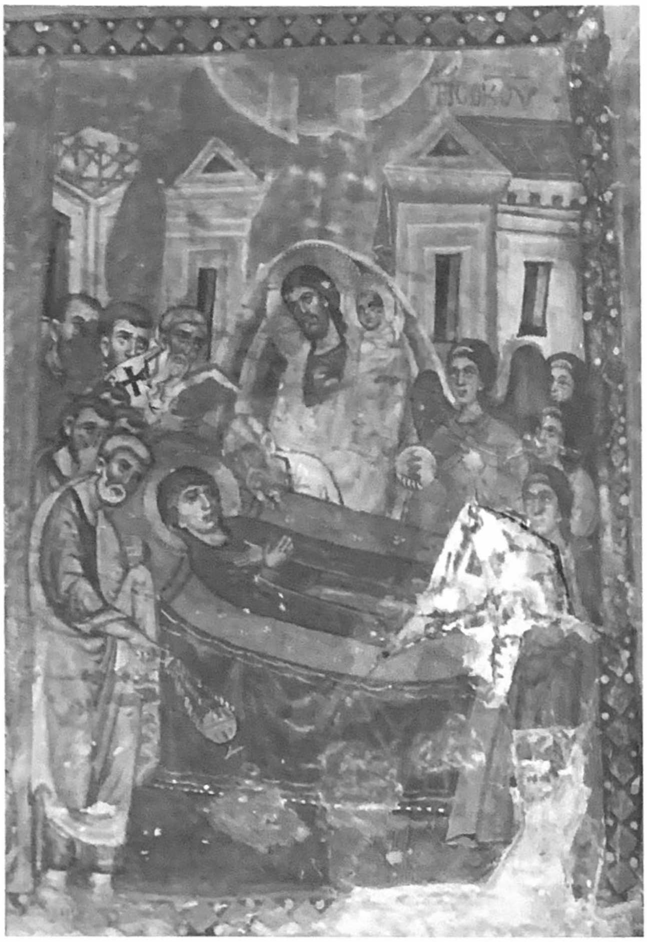
Why then would this scene appear on an iconostasis beam, painted by a Crusader artist? Who is likely to have made this commission, where was it executed, and for what church was it intended? Weitzmann's thought is clearly that this iconostasis beam was executed for the Frankish chapel in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.[721] But there is another more attractive possible function for this beam that must be considered. When the Christian triumvirate entered Damascus, Kitbogha is reported by the Templar of Tyre to have given Bohemond and his Frankish troops a place of worship. It was a former Byzantine church that had for a long time served as a mosque. Bohemond "purified and censed" it for use again as a Christian church, and "he had the Frankish mass sung within it, and had its bells rung.[722] It is hardly surprising that Bohemond would have ordered a Latin Mass to be performed in it, but because the only concession that the Mongols had demanded from Bohemond earlier, when he had sought a peaceful alliance with them and offered his submission, was the restoration of the Orthodox patriarch in Antioch,[723] and because the church in question in Damascus had formerly been a Byzantine church, it seems possible that the real purpose of this restored church in Damascus was to be open, not only to Latin Christians, but also to Eastern Christians as well.

I propose that this iconostasis beam may therefore have been commissioned with this special iconography to decorate the newly reclaimed church in Damascus, an order sent from Bohemond to the Latin icon painters at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. Perhaps the wood for the beam was sent to Sinai from Tripoli at Bohemond's directive,[724] and perhaps Bohemond's commission was transmitted to Sinai via Acre, where he knew the painting could be ordered immediately with the best possible available painter.[725] However it was effected, the commission was duly carried out in mid-1260, with the special imagery indicated to commemorate the triumphal entry of Kitbogha, Hetoum, and Bohemond.

Unfortunately, however, by the time the work was done, the political and military situation had changed, swiftly and radically, and it was not possible to deliver the beam because by then Damascus was back in Muslim hands and the church for which the beam had originally been intended was presumably once again a mosque under Muslim control. The pivotal event



175. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 107/1746, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Pentecost. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



176. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 107/1746, Iconostasis Beam, scene of the Dormition. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

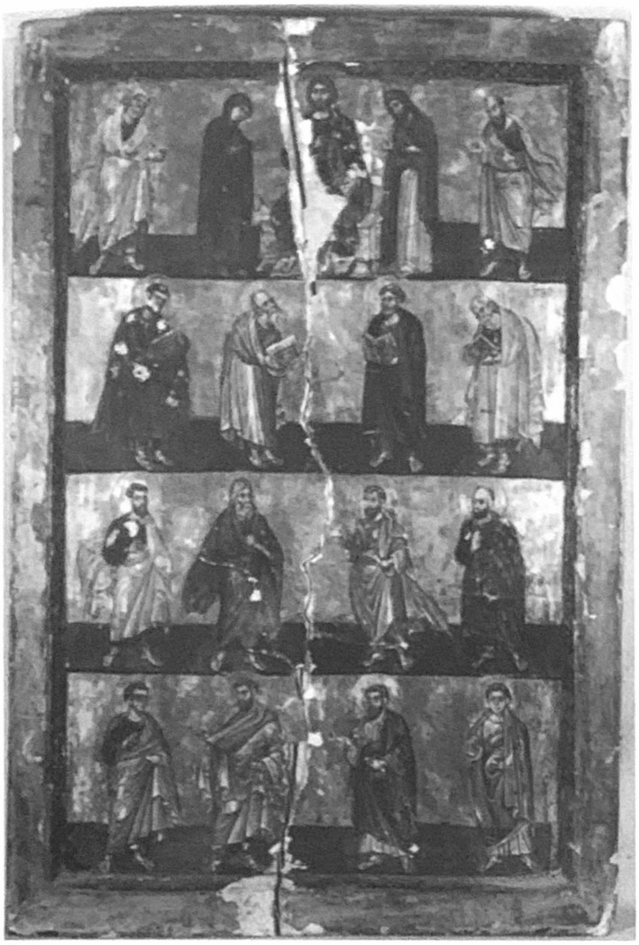
for all of this was, of course, the battle of Ain Jalud, in which on 3 September 1260 the Mongol army was destroyed, Kitbogha was decapitated by Baybars, and the Muslims were restored to power in Syria. The dream of Christianity conquering the Near East, retaking the Holy City of Jerusalem, and making Christianity the dominant world religion through a Crusader alliance with the Mongols and the Armenians was now definitively over. It was now clearly Islam that would become the dominant world religion in the Near East.

What irony that a Crusader painter of Venetian background would paint this image, for it was the Venetians and their trade routes especially whom the feared Mongols threatened throughout the later thirteenth century! What a vivid illustration of the vicissitudes of history that an iconostasis beam, apparently commissioned to decorate the sanctuary of a Christian church in Damascus could never reach its intended destination and instead remained in the monastery where it was painted, its original purpose apparently unrecognized for centuries!

Whatever we may think about this hypothesis for the iconostasis beam as the work of a Crusader painter in 1260 strongly reflecting the Venetian tradition, work possibly done at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai,[726] we must point out that it is only one example of a number of important and impressive paintings done in Venetian-based Crusader styles. This is truly remarkable in view of the fact that, first, we have so little Venetian painting in Venice at this time, and second, that we have so little Venetian painting in Constantinople at the time of the Latin Empire or from anywhere else in their growing and far-flung commercial holdings.

What is the significance of these Crusader panel paintings in the decade of the 1250s in Acre? Examination of the Crucifixion panel (Fig. 152, App. no. 104/1732) done *c.*1250, the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–162, App. no. 66/753) done in the late 1250s or early 1260s, and the Iconostasis beam (Figs. 164–176, App. no. 105, 106, 107/1744–1746) done in 1260, has provided us with clear indications of multiple artists working on these commissions, sometimes Crusader artists from different backgrounds working on the same project. These works have also provided us with indications of important origins for the traditions these several Crusader artists worked with, either from French backgrounds, Tuscan backgrounds, or Venetian backgrounds. We shall look with interest at what other panels can be related to these Crusader variations of the Acres style. We shall be able to use the three examples cited earlier, as well as the related manuscripts to help us date and contextualize other works. These works seem to indicate also how multicultural Acre was as a center for Crusader painting. This is something we have not seen in Crusader art since the mid-twelfth century with such notable examples as the Psalter of Queen Melisende (*c.*1135) in Jerusalem and the program of mosaics in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (*c.* 1167–9). Clearly, the patronage and the presence of King Louis IX must have greatly stimulated the production of the figural arts in Acre, just as he stimulated the architectural work on major Crusader fortifications. How did the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style develop from the earliest examples in 1250 to the inner wings of the Acre Triptych in the late 1250s, and beyond? What other works, if any, are there in the Tuscano-Byzantine Crusader style that appears in Acre at the end of the 1250s on the Acre Triptych? What other panel paintings do we find by the artists working in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of the iconostasis beam before and after 1260? Where were these various artists working? Which works were done in Acre, which in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, for Crusader, Frankish, or for Eastern Christian patrons?

Other Icons: the Franco-Byzantine Crusader Style in Acre, 1250 to the Early 1260s[727]*:* After the departure of Louis IX in April 1254, the French presence was directly maintained by the soldiers of the French regiment. It appears that these men and their retainers, along with other pilgrims from France, and, of course, the resident Crusaders of French ancestry provided a sustained interest in commissioning icons, as well as illustrated manuscripts, in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style in Acre. There are several groups of icons in that style that we can recognize in the succeeding years. The surprising aspect of these examples is the range of variation we can find in their styles, some of which we have already seen. For example, there are works that are quite closely related in general stylistic characteristics to the Perugia Missal and the Arsenal Bible style, such as the Crucifixion panel (Fig. 152, App. no. 104/1732) discussed earlier or a panel with the Twelve Apostles standing below an image of the Deësis (Figs. 177–9, App. no. 18/137). There are also works that are so close to their Byzantine models



177. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 18/137, Panel with the Deësis and Fourteen Apostles. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

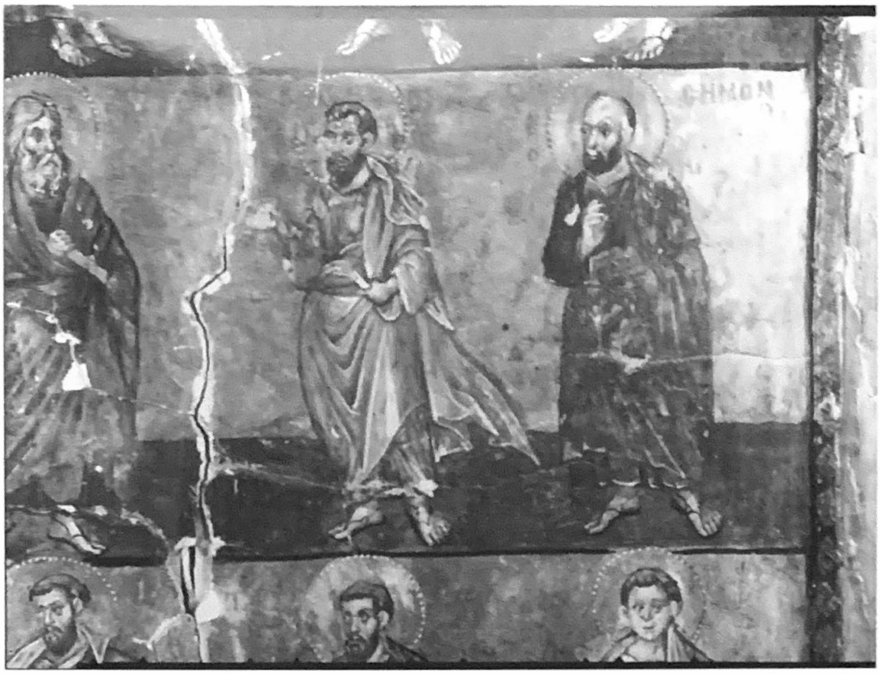
that we might not recognize them as Crusader were it not for certain decisive iconographical deviations, or for their stylistic variations. A handsome icon of the *Koimesis* (Fig. 266, App. no. 87/1394) from the 1270s or 1280s, or a Nativity panel (Fig. 188, App. no. 113/1831) from the 1250s, present good examples of this type. These works are often paintings of very high quality, some of which also relate to Armenian painting. At the other end of the spectrum, there are works that are quite close to French Gothic painting in style and iconography. The tiny *Maestas Domini* panel (Fig. 51, App. no. 34/308) discussed in Chapter 3 is one example, and there is a charming triptych with the Virgin and Child enthroned (Fig. 205, App. no. 70/822) as well. There are relatively few icons in this category, and those that exist are rather timid attempts to master the challenge of painting holy images on panels as known from Byzantine models, but they represent an important artistic and cultural development in Acre that strengthens as the years go by.

The challenge with all of these panels is to attempt to evaluate these works in terms of function, as we have tried to do with the Arsenal Bible, with the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–162, App. no. 66/753), and with the Sinai iconostasis beam (Figs. 164–176, App. no. 105, 106, 107/1744–6). We also want to assess them as far as possible in context with regard to possible patronage and ownership. We shall attempt to date these works in some reasonable manner and to relate and interpret them meaningfully with regard to other major paintings, either from the Latin Kingdom or from outside the Crusader sphere of development. These panel paintings are among the most difficult of all Crusader works to study, precisely because of their lack of obvious context and explicit documentation. Our path has, however, been blazed by the substantial pioneering work of Kurt Weitzmann, along with discussion by others, all of whose work will enable us to push the discussion along and bring new insights to our understanding of these important paintings. We are reminded that Weitzmann in his many articles repeatedly observed that his "remarks about... Crusader icons are preliminary and constitute only the barest frame for further treatment of a new and vast subject and more details will have to be filled in by future research."[728] Obviously what he offered, taken collectively, amounted to much more than "the barest frame," but we will attempt to carry on with the process of adding to the discussion.

Starting then with the works closely related to the Acre Crucifixion panel and the manuscripts associated with it, such as the Arsenal Bible (*c.*1250), the Perugia Missal (*c.*1250), and the Padua book of Old Testament selections (*c.* early 1250s), Weitzmann and Belting draw our attention to two interesting panels. One is an icon containing the Deësis flanked by Sts. Peter and Paul, with twelve other apostles assembled below in three rows (Figs. 177–9, App. no. 18/137). The other is an icon of the Annunciation (Fig. 180, App. no. 5/44), mentioned earlier as being closely linked to the style of the first painter of the Perugia Missal. Both panels are probably based on larger models, an iconostasis beam in the case of the former and a larger feast picture in the case of the latter, but they themselves are moderate in size. Despite their sources, the likelihood is that they were painted for individual devotional use, probably for a Latin patron, despite the fact that the inscriptions that they carry are in Greek. The iconography and style of both panels exhibit decisive features that indicate their Crusader character.

In the case of the Deësis with four evangelists and ten apostles,[729] the intercessory image is typically Byzantine except for the style of the throne, which relates to several other icons among the Franco-Byzantine Crusader stylistic group.[730] The prominent place of Sts. Peter and Paul, in this case flanking the Deësis along the top row, is characteristic of these Crusader formulations, and we see a variety of parallels in other examples in the Franco-Byzantine group, such as the frame of the Acre Crucifixion (Fig. 152, App. no. 104/1732), the border of another Crucifixion (App. no. 30/261, Fig. 365), or the outer wing of a fragmentary triptych (App. no. 72/886, Fig. 385).

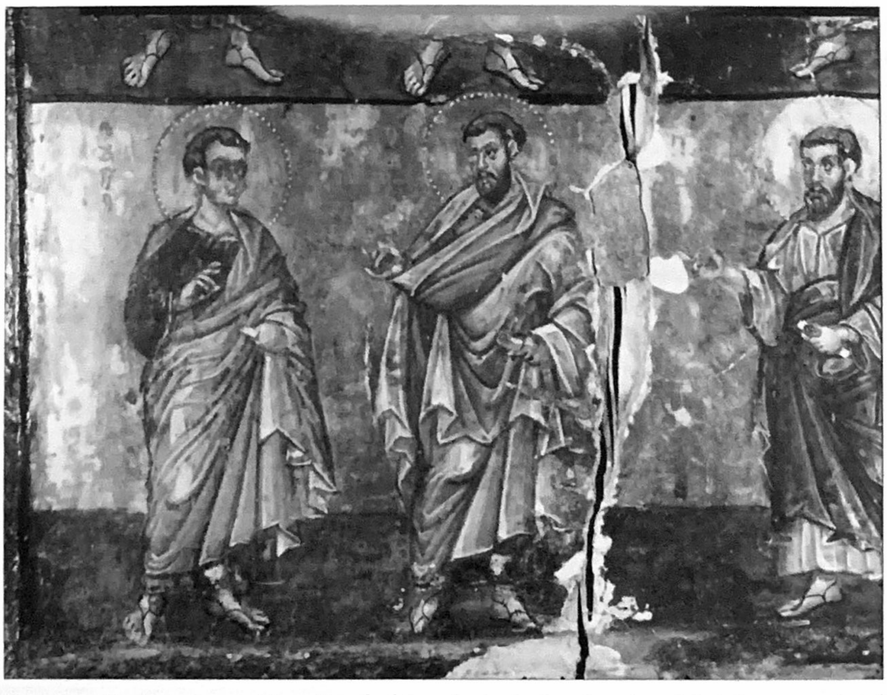
Peter and Paul are joined here by the four evangelists in the second row; in the third row, Bartholomew, Andrew, James (son of Zebedee), and Simon; and finally in the lower register, Thomas, James (son of Alphaeus), Thaddaeus, and Philip. As Weitzmann argues, this set of apostles is unusual,[731] and it is likely that the Crusader painter created the figure types of James (son of Alphaeus) and Thaddeus on his own because they do not follow earlier Byzantine types. It is, however, likely that the artist used as his model paintings based on a conventional iconostasis beam containing a conventional set of twelve apostles, because most of their types are Byzantine. Their



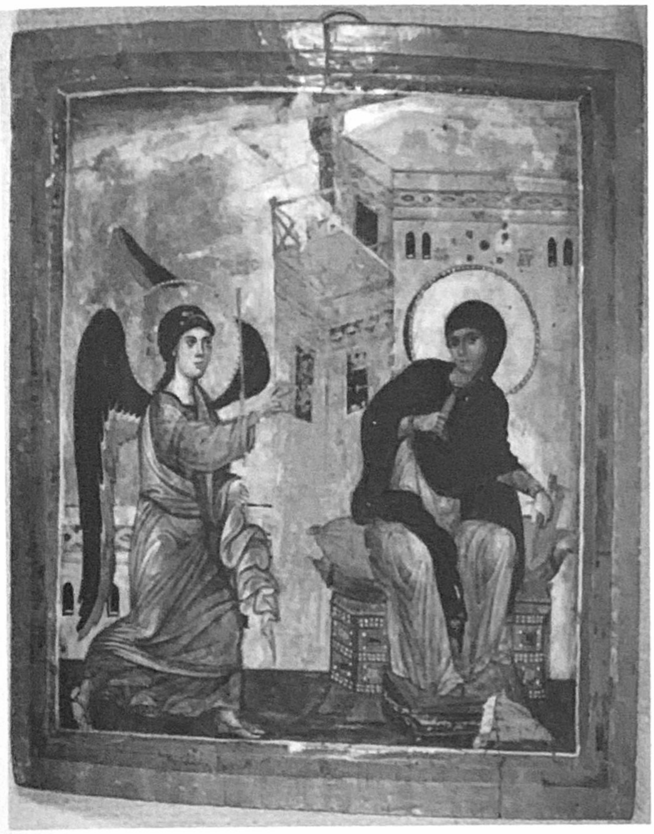
178. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 18/137, Detail of Apostles in the third register, right. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

poses, turning toward the center of the panel, are a matter of composition only in this formulation, but would have been meaningful on a beam with the Deësis in the center of the same register. Weitzmann discusses at length the evidence that such an iconostasis beam with apostles was in fact a Byzantine invention, as was the transformation of this iconography to a portable panel format, which has been reinterpreted here by the Crusader painter.[732]

In stylistic terms, Weitzmann relates the figures on this icon to the inner wings of the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753) and the Acre Crucifixion (Fig. 152, App. no. 104/1732), along with another panel containing the Virgin and Child with Moses, Elijah, and St. Gregory of Nazianzus (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54, Fig. 355). He recognizes the strong individuality of the painter and yet notes his participation in certain features of the Acre style. There are "the faces with their rolling eyes"



179. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 18/137, Detail of Apostles in the fourth register, left. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



180. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 5/44, Panel with scene of the Annunciation. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

that nonetheless are given strong emotional expression in some cases. He notes "the thick-set proportions of the massive Apostles who stand with big feet firmly on the ground . . . and the whirling masses of drapery, which in some instances heighten the emotional quality of the figures." In the end he links this figure style most closely to that of the bowing angels in the panel miniature of the Perugia Missal because of "their extremely squatty proportions and the massive whirling yet softly designed drapery," along with "the type of head with the peculiarly designed eyes."[733] Finally, Weitzmann also draws a general comparison of this exuberant style to the Byzantine frescoes at the Church of the Trinity in Sopoćani (*c.*1260), noting their overall parallels.[734] The conclusion we draw from these comparisons is that it is reasonable to date this panel in the 1250s from Acre, between the Perugia Missal and that of the inner wings of the Acre Triptych.

The other panel mentioned earlier, that of the Annunciation (Fig. 180, App. no. 5/44),[735] is comparable in many ways stylistically to both the angels of the Perugia Missal and to the Deësis with Evangelists and Apostles icon (Figs. 177–9, App. no. 18/137). The draperies of both Gabriel and the Virgin are clearly related. The architecture behind the Virgin with its three-dimensional formulations and its balustrades and ornament is loosely related to another Franco-Byzantine style icon (Fig. 186, App. no. 52/574). The use of haloes with red rims and white pearls is widespread among these Crusader panels, as we have noted. The sinuous Gothic-like pose of the Virgin, who is turned away from the angel and recoils from the message he brings, is charged with emotional content according to Western sensibilities, even though the iconography of Mary spinning is entirely Byzantine. This icon, whose frame has been entirely repainted in bright orange-red and teal blue, is strongly related to the more painterly version of the Acre Franco-Byzantine workshop style in the 1250s as we have seen in the icon of the Deësis with the Apostles and should also be dated to the mid- or later 1250s.

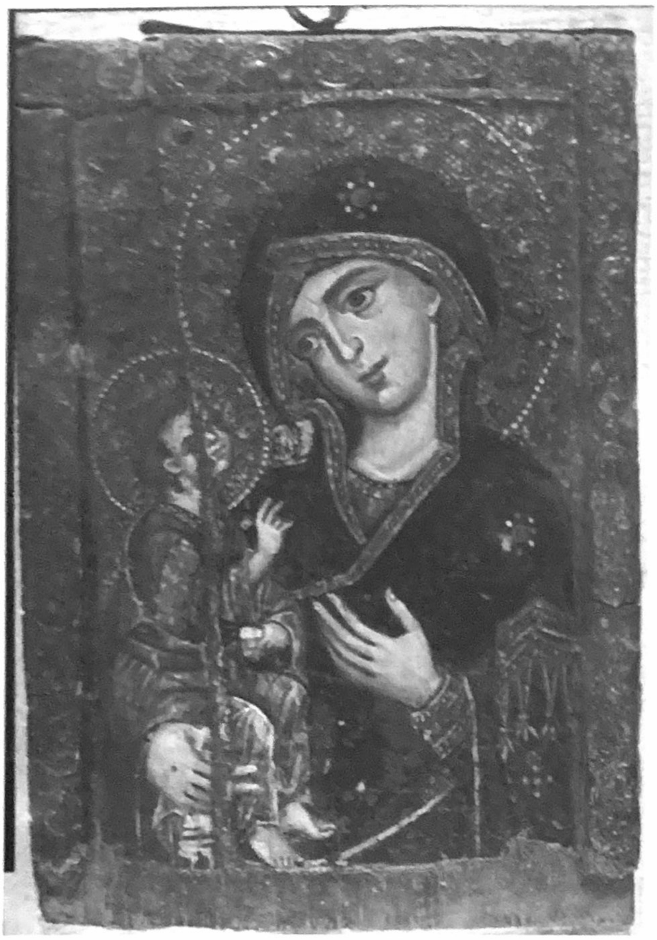
Along with these two works, there are a number of other panels in this Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of the 1250s but by artists that show distinctive characteristics, some with larger outputs. There are a series of panels, which however painterly in style, are remarkable because of the extensive use of low relief raised gesso decoration as an integral part of their production. They are related strongly and closely to the inner wings of the Acre Triptych and thus can presumably be dated to the late 1250s or early 1260s. It is not inconceivable that some of these icons are done by a single Crusader master. A second large group of icons features finely designed figures with softly painted faces and draperies, some with unusual iconography. In this latter case a number of artists are probably working, but despite the diversity of individual hands, the overall style of the icons forms a fairly cohesive group.

The style of the first group was described by Weitzmann as emphasizing more realistic characteristics in its figural representations.[736] The best examples include the following: a panel with the Virgin and Child, Moses, Elijah and St. Gregory Nazianzus (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54, Fig. 355), and an icon of the Virgin and Child, Hodegetria (Fig. 181, App. no. 8/55, Fig. 356).[737] To this group we should also add two other panels. One is an icon of St. George, now in the British Museum, which has been attributed to this same group[738] (Fig. 183, App. no. 125). The other is a Sinai icon, which has no raised gesso decoration at all, but whose two mounted soldier saints, Sts. Theodore and Demetrios (Fig. 184, App. no. 40/386), reflects the robust interest in a vigorous naturalism combined with strong decorative instincts done in a painterly Crusader style.[739]

I have already noted in Chapter 4 an interest in raised gesso decoration in certain earlier icons now in the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery, specifically a Crucifixion and a Virgin and Child Hodegetria (Fig. 75, App. no. 32/285 and Fig. 76, App. no. 57/679, respectively), said to have been done by Syrian artists from Cyprus working at Sinai, in the 1230s or 1240s. The use of the raised gesso is a phenomenon that Frinta discusses as a response to Byzantine icons with precious metal covers, one that he associates especially with Cyprus.[740]

It is a form of decorative art that Crusader patrons seemed to like, combining as it did the sumptuous effect of metallic covers with the rich texture of a sculptural surface in low relief. The combination that we see here, produces a lavish effect of robust painterly forms with rich decorative sculptural surfaces.

In the case of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria (Fig. 181, App. no. 8/55, Fig. 356),[741] the icon is a variant of the iconographical type, where the child sits on Mary's right arm as she gestures toward him. Known as the Hodegetria Dexiokratousa, this type is especially congenial to Crusader interest in the close human relationship of mother and child, because this arrangement allows the child to sit nestled in his mother's arm, not separated away by his blessing arm. The emotional expression



181. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 8/55, Panel with bust-length image of the Virgin Hodegetria *Dexiokratousa*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

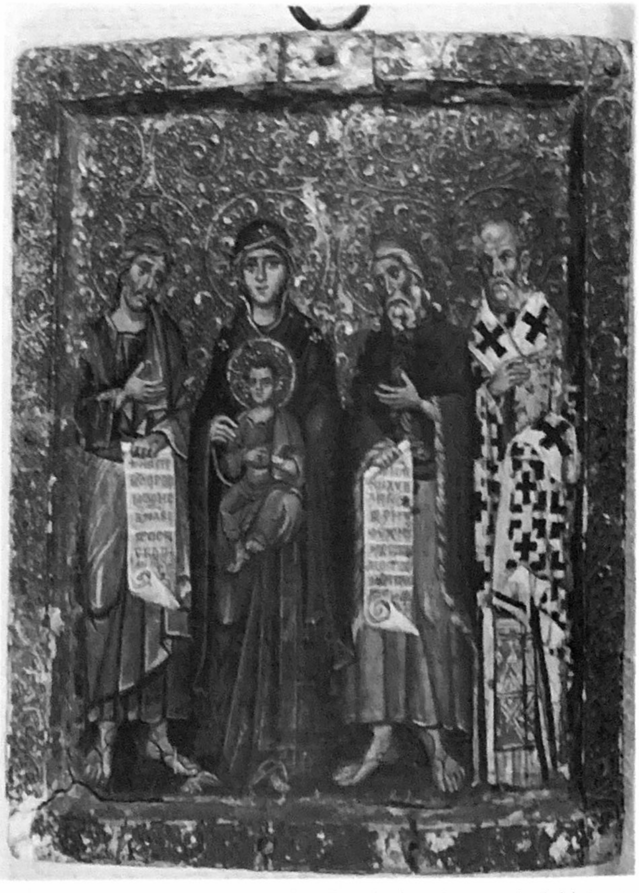
of warmth is conveyed by the way the child seems to look up at his mother, by the child's tiny size, and by the way the Virgin inclines her head toward him.

The representation of rounded forms in terms of warm flesh tones gently accented with white highlights, highlights also found on the child's drapery alone, is set against a raised gesso ground. We note the persistent pattern of vine tendril forms, which move around the frame and the haloes and across the background. We note the way these curvilinear shapes are set in a context of round studs, which cover the ground, and even flow over the hems of the Virgin's maphorion. These studs are also found on the inner wings of the Acre Triptych, and even though the foliate patterns are different here and on those wings, the overall resulting effects are quite similar. The staccato effect of the studs is echoed by the additional decorative motifs of the pearl ornament on the red halo rims.

Given its small size and its warm emotional content, it is clear that this icon is meant to function as the object of personal devotion. It is plainly not intended to function in some formal liturgical setting, that is, not likely to have been placed on an iconostasis, or on a proskynetarion even for a Latin church. As a personal-sized devotional icon, it exemplifies the Crusader interest in exploring the representational combination of the human relationship between the Virgin and her son, and the iconography of these figures in byzantinizing costume and format. Given its function, the icon is nonspecific as to what location it may have been associated with. On the strength of its stylistic comparison to the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753), we may consider that it, too, was done in Acre in the late 1250s or early 1260s.

The icon most closely associated with the Virgin Hodegetria (Fig. 181, App. no. 8/55, Fig. 356) is a slightly larger panel of the Virgin and Child with three standing male saints (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54, Fig. 355).[742] The style is similar in terms of its painterly characteristics, even if it is not exactly the same with regard to the design of the figures. Again the raised gesso has different vine tendril configurations, but their combination with the pattern of studs produces a comparable result in all three examples, that is, these two icons and the inner wings of the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753).

What is distinctively different in the Virgin and Child with Saints icon (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54, Fig. 355) is the iconography of the Virgin standing with the Child suspended in front of her, a variant of the Virgin Platytera, where he is touched by her hands but unsupported. The two figures flanking her are the Western-type bearded Moses to the left, and the figure of Elijah to the right with white hair and beard. Moses of course is specifically associated with Sinai because it was here that he encountered the Burning Bush, and it was on Mount Sinai that he received the law from God. Elijah is also associated



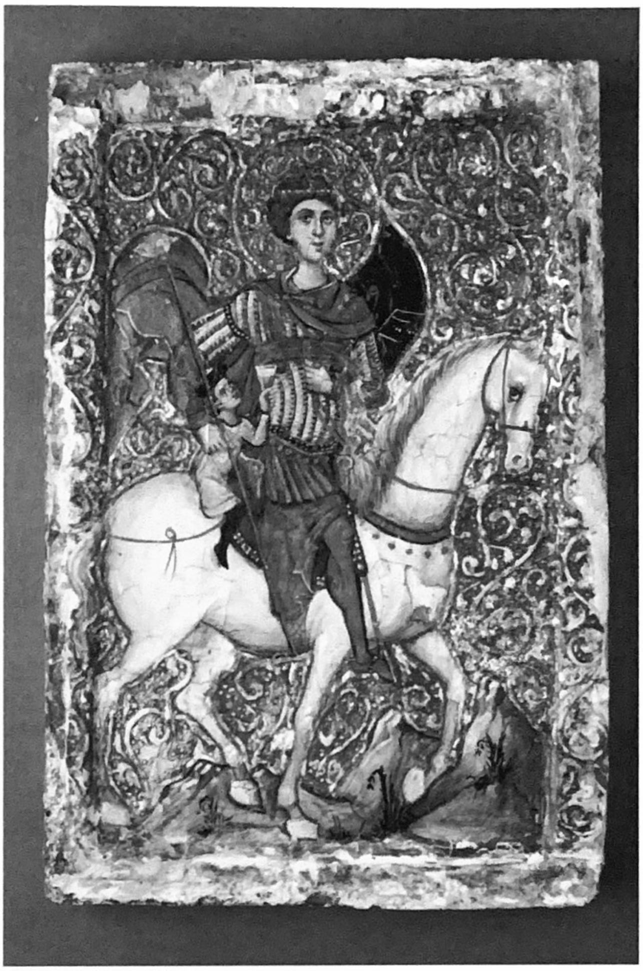
182. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 7/54, Panel with the Virgin and Child "n tns batou," Moses, Elijah, and St. Gregory Nazianzus, all standing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

with Mount Sinai, having lived there in a cave where food was provided to him daily by a raven. The inscriptions on the scrolls pertain to Moses on Sinai (Exodus 24: 12) or the Ascension of Elijah (IV Kings 2: 2, 4, or 6).[743]

Pilgrims to Sinai could visit the Chapel of the Burning Bush in the apse of the Monastery Church of St. Catherine's, and they could also climb Mount Sinai to see the chapels dedicated to the sites where Moses received the tablets and Elijah sought refuge in his cave. Because the monastery had at the time of its founding by Justinian in the sixth century been dedicated to the Virgin Theotokos,[744] Mary was given special veneration here as well. As she became associated with the *locus sanctus* of the burning bush, in time she was given the epithet, *H THC BATOU*, meaning the Virgin of the [Burning] Bush.[745] Thus we can identify this type of the Virgin and Child as *H THS BATOU*, based on its specific iconography and comparison with several other examples.

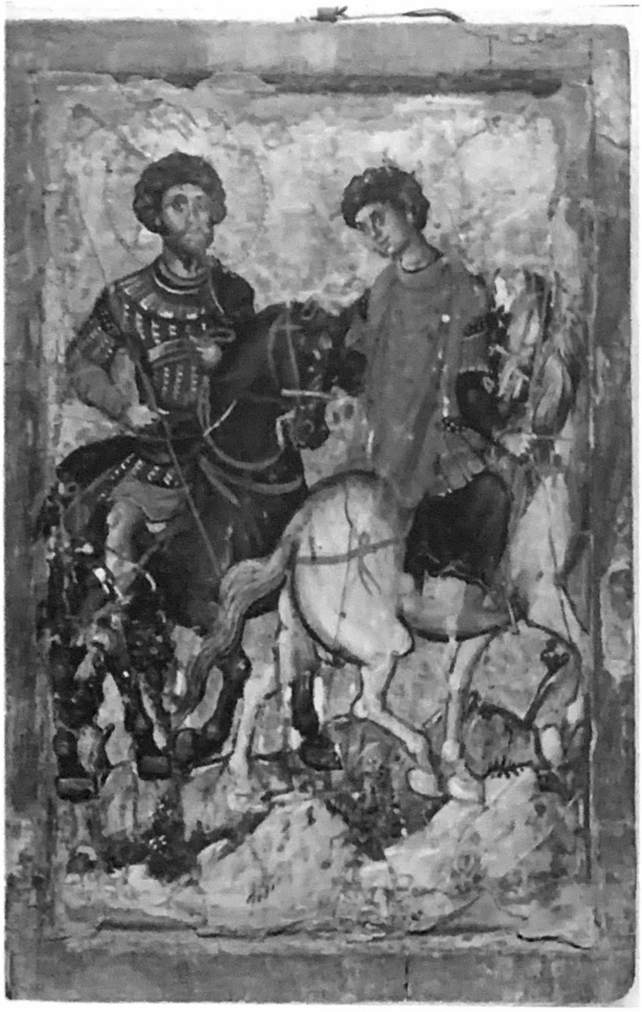
The central message of this icon was clearly therefore one that focused on the *locus sanctus* of Sinai in terms of the iconographic type of the Virgin and Child and the presence of two major Sinaitic Old Testament figures. The model for this icon was probably one at Sinai that the artist used for this purpose and to which he added for his patron, an extra saint. The Church Father standing to the right appears to be St. Gregory Nazianzus, the great fourth-century Cappadocian theologian.[746] The figure of St. Gregory is clearly squeezed in at the right side, indicating most probably, as Weitzmann has pointed out, that the artist was following a well-known Sinai icon and modifying it for his current patron. Unfortunately we know nothing about the details of this order or why the patron may have chosen St. Gregory.

The commission for this icon (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54, Fig. 355) must have been completely different from that for the Virgin and Child Hodegetria (Fig. 181, App. no. 8/55, Fig. 356), and the function can be understood to include the special imagery appropriate to Sinai as a *locus sanctus* because the image was apparently meant to serve as an ex voto icon that must have been given to the monastery by a pilgrim. In sum, the commission of this icon was certainly focussed on Sinaitic iconography and may have been made based on a model from St. Catherine's. This would suggest the possibility that the icon was executed at Sinai, but for artistic reasons of style and technique, it also possible may have been done in Acre. Note the strong artistic workshop connections between this icon (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54, Fig. 355) and the inner wings of the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753), as well as the Virgin Hodegetria (Fig. 181, App. no. 8/55, Fig. 356), the latter examples appearing to have been done in Acre. Clearly here we are faced with the problem of an icon presumably made for Sinai by a Crusader artist working in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, using a model with Sinaitic iconography, probably for a pilgrim who likely wished to give this icon to the monastery as a gift ex voto. The very ambiguity of the evidence seems to suggest that somehow the painter was connected both to Acre and Sinai. Therefore we may here be seeing evidence for the work of a Latin monk whose house was in Acre, perhaps St. Catherine's in Acre as we have discussed, but who spent time in residence at the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai as well.


183. Icon: London, British Museum, App. no. 125, Panel with St. George and the Youth of Mytilene. (photo by courtesy of the British Museum, London)

To evaluate this problem in a larger perspective, we can examine five additional icons that also exhibit iconography specifically related to Sinai and other *loca sancta*. For Sinai we have another Virgin and Child *H THC BATOU* image with four standing saints (Fig. 191, App. no. 23/205),[747] and another Deësis with three standing saints below (Fig. 187, App. no. 33/293).[748] For other sites, we have a third icon belonging to the raised gesso group, the panel with St. George as soldier and martyr mounted on his horse with the youth of Mitylene, now in the British Museum (Fig. 183, App. no. 125).[749] There is another icon in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style with no raised gesso, which reflects a different group of artists. It represents the Virgin and Child Enthroned, with the death of Moses, and scenes of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 186, App. no. 52/574).[750] Finally there is an icon of St. Marina now in the Menil collection in Houston (Fig. 192, App. no. 126), which has selective use of raised gesso but presents a style rather different from what we find in Acre at this time.[751] These latter three icons have all been dated in the mid-thirteenth century and have been associated with different *loca sancta*, specifically with Lydda near Ramla, Mount Nebo in Jordan, and Mar Marina south of Tripoli, respectively. Could the icons have been done in these sites, or were they done elsewhere to function as a gift to or as a souvenir from one of those sites?

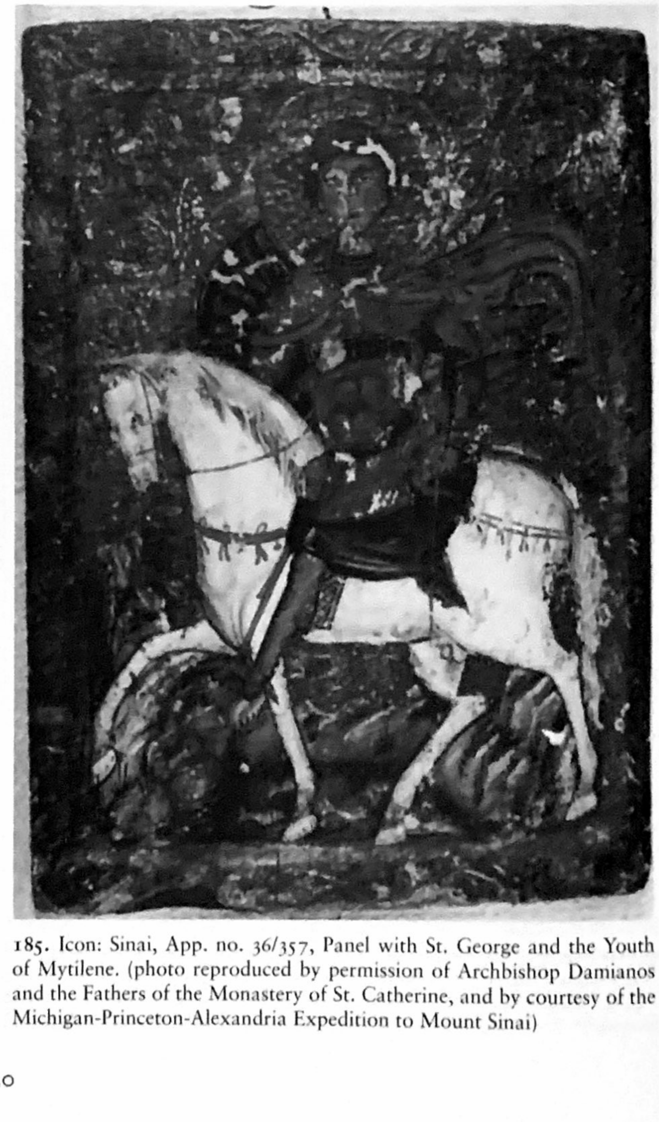
In the case of the St. George with the youth of Mytilene now in the British Museum[752] (Fig. 183, App. no. 125), both the style and the elaborate raised gesso clearly links this panel



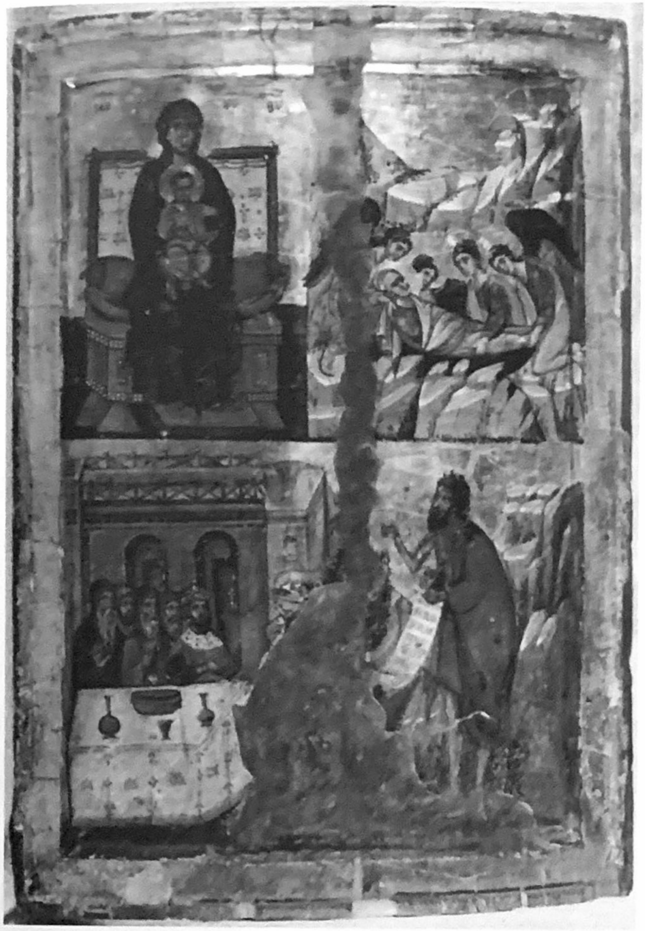
184. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 40/386, COLOR PL. 5. Panel with mounted Saints Theodore and Demetrios. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

with the icons of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style. Cormack thinks the style of the figures; the design and painting of the heads, faces, and eyes with white highlights; the treatment of the armor; the type of horse and the pose of his head with his spirited expression; and the red halo rim with pearl decoration clearly can be closely associated with the style of the icon of Sts. Theodore and Demetrios (Fig. 184, App. no. 40/386) and that they were done by the same painter. The latter icon, of course, does not have raised gesso. But when we compare the specific designs in the raised gesso relief work of the British Museum St. George, that is, the large vine-scroll patterns for the background and the frame, or the smaller reverse "S" forms in the halo, all of which is accompanied by a liberal sprinkling of studded "dots," we note that none of the other icons has work that is exactly the same, but the little Virgin and Child Hodegetria panel (Fig. 181, App. no. 8/55, Fig. 356) is close.

Could the St. George icon have been done at Lydda, the site in the Latin Kingdom sacred to St. George as the site of his tomb, the former Diospolis, as Cormack has suggested? Also recall he argues that this artist is the same painter who did the pair of mounted soldier saints, Theodore and Demetrios (Fig. 184, App. no. 40/386).[753] Thus it is possible that the artist was trained in Acre and then went to Lydda, where he did this icon. It is also possible, indeed much more likely, that the artist painted this icon in Acre itself, for some pilgrim who was going to Lydda or who had just been to Lydda. There is another small icon of the mounted St. George at Sinai with the youth of Mytilene (Fig. 185, no. 36/357), but it is damaged and difficult to compare with the British Museum example, except to say it has similar iconography and is also done with raised gesso of a similar sort. Cormack correctly observed that it was done by a different artist – I would argue a Crusader, not a Western artist – of lesser quality.[754] No other extant icon has been claimed for Lydda as yet, but if the argument is to be made, this Sinai icon is a prime candidate. However, we should keep in mind that just because an icon contains iconography that relates it to a holy site, this does not necessarily mean the painting was done there. For this iconography of St. George, we do after all have the fresco painting from Crac des Chevaliers that was certainly done in situ.[755] Furthermore, taking into consideration the iconography of the mounted soldier saint and the likelihood that patronage for this kind of imagery would be popular in a Crusader military center like Acre, not necessarily in a monastic center or at a holy site itself, on balance, it seems perhaps more likely that the artist of the British Museum St. George worked in Acre, and did his icon for a pilgrim going to



185. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 36/357, Panel with St. George and the Youth of Mytilene. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



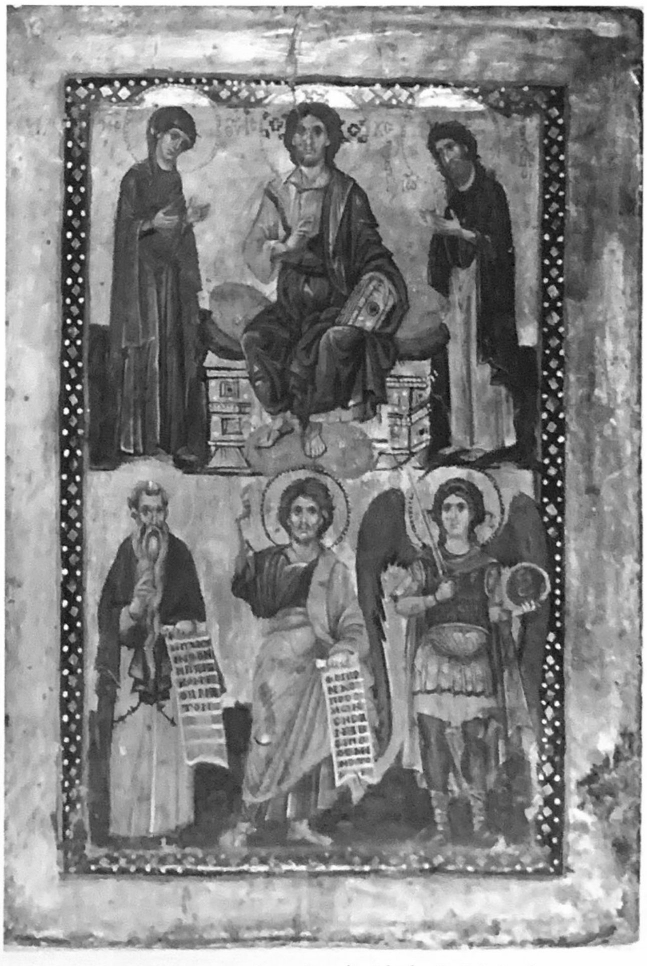
186. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 52/574, Panel with the Enthroned Virgin and Child and the Death of Moses in the upper register, the Banquet of Herod and St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness in the lower register. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Lydda.[756] What additional light can the other icons shed on this problem?

Other Icons: Franco-Byzantine Crusader Artists and Icon Painting at Various Sites: Two other icons are linked to the Acre Franco-Byzantine Crusader style and different holy sites. One includes the seated Virgin with Child with scenes of the Death of Moses, the Banquet of Herod with the Head of St. John the Baptist on a salver, and the figure of St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness (Fig. 186, App. no. 52/574). Another icon in two registers has the Deësis above with three standing saints below (Fig. 187, App. no. 33/293). These two icons are more closely related to each other stylistically than they are related to the St. George icon (British Museum) or its closest relatives such as the Sts. Theodore and Demetrios (Fig. 184, App. no. 40/386), the little Virgin and Child Hodegetria (Fig. 181, App. no. 8/55, Fig. 356), or the standing Virgin and Child with three flanking figures (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54, Fig. 355). But their iconography reflects and possibly links them with two holy sites. In the first case (Fig. 186, App. no. 52/574),[757] Weitzmann has noted the likelihood that this unusual assortment of scenes and their irregular composition on this panel derive from a diptych type known from Sinai. He has also argued that the imagery of the death of Moses buried by angels as here is entirely Western, drawn from French manuscripts. In the two scenes below, the banquet of Herod with Salome and the head of St. John shows a combination of the Byzantine iconography for the crown of King Herod with his garments being a Western-inspired robe trimmed in ermine. To the right, St. John the Baptist appears in the wilderness in his hair shirt, but without the image of God in the sky above, as we find him in numerous Byzantine and even a few other Crusader icons as well.[758]

Even though Weitzmann makes the case that the model or models for this icon comes from Sinai, he also points out that some of the iconography here points to a site in Jordan. Mount Nebo was the place where the burial of Moses was located, and the Trans-Jordanian desert where Mount Nebo was situated was the wilderness from which John came. Certainly Mount Nebo is a holy site and its church, dedicated to Moses, had a chapel in honor of the Theotokos, whom we see enthroned with the Child on our icon.

But it must be admitted that this imagery is complex. Not all of the scenes are related to Mt. Nebo: The scene of Herod's banquet most likely took place in one of Herod's palaces (Herodion?) on the West Bank, not on the East Bank.[759] Nonetheless, Mount Nebo was a major pilgrimage site, and

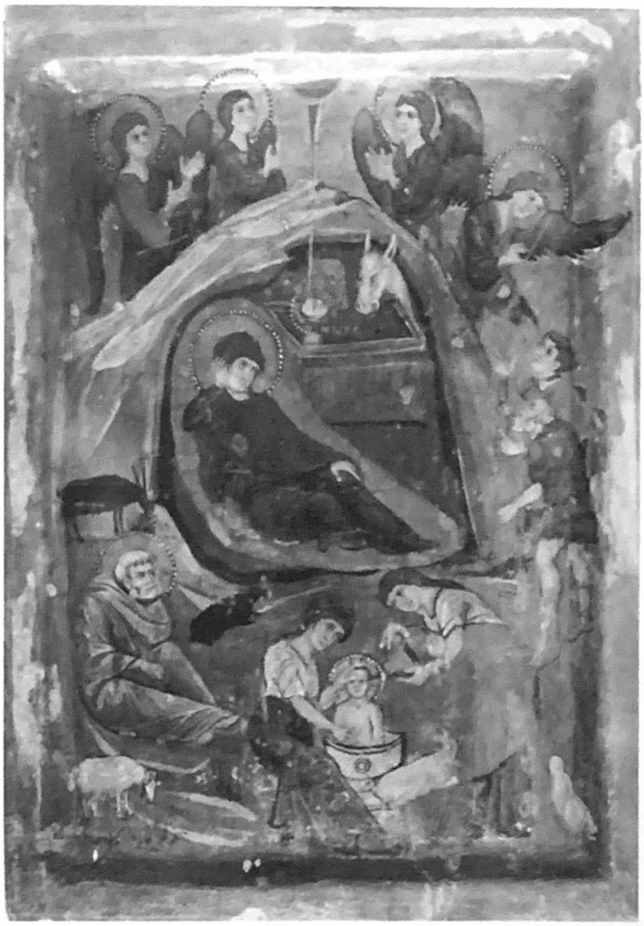


187. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 33/293, Panel with the Deësis in the upper register, and three standing saints: Sts. Euthymios, Moses, and the Archangel Michael, below. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

this icon with three images related to it may have been done to serve as a gift for its church. Weitzmann concludes, "However, if our icon was destined for Mount Nebo, it is not likely that it was made there. Its place of origin is once more, . . . , our Acre workshop, which, . . . , did produce icons for specific localities for which iconographic subjects strongly connected with them were chosen."[760] He clearly makes this conclusion based on the style of the artist's work, which is the Acre Franco-Byzantine Crusader style. We would agree with this conclusion also because the array of sources for the imagery is so complex and would suggest an active and reasonably large workshop environment. It does not mean that every Crusader icon that is now in the St. Catherine's collection was done in Acre, however; it means that again we must evaluate each icon on its own merits. Some appear to have been done in Acre, some at Sinai.

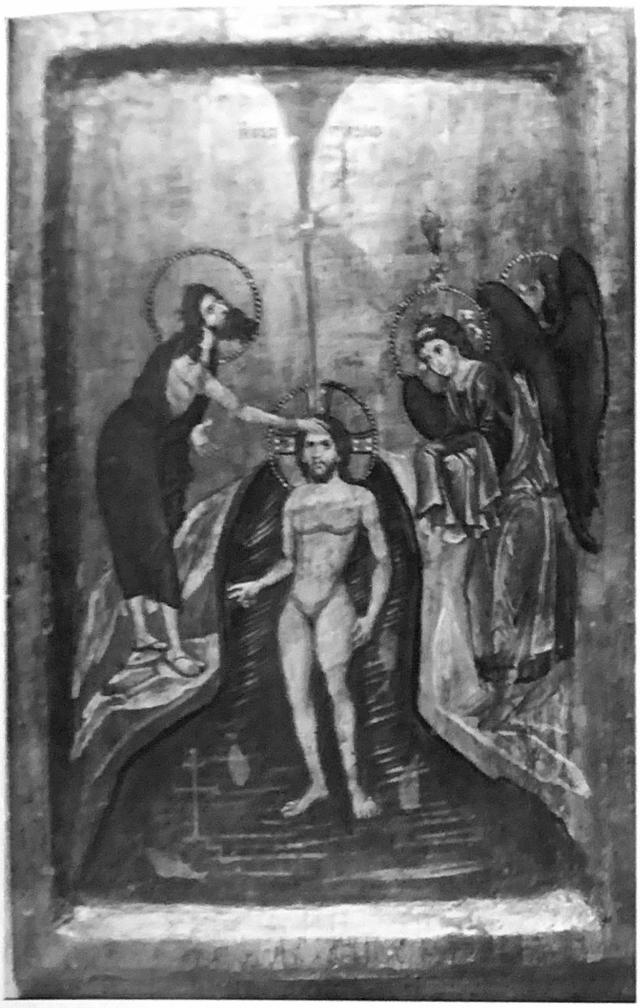
The second icon (Fig. 187, App. no. 33/293) is a panel with two registers, which has a Deësis group above, and three frontal standing figures below, including St. Euthymios, Moses, and the archangel Michael.[761] Weitzmann compares this composition with Byzantine ivory Deësis triptychs. Here, however, the Crusader artist has rearranged the canonical lower organization of saints from the apostles to three figures, of which Moses is the most prominent standing on the central axis. The inscriptions on the scroll Moses holds, taken from Exodus 24: 12/34: 11, links him to Sinai. Euthymios, the hermit of the nearby bishopric of Pharan, stands to the left. Weitzmann points out that he was almost like a local Sinaitic saint, and Euthymios was also widely popular in the Holy Land; we have encountered him as one of the saints depicted on the column paintings in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.[762] St. Michael, despite his popularity East and West, is a somewhat unexpected choice for the third figure of this group, at the right. It appears, however, that such a remarkable selection of holy figures not only relates this icon to Sinai, but also very probably reflects the patron's specific choices, whoever he or she was. Not only is this selection unusual, but also the iconography of each of these figures indicates its Crusader origin by deviations from Byzantine standards. Moses is bearded as we find him in the West. Euthymios, although not in a hooded monastic habit as we see him in Bethlehem, wears a megaloschema which appears here to be pleated, an unlikely configuration for a stiff, broad embroidered stole. Finally, Michael's armor consists of two types – the artist seems to have conflated his costume to include both plate and scale armor – which, although common in Crusader painting, is uncommon in Byzantine art. The figures are all given red haloes with pearl decoration, and the end result is then framed with the typically Crusader gold lozenges separated by paired white pearl designs. It is a devotional icon of excellent quality done in a softly painted Franco-Byzantine Crusader style that we shall encounter in two other closely related feast scene icons later.[763]

What can be said about the location of where these two icons were done? Whereas the first icon (Fig. 186, App. no. 52/574) is linked to Mount Nebo and the second (Fig. 187, App. no. 33/293) is tied to Sinai, they share a somewhat similar style, which indicates at least a common workshop training and painting experience. The fact that these panels seem to have been done for different sites but have related styles, suggests they may have been done in the same place or that the artists were at one point trained or worked together at the same place. That same place could have been Acre or Sinai, but it is not likely to have been Mount Nebo. This is a finding that corresponds to our earlier discussion.


188. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 113/1831, Panel with scene of the Nativity. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

The two feast scene icons mentioned earlier are also relevant to our discussion here. Both the Nativity (Fig. 188, App. no. 113/1831)[764] and the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 189, App. no. 114/1836)[765] are icons drawn from the Dodekaorton, the cycle of Twelve Feasts of the Church, but we should not forget that they also represent *loca sancta* as well. Weitzmann published the Nativity as an example of a separate panel that belonged to an iconostasis beam, and Mouriki identified the Baptism and an additional fragment with the seated figure of Christ that she recognized as part of a Deësis from the same ensemble (Fig. 190, App. no. 65/743).[766] Weitzmann called this almost a "harsh linear style," presumably on the basis of the finely drawn faces and pronounced outlines of the figures. But there is a striking softness in the modeling of the three-dimensional contours of these faces, accented with white linear highlights that appear on the draperies as well. It is unlikely that the same artist who did the double register Deësis also did the two feast icons, but they are closely related.

The important difference for our discussion here is the fact that the two feast icons appear to follow closely good Byzantine models, retaining their iconography of the holy sites.[767] In the case of the Nativity, it is the cave grotto set in a rocky

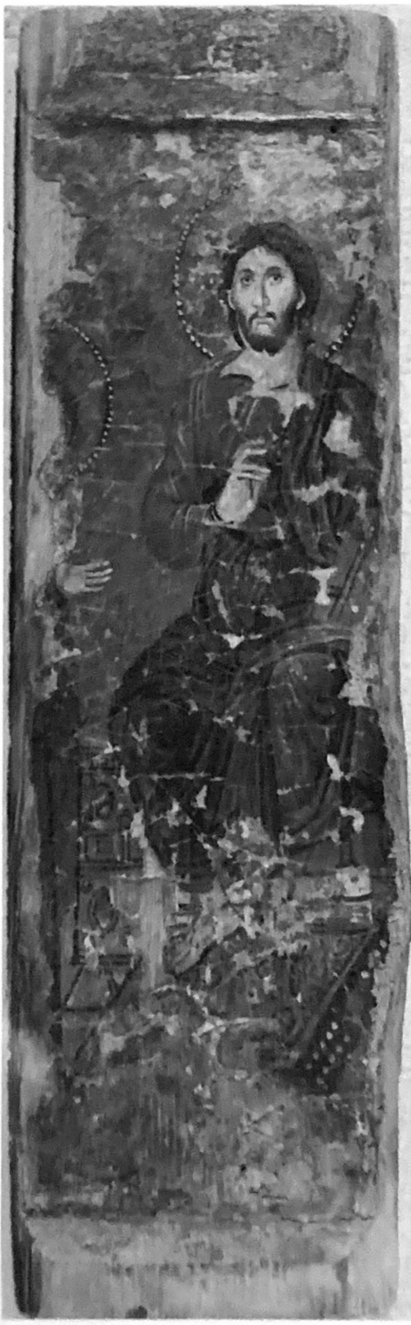


189. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 114/1836, Panel with scene of the Baptism of Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

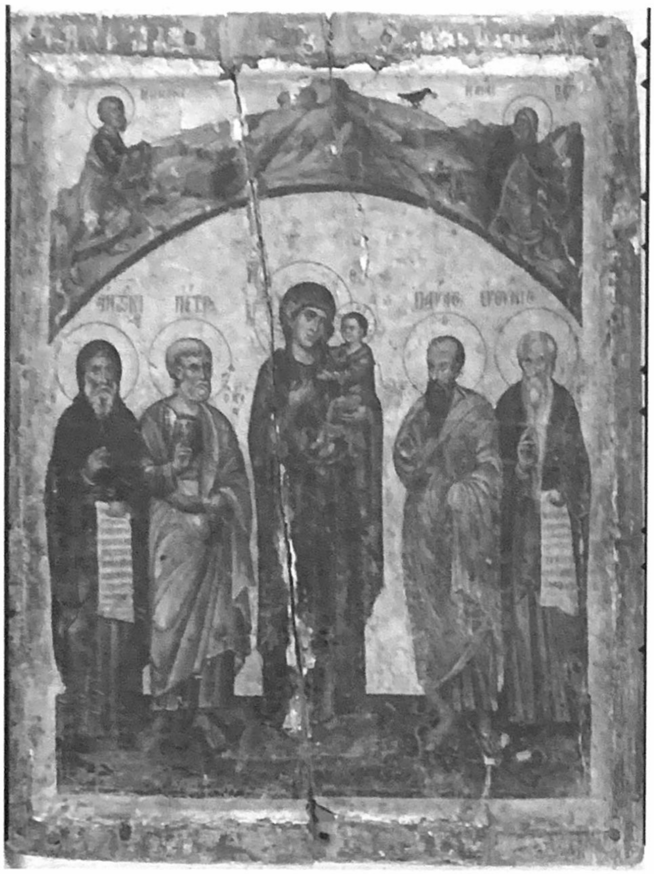
landscape. In the case of the Baptism, it is the cross monument set in the Jordan River to mark the place of the event for the pilgrims. These icons are, however, standard types, and even their figure style shows few Crusader formal traits – Weitzmann notes the staring eyes, the tight fit for the figures in their appointed spaces, and the characteristic pearl-decorated haloes. The same basic style is seen in the Christ of the Deësis, with his handsomely designed draperies, and a bench throne that relates to the double register Deësis icon (Fig. 187, App. no. 33/293), and the Virgin and Child Enthroned with scenes of Moses and St. John the Baptist (Fig. 186, App. no. 52/574). What is distinct here is the traditional formula in standard iconography, in contrast to those icons, particularly those with Sinaitic imagery seen earlier, that appear to be composite, newly assembled by a Crusader artist presumably in response to the commission of a pilgrim patron. In many ways it is those icons that seem to suggest a Sinai origin, partly because of the richness of their iconography, the way they reflect the various aspects of the holy site, the models to which they seem to have had access, and partly because of their substantial numbers in contrast to those that might be associated with some other specific holy site.

Finally, there are two other icons which are relevant for our discussion here. Unlike the earlier examples, they are stylistically more distinct from any of the examples we have presented so far, and again they come from two sites. One is a Sinai icon (Fig. 191, App. no. 23/205), a Virgin and Child with four standing saints that has explicit and complex Sinaitic iconography. The other is a tiny icon of St. Marina from the Menil collection in Houston, which appears to relate to a specific holy site near Tripoli (Fig. 192, App. no. 126). Can they shed any additional light on these issues?

The first of these examples, the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* with four standing saints (Fig. 191, App. no. 23/205), is a remarkable icon with several unusual features.[768] It is done in a refined painterly style that is clearly related to the Acre



190. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 65/743, Fragment of a panel with the seated figure of Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



191. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 23/205, Panel with the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* and four standing saints, with Moses and Elijah on the spandrels of the arch above, on either side of Mount Sinai. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

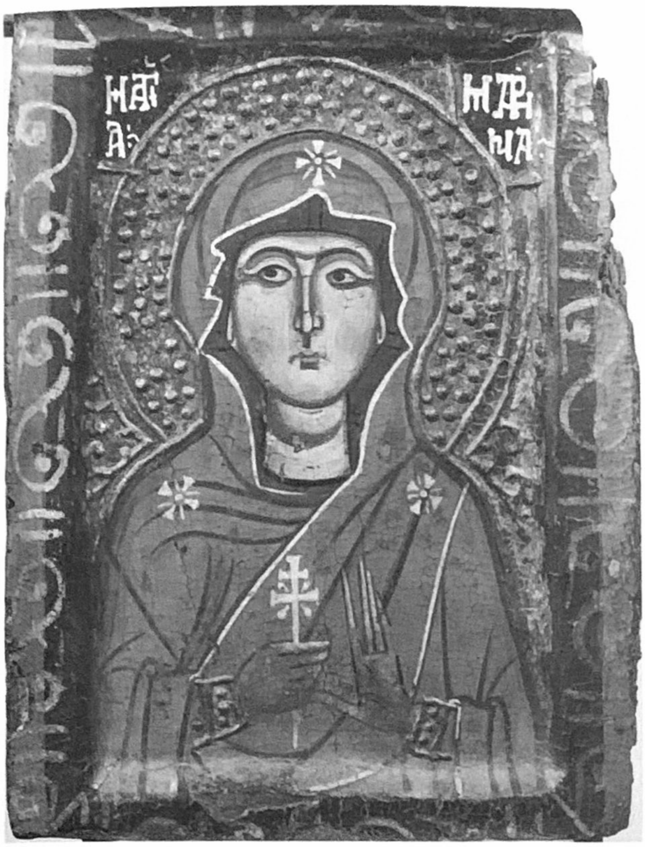
Franco-Byzantine master of the Acre Triptych inner wings (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753) in terms of facial types, the linear conventions for the eyes, and the manner of painting with white highlights on the faces. The figures are quite distinct, however, because of their slender proportions with small heads, feet, and hands, unusually elegant for Crusader icon painting in the 1250s or early 1260s. They have red haloes, but without the pearl decoration that we have found on so many Crusader icons in this period. These figures also stand frontally, hierarchically – the Virgin is slightly larger and raised on a footstool – under an arch, which supports the image of Mount Sinai above. On the mountain wilderness the somewhat diminutive figures of Moses (left) and Elijah (right) appear. Finally, the figures are all given Greek identifying inscriptions, but the remarkable addition here is the fact that the four standing saints below are also speaking. They are given small Greek inscriptions placed to one side at the level of their mouths by which they exclaim, "*O AGIOS*," "o holy one," referring to the presence the Virgin and Child in the center. Thus here we have a special type of a "speaking icon."[769]

Weitzmann has examined this icon in detail, identifying its "Western-influenced" characteristics. The tiny Child is held up high; he places his right arm and hand around the neck of the Virgin and his left hand on her veil in a gesture of affection. This reflects the interest of this artist and presumably his patron in greater emphasis on the human relationship between mother and child. This relationship is not absent from Byzantine icons, but it is carefully limited to certain iconic types, such as the Virgin and Child *Eleousa*, and is rigorously excluded from the imagery of the *Hodegetria*. The Virgin and Child are flanked by the figures of Sts. Peter and Paul, a pairing not uncommon in Sinai Crusader icons, but here Peter holds the keys, not a book, and the implication is that he is given primacy of place by his position to the Virgin's right, reflecting a Western sensibility. Certainly their softly painted style, their volumetric draperies, and their decisive corporeal presence also reflect the artist's interest in more naturalistic values. The two monastic saints, Anthony at the left and Euthymios at the right, are purely Byzantine choices, of course, and their association with St. Catherine's is derived either from the existence of a chapel in his honor at the monastery, in the case of the former, or the importance of the cult of the latter as a saint who had once lived as a hermit near Sinai in the bishopric of Pharan.[770] It is clear, however, that the Crusader painter has transformed their monastic megaloschema from a stiff embroidered stole into a tunic made of soft, flowing fabric with many pleats. In the zone above we have Moses and Elijah, two Old Testment figures closely associated with Sinai. To the left, Moses appears ascending Mt. Sinai according to Byzantine iconography, but the image of God he is moving toward is omitted, and Moses is given a beard and made to look old in a manner typical of Western imagery at this time, as we also saw him in the Arsenal Bible. Elijah appears with a raven above to the right,[771] but even though he follows a Byzantine model, he looks very similar to the seated Elijah image that appears in the IV Kings miniature of the Arsenal Bible, an impressive bearded figure wearing his special fur trimmed costume.

With this icon, therefore, we are seeing an inventive, individual artist working in the Acre Franco-Byzantine style, who produces an icon with an extraordinarily intense Sinaitic iconographical program. It is in fact one of the richest among the extant Crusader icons, and it illustrates the notion of the composite program pertaining to Sinai discussed earlier. This icon is clearly an excellent candidate for our category of panels painted in St. Catherine's with direct and intimate access to other works with Sinai imagery. Even though he is an artist whose style is related to Acre, it seems likely he may have worked in Sinai when doing this icon.

Another quite individual artist painted the handsome little St. Marina icon now in the Menil Collection in Houston[772] (Fig. 192, App. no. 126) In this case, however, no links with Acre Crusader style or with Sinai Crusader style can be seen. In this icon, St. Marina appears as a frontal bust-length figure glancing slightly to our left. She holds a double-barred cross in her proper right hand, gesturing toward it with her left. She is dressed in a bright red maphorion or veil, trimmed with a white hem and decorated with three yellow star-shaped ornaments on her head and shoulders. Underneath her veil she has a blue coif. Her halo and the cuffs of her undergarment are emphasized with raised gesso. She is identified with a Greek inscription as Saint Marina. The image is framed with a striking border in vermilion and dark green, decorated with yellow paired bar dividers and reverse "S" curves shaped in the manner of metal work.

Iconographically she follows a standard type for female saints in Middle Byzantine art, except that she holds the



192. Icon: Houston, The Menil Collection, App. no. 126, Panel of St. Marina. (photo by courtesy of The Menil Collection, Houston)

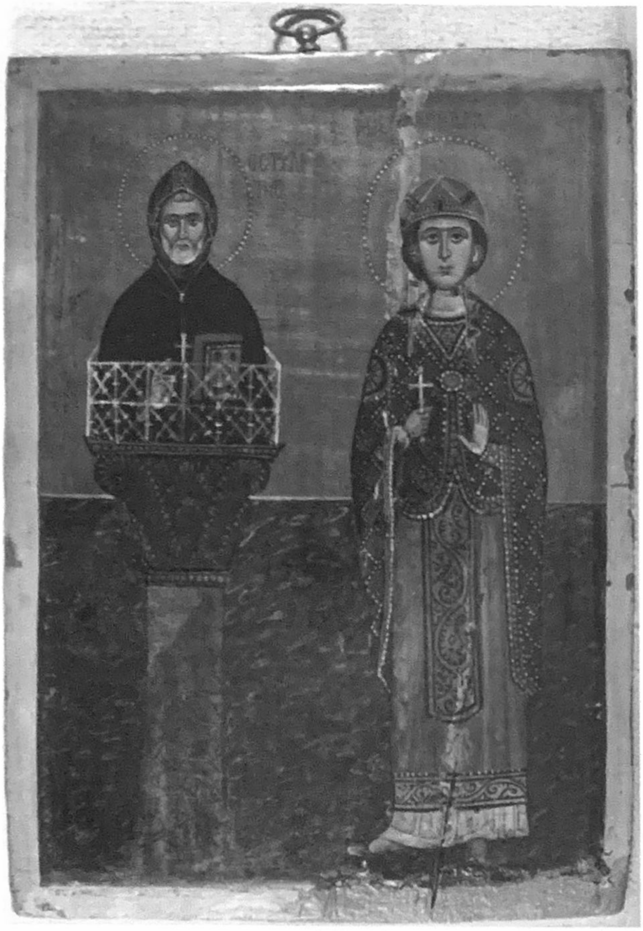
double-barred cross, which may be a reference to the Crusader cult of the True Cross. Stylistically she is done in a regional style that seems to relate to Tripoli. The case can be made that this artist was possibly Syrian with knowledge of Byzantine icons from Cyprus.

In contrast to the volumetric and painterly modeling of the figures in most of the Acre Franco-Byzantine Crusader style works, this figure is treated in flat patterned forms articulated with linear designs for the folds. The red veil of the saint is positioned as if the head were turned to the left, even though the face is strictly frontal. Inside the opening of the veil the blue coif fills the area around the head as a flat pattern, as if it were a hood, rather than a coif on the head alone. In proportions, the figure is notable for its large head and the extraordinarily long, pointy fingers. The face and neck are equally two-dimensional and sharply defined, imitating the Byzantine mode of deep greenish shading and facial design. The model is transformed into something quite linear in terms of the black and red articulation of the eyes, nose, brows, and mouth and abstract in terms of the decorative green and red shading on and around the face.

In contrast to the other icons we have been discussing, no obvious stylistic parallels emerge from Acre or Sinai with which to compare this handsome work. Despite the popularity of St. Marina on Cyprus and the large number of St. Marina icons in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, only distant echoes of this style can be seen in some of the so-called Romanesqueizing works from Cyprus.[773] In fact, the closest stylistic *comparanda* seems to be found in the region south of Tripoli, in what was at the time the southwestern corner of the County of Tripoli and the northern section of the Latin Kingdom. From the towns of Tripoli and Gibelet on the coast, this area forms a triangle inland to what we call the Cedars of Lebanon today, including the Qadisha Valley. It is there, in a series of Maronite churches and shrine-grottoes that we find parallels to the style of this icon in fresco paintings, for example, at Bahdeidat, at Ma'ad, at Hadschit, and at Saidet ed Darr.[774] The frescoes in this area represent a well-established regional style dating from the twelfth century,[775] which is partly the reason for the conservative, decorative stylistic traits seen in our icon. But the site of greatest interest here is the grotto south of Tripoli known as Mar Marina, where remarkably, both St. Marinas were venerated: St. Marina of Antioch in Pisidia, known as St. Margaret in the West, and St. Marina of Syria, the female saint who lived her life disguised as a monk in the Monastery of Deir el Qannoubine.[776] St. Marina of Antioch in Pisidia is without doubt the better-known and more widely represented in icon painting, and the evidence suggests that our icon represents her, but her cult was clearly reinforced by the existence of the latter in Syria.

There are two levels of extant fresco decoration at Mar Marina, both now badly damaged, neither of which relate directly to our icon of St. Marina, but the hand of this artist, otherwise unrecognized as yet in this region, finds its home in the midst of the ensemble of these frescoes done in the "Syrian style." This enables me to propose that the Menil St. Marina icon is "the work of a Syrian artist painting in the current mode ca. 1250 with a knowledge of developments in Cyprus, and painting in his homeland south of Tripoli in the service of the cult of St. Marina."[777] It appears likely that the Menil icon was ordered by a "Crusader" patron, probably a pilgrim to Mar Marina, from this Syrian artist working at the grotto, whose painting style reflected Crusader, Byzantine Cypriot, and local Syrian developments. As such the Menil St. Marina icon is a unique extant example of icon painting from the County of Tripoli.

The decisive evidence that leads me to make this attribution is the combination of stylistic and iconographic characteristics, not the iconography alone. Whereas the iconographic program of an icon can often be carried out in a workshop setting remote from an actual holy site, if the elements of style are directly identifiable at this site or its surrounds, then it appears that the possibility strongly exists for the work to have been done at the site or nearby. This argument can be clearly demonstrated here with the Menil St. Marina icon. The problem is that with many of the extant Crusader icons from St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, the evidence is ambiguous and not so clear because whereas the iconography can be intensely Sinaitic, there is no recognizeable Sinaitic Crusader style. In this regard it is worth reflecting on words that Kurt Weitzmann wrote near the end of his career of studying the icons at Sinai. Referring to painting at Sinai in general, but with reference to the Crusader icons included, he wrote: "there never developed an indigenous, Sinaitic style. Masters were called from outside, be it Cyprus or Constantinople or elsewhere, worked at Sinai for some time, and were then replaced by the next team. So if for the later thirteenth century we have been able to establish a Venetian workshop, it must be seen in the light of many workshops at Sinai, those organized by Crusader artists being



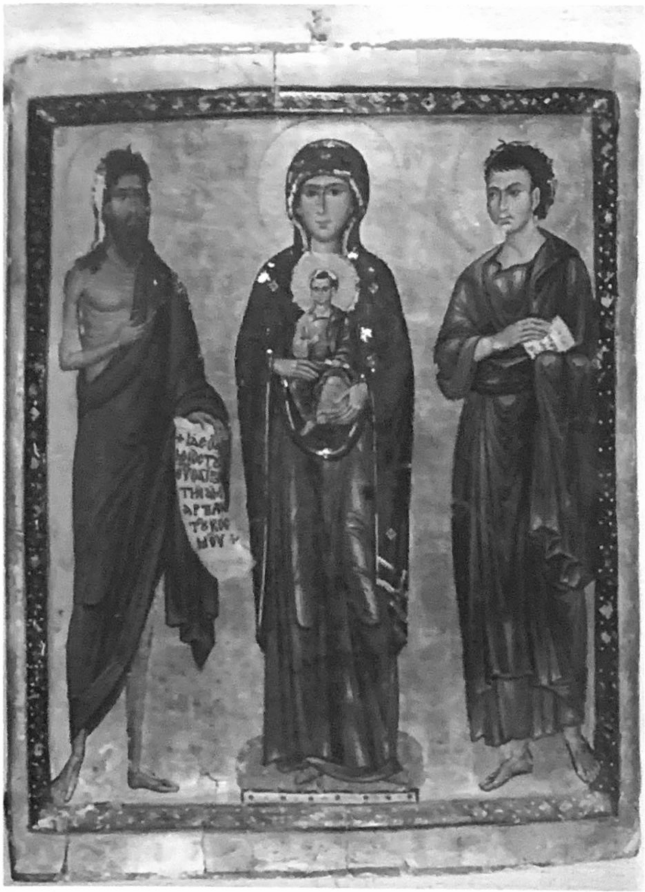
193. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 11/64, Panel with St. Symeon Stylites on his column and St. Barbara standing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

rather an exception than the rule." He concludes, "Sinai is not a normal Greek monastery but a crossing point of many cultural influences and a place which belonged to Christianity at large."[778]

Icons at Sinai in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader Style: Up to this point, we have focused on the icons done in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader Style that appear to date mostly between 1250 and the early 1260s, in comparison to the icons of the 1250 Crucifixion (Fig. 152, App. no. 104/1732) and the Acre Triptych (*c.*1258–1261) (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753). In mentioning a "Venetian workshop" earlier, Weitzmann is referring not only to the artists working in a painterly Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, such as we see in the iconostasis beam of 1260 (Figs. 164–175, App. no. 105, 106, 107/1744-5-6) discussed earlier, but he is also referring to a slightly later, more refined and more linear version of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, by a different "team" which appears in a series of major icons including a second iconostasis beam, which I discuss in Chapter 7.[779] The reason he does not refer to teams of artists working in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style in his article is presumably because they did not do any of the large, explicitly liturgical icons that might function in the Orthodox services of the monastery. Without reading too much into the division of labor this implies, his analysis suggests perhaps that some Crusader artists – especially those working in the Veneto-Byzantine styles – were sometimes commissioned to do Byzantine type icons for both Crusader and Orthodox patrons, and other Crusader artists – particularly those working in the Franco-Byzantine styles – specialized more in devotional panels and ex voto type icons for pilgrims. What we also observe is that based on our analysis so far, the Crusader icons in the Franco-Byzantine styles are popular in the period from 1250 to the early 1260s, and as we shall see they apparently continue to be produced later as well. But it is difficult to date any of the icons in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style before the end of the War of St. Sabas. After that point, however, that is, during and after the years 1258–61, we start to find a number of icons in the latter style. Interestingly enough some of them seem to be devotional or ex voto type icons, that is, they seem to be similar in function to the Franco-Byzantine style icons we discussed earlier. In date, however, they seem to belong more to the 1260s than to the 1250s.

Our link to these icons in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in the present context are the two saints on the exterior wings of the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753) discussed earlier. The standing, frontal images of St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist can be closely compared with two icons. One contains St. Symeon Stylites with St. Barbara (Fig. 193, App. no. 11/64), from the group which Weitzmann attributed to the Master of the Knights Templar.[780] The other represents the Virgin and Child *H THS BATOU*, with St. John the Baptist and Moses (Fig. 194, App. no. 43/428), which belonged to the artists working in a linear Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style and which Weitzmann associated with three slightly later monumental icons: a bilateral icon (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568), a diptych (Figs. 271–288, App. no. 110/1783), and an iconostasis beam (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003).[781] These two *comparanda* are worth further discussion, especially with regard to the other icons with which they can be grouped, because they show not only a different repertory for these Crusader artists of Veneto-Byzantine stylistic background when compared with those of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, but also they demonstrate that in their own time, that is, in the 1260s and later, these icon painters became as productive as the Franco-Byzantine Crusader artists of the 1250s.

The icon of St. Symeon Stylites on his column with St. Barbara (Fig. 193, App. no. 11/64) is typical of one of the two types of images we find on the panels in this group.[782] We have frontal saints, usually standing, holding attributes and gesturing as one type. For the other we have mounted saints seen in more or less three-quarter view, such as the image of St. Sergius with a female donor (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80). Weitzmann attributed the icon of Sts. Symeon Stylites and Barbara (Fig. 193, App. no. 11/64) to the same hand as did the outer wings of the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753), that is, Sts. Nicholas and John the Baptist. "Symeon Stylites on his column, [is] a figure so similar in its facial features to the St. Nicholas on the triptych wing that, in my opinion, the assumption of a common hand is justified."[783] In fact, Weitzmann continues, "we have by his hand – and this is one of the rare cases where a considerable number of icons can be grouped together as characteristic of the work of an individual artist – about half

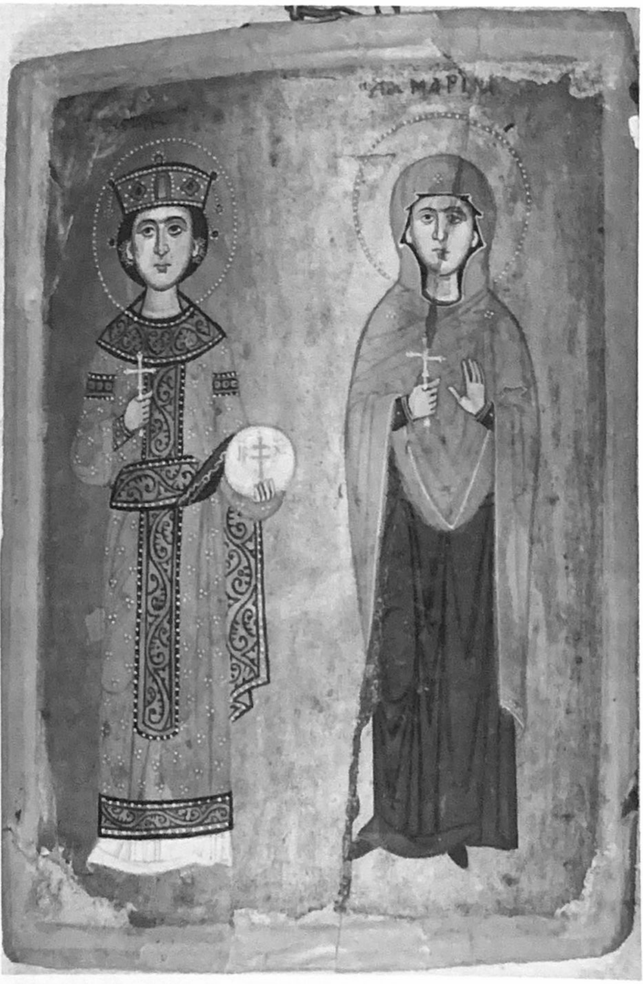


194. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 43/428, Panel with the Virgin and Child "n tns batou," St. John the Baptist and Moses, all standing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

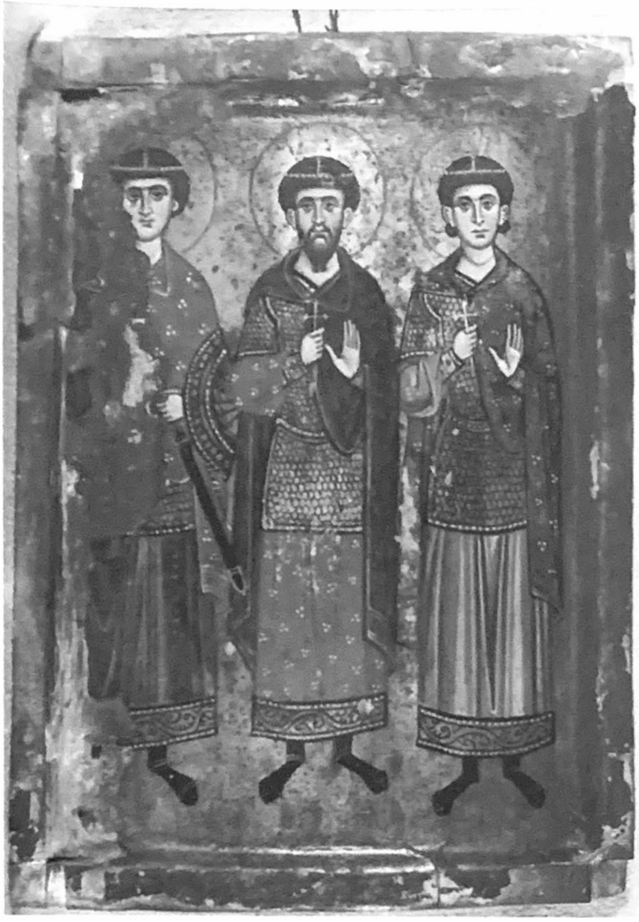
a dozen icons."[784] After careful analysis it seems unlikely that all of these icons can indeed be attributed to the same hand,[785] but there is no doubt, nonetheless, that they are extremely closely related, done by artists working closely in the same workshop.

Most of these icons are small, approximately the same size, roughly 34 × 25 cm. They are characterized by figures in a rather flat-patterned style, with a similar repertory of decoration ranging from triple dot (= pearl?) patterns on cloaks and tunics, to stoles, hems, and ceremonial garments with comparable vine-scroll embroidery framed with pearls, to the same kind of scale armor on military figures with their pearl-studded diadems. In each case the most impressive part of the icon is the face of each saint, that is, appropriately, the likeness of the saint, which typically has the most sophisticated painting producing the greatest three-dimensionality. These faces are rounded and volumetric, with characteristic deep shading under the chin, lower lips, left side of the nose, and eyes and brows, with a delicate net of linear white highlights applied strategically to the forehead, around the eyes, nose and on the neck, and the characteristic Acre linear convention for the definition of the eyes. These icons often follow good Byzantine models and have the character of a simplified, direct style, which was obviously appealing and popular. But unlike good Orthodox icons in the Middle Byzantine period, which "sought consistently to make distinctions between different classes of saints according to their degrees of corporality, motion, and emotive responses,"[786] these saints by our Crusader painters all look essentially the same in terms of their formal characteristics.

Besides the icon of Sts. Symeon Stylites and Barbara (Fig. 193, App. no. 11/64), we have several other examples in this style. There is an icon of Sts. Catherine and Marina (Fig. 195, App. no. 90/1418),[787] which depicts the patron saint of the monastery at Sinai with Marina, presumably St. Marina of Antioch in Pisidia – the normal choice – who was honored with a side chapel in the main church at Sinai. Thus this icon is in its own way a highly charged Sinaitic icon done for this particular *locus sanctus*. Marina is a simplified version of a Byzantine type image, as she appears in a Greek icon of this pair at Sinai,[788] but she shares with Catherine – as well as Symeon Stylites and Barbara – a red halo decorated with pearls. Catherine, however, is more distinctive because along with the single armed cross all of these standing saints carry in their proper right hands, she also carries an impressive orb with an image of the True Cross inside, inscribed with the initials of the name of Jesus Christ, in Greek. Although Catherine became the patron saint of the monastery at Sinai in the tenth or eleventh century and was the object of special veneration there as a result, in Byzantine



195. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 90/1418, Panel with standing Sts. Catherine and Marina. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



196. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 78/1118, Panel with standing soldier saints, Sts. George, Theodore, and Demetrius. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

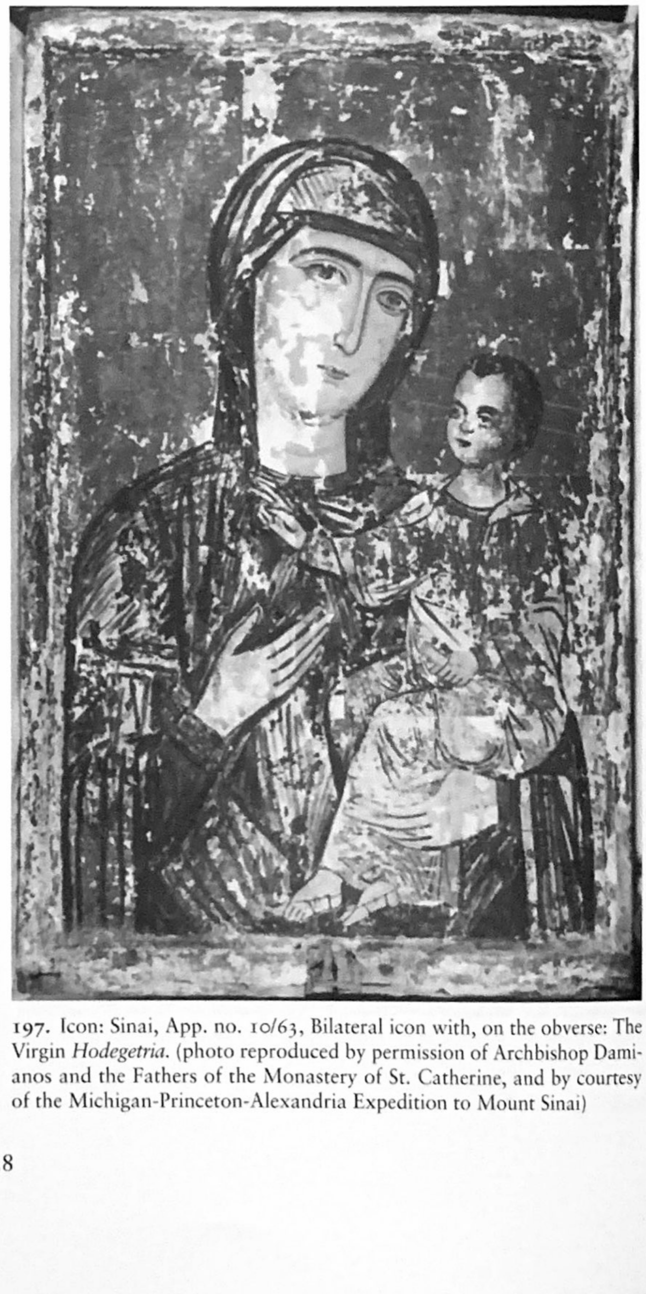
iconography she did not normally receive imperial attributes. She was a princess not an empress, and so she also should not wear the loros. The orb and loros is Crusader iconography for Catherine, essentially found only in Crusader icons.[789]

Another example in this style is an icon with three standing soldier saints, Sts. George, Theodore, and Demetrius (Fig. 196, App. no. 78/1118).[790] As a type, this image is comparable to good Byzantine icons. There exists, for example, a twelfth-century Greek icon on Sinai with the same saints in a slightly different order, as well as an eleventh-century image with Sts. Procopius, Demetrios, and Nestor.[791] There is also a handsome early thirteenth-century Greek icon on Sinai with two saints, St. Theodore Stratelates and St. Demetrios.[792] For the Byzantines, this kind of icon – large or small – was probably a proskynetarion image with the saints grouped according to their type. For the Crusaders, who did not, so far as we know, use a proskynetarion, the association of soldier saints was still valid, but the function was probably a devotional one.

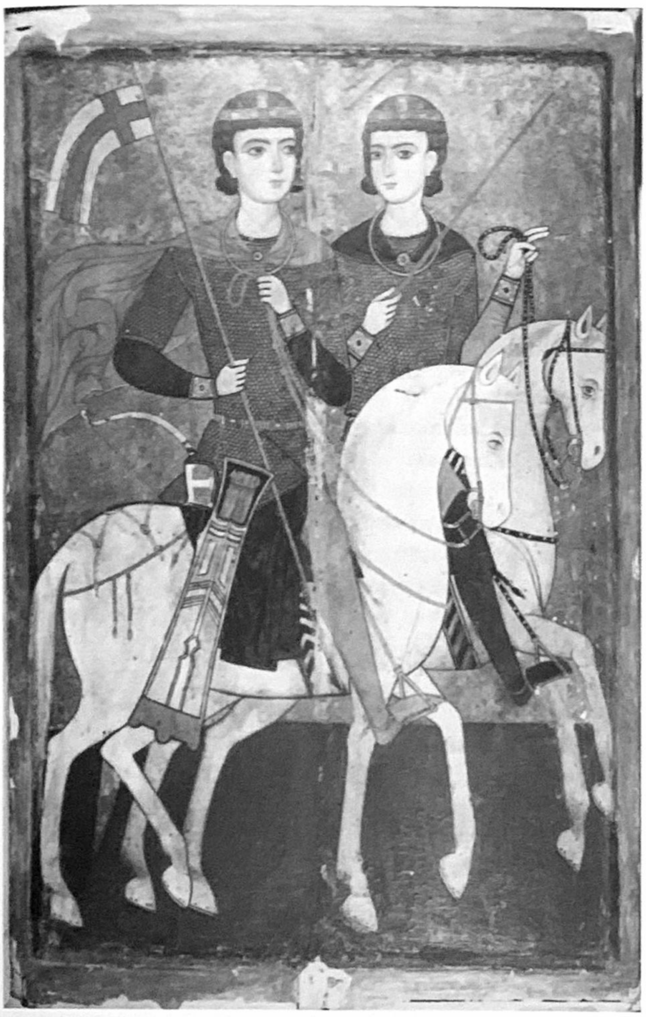
Again the Crusader image has also changed the basic iconography of the twelfth-century example with the three comparable figures. Whereas George is beardless and holds a cross in his right hand and his sword in his left in both, in the Crusader version he wears a diadem and has a small round shield on his proper left arm. His armor is also different, and he wears a long tunic. St. Theodore, standing at the center of the Crusader icon, is identified by a Greek inscription. He is bearded in both, but placed to the far right in the Greek image, where he holds a cross as usual in his right hand and a scepter in his left. In the Crusader image he holds the cross but gestures with his left hand, and also wears a diadem, scale armor, and long tunic, like St. George. Finally St. Demetrios is in the center of the Greek icon, but stands to the right in the Crusader image. Except for the fact that he is beardless, he is exactly like the Crusader St. Theodore in design, only his tunic and cloak are slightly different in colors. But the figure of St. Demetrios in the Greek icon is in a slightly different pose, holding his cross as usual with one hand, but holding the hem of his cloak with the other.

Without insisting that our Crusader artist necessarily used this exact Byzantine icon as his model, we can observe that this comparison shows the Crusader artist has imitated the highly decorative and refined Comnenian style of these Byzantine types, producing a similarly flat-patterned figure style with strongly modeled heads, producing a simplified Crusader version with varied iconography.

Crusader Icons of Mounted Soldier Saints: A similar phenomenon can be seen in another pair of icons from this same



197. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 10/63, Bilateral icon with, on the obverse: The Virgin *Hodegetria*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

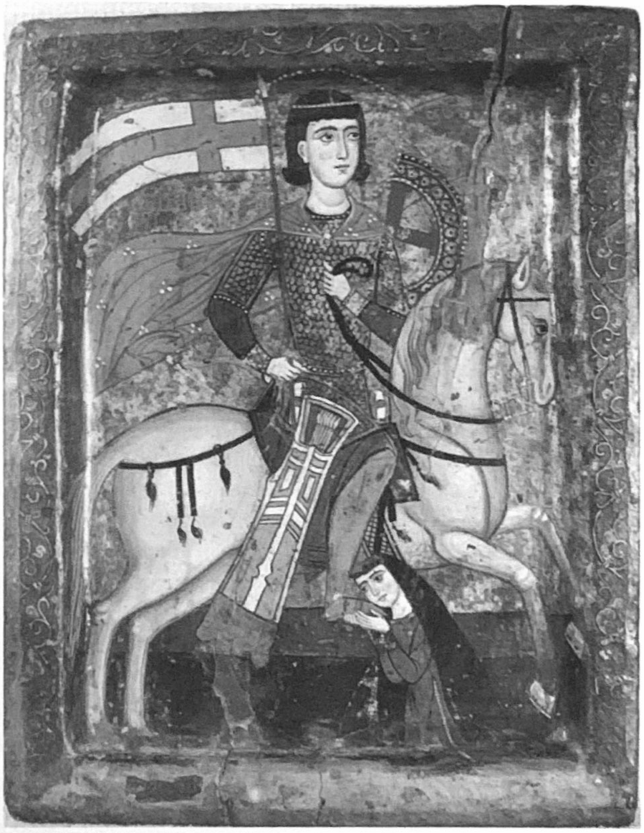


198. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 10/63, Bilateral icon with, on the reverse: mounted soldier saints, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

closely related group done by Crusader painters working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. We have already noticed that the Crusaders were especially interested in mounted soldier saints: before 1250, with the Freiburg Leaf and the icon of Sts. George and Theodore with a male donor from Paris (Fig. 74, App. no. 94/1463), perhaps done as early as 1225,[793] and after 1250, with the icons of St. George (Fig. 183, App. no. 125) and Sts. Theodore and Demetrios done in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style (Fig. 184, App. no. 40/386), along with the more conventional frontal standing saints found in Byzantine panels. From the same workshop, possibly even including some work by the same painter that produced the three standing soldier saints (Fig. 196, App. no. 78/1118) discussed earlier, we also have two icons with mounted soldier saints. The first icon is a large bilateral panel (Figs. 197, 198, App. no. 10/63): It represents Sts. Sergius and Bacchus as mounted soldier saints on one side, and on the other a large bust-length and rather damaged image of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria.[794] The second icon is much smaller (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80) and depicts St. Sergius on horseback with a kneeling female figure wearing a long black veil.[795]

Weitzmann has pointed out that icons with mounted saints are not unknown in Byzantine art, that is, in Early Byzantine art[796] and Middle Byzantine art,[797] but there are few purely Byzantine examples from the thirteenth century at Sinai. One such icon, with images of Sts. Victor, Menas and Vincent, he dates to the thirteenth century.[798] Because of the style and the appearance of the Deësis imagery at the top of this icon,[799] it is undoubtedly Byzantine, but it is an icon that could well have been stimulated by Crusader interest in this type of mounted saint imagery. Numerous other twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples exist in fresco paintings from Syria, Cyprus, and from Frankish Greece that are currently being studied.[800]

It is clear that the Crusaders greatly favored this kind of image, and the cultural and artistic context for these Crusader images was quite rich in the thirteenth century, including both Christian and Muslim examples.[801] The impressive icon of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (Figs. 196, App. no. 10/63) represents the two Roman officers who were martyred at Resafa in the early fourth century, transformed into Crusaders. They are depicted riding left to right, their horses in profile, they themselves more or less in three-quarter view. Compared with the more informal image of Sts. Theodore and Demetrios (Fig. 184, App. no. 40/386) riding on horses moving in different directions, and with riders seen from the front and back, this image is much more formal in terms of a parade review. The two horsemen and their mounts ride together much like we see on the icon of Sts. George and Theodore (Fig. 74, App. no. 94/1463), or the Byzantine example Weitzmann cited, with Sts. Victor,



199. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 14/80, Panel with St. Sergius and a kneeling female donor figure. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Menas and Vincent. Stylistically, what is distinctive about the Sergius and Bacchus icon is the design of the faces, the modeling of the face and neck with its special "V" shape at the collar bone, the finely patterned scale armor of their short-sleeved hauberk, the "V" fold drapery of the tunic of St. Sergius, and the strongly outlined and two-dimensional, but large and elegant horses. Sts. Sergius and Bacchus are clearly closely related in style to the icon of the three standing saints (Fig. 196, App. no. 78/1118) and to the image of St. Sergius with the kneeling female (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80), but differences in formal details indicate that they may all be by different artists in this workshop.[802]

Compared with the other icons of mounted soldier saints, however, it is their iconography that is most distinctive. As martyrs they have incised haloes and wear heavily jeweled diadems and round pearled necklaces. The cuffs of their tunics and the fibulae for their cloaks are jeweled. Bacchus even has pearls on the tack of his horse. They both have handsomely decorated saddles and saddle harnesses. They are both armed with spears, but on that of St. Sergius there is a banner featuring a red cross on a white ground. Sergius also carries a composite bow in a saddle case, and from his belt he has a remarkable decorated quiver with arrows featuring at least three different arrowhead tips – barbed, lozenge, and chisel tips – placed tip-up for easy selection.[803]

The icon of St. Sergius with the kneeling female (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80) also features comparable iconography, although it is done in a slightly different style, with not quite as refined a drawing hand; it is simpler but more robust, with more volumetric modeling especially of the horse. The iconography of St. Sergius, although slightly different in regard to its pearled red halo and diadem and with the addition of a round shield with a red cross, is essentially the same otherwise. Consider the quiver, which is here even proportionally larger, although his arrows have only one kind of tip, the composite bow, the spear, and the somewhat larger banner. And of course, at the feet of Sergius is a kneeling woman with a black veil, who has occasioned much discussion. What does this iconography of St. Sergius mean?

Two of the most conspicuous elements in the representation of St. Sergius in these icons is the quiver, attached to the proper right side of his belt, and the strung composite bow, in a black or red bowcase, attached to the other side of the saddle and only partly visible below the right arm of the saint.[804] Bows and arrows are not normal iconographic components for the equipment of mounted Byzantine soldier saints, for example, Sts. Sergius, Bacchus, George, one or other figure of Theodore, and Demetrios, to name only the most common. When images of mounted soldier saints do appear on icons – rarely in Byzantine art,[805] more frequently in Crusader art[806] – their standard armaments include a lance or spear.[807] Because neither the regular Byzantine nor the regular Crusader mounted cavalry featured horse archery as a major weapon, why, then, is the bow and quiver with arrows included here?

Weitzmann identified the source of the decidedly Oriental looking quiver as ultimately coming from eighth-century art from "Qyzil in the Turfan," transmitted from the East presumably through Persian and possibly Mongol art to the Crusaders. As opposed to a leather sheath or tube, this kind of quiver is like a protective box made of leather or wood(or both), which is here represented as finely decorated, perhaps with ivory inlay, in keeping with the spirit of the parade review representation. Furthermore Weitzmann remarked on the quiver (as did Robin Cormack in a separate article) as another example of eclectic tendencies, which, along with the saint's pearl diadem, his long tunic, his armor and triangular stirrups, when taken together indicate the presence of Crusader imagery.[808] He does not, however, attempt to explain the reason(s) for the appearance of this anomalous quiver with the bow and arrows.

If we ask which armies in the Near East during the period *c.*1250–68 specialized in horse archery, the answer is clearly the Mamluks and the Mongols.[809] If we interpret St. Sergius – identified on these icons by Greek inscriptions[810] – as the embodiment of a Christian knight warring against the infidel, why would he be armed with weapons Byzantine and Crusader cavalry did not typically use? Clearly one possibility might be that the quiver with arrows and the bow are meant to be trophies, or spoils of victory. But alas, the Crusaders won no notable victories over the Mamluks or the Mongols in the second half of the century, as we have seen. Moreover, it is not obvious how the kneeling female figure with her black veil is related to this image of a victorious Christian military saint, perhaps, as has been proposed, as the commemoration of an historical event? Even though she has been interpreted as mourning for the fall of Jerusalem in 1244, an idea suggested by the later practice of Cypriot women mourning for the fall of Acre in 1291 as reported in the fourteenth century,[811] there are other more likely options to consider.

L.-A. Hunt has argued persuasively that this woman is represented with a black veil more likely "to indicate her personal status as a widow than a generalised mourning for the loss of a city." According to William of Tyre, a widow had the right to remain unmarried for a year, meaning among other things that she could and often would wear some sign of mourning that long, and perhaps even longer. The personal aspect of her presence is emphasized not only by the stiff cap she wears to which the veil is attached, indicating she is a woman of stature, but also by her prayer beads, which hang down at her side.[812] As a widow it seems more likely that she is prayerfully seeking the protection of St. Sergius, indicated by the gesture of reverencing his foot, perhaps in mourning for a warrior in her family, possibly her husband, or even her son. In this case it seems more likely that the black veil is an indication of her personal circumstances in mourning for someone and that it is for this reason she is praying to St. Sergius for strength and protection, rather than that the veil refers to the loss of a city.

How then should we interpret this figure of St. Sergius? The image indicates that he is in fact a Crusader soldier saint. What kind of soldier might he be? His armament seems to indicate that he represents the image of a *turcopole*, what William of Tyre calls light-armed cavalry, "equites levis armature, quos Turcopolos vocant."[813] The important fact was that *Turcopoles* were mostly light cavalry originally recruited from the native population. Sometimes they were baptized Muslims. Jonathan Riley-Smith describes them as "half-caste or native calvary: light horsemen sometimes equipped with a bow."[814] We know that *turcopoles* served with both the Byzantine and Crusader armies. In fact they formed regular armed contingents of the major religious orders in the thirteenth-century Levant. We find them among the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights.[815] Indeed *Turcopoles* fought with both the Hospitallers and the Templars during the War of St. Sabas, for example. For our consideration here, it is notable that some, indeed apparently a significant number of *turcopoles*, were armed with bows and arrows.[816]

But why choose St. Sergius in particular for such an image and not some other mounted saint? Part of the answer to this may reside in his popular cult in Syria. The Byzantine city of Sergiopolis, al-Rusafa in Arabic, or Resafa, was founded near where he was martyred, and it was there that his relics were preserved.[817] This city was named for him, and he was apparently revered as a patron saint by the native Syrian Christian populace in this entire region. Why should Saint Sergius appear as a *turcopole*? Perhaps these icons of St. Sergius (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80) and Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (Figs. 198, App. no. 10/63) were commissioned in honor of *turcopoles* who came from Sergiopolis. These commissions could have been made by their wife, or mother, in the case of the former icon, or by a family member, or by friends, or even by themselves in the case of the latter. It appears increasingly evident that local Eastern Christians were important patrons and clientele for "Crusader" icons. Indeed Hunt has argued that the importance of local Christian women as patrons and clientele has heretofore largely been overlooked.[818] In this case the female figure depicted in the St. Sergius icon appears to be a figure in mourning, more than likely for a relative. In any case, until the story recorded in the fourteenth century by Jacopo di Verona, there is no evidence for clothes worn in mourning for the loss of Jerusalem, or any other important Christian city.[819]

If it is correct to see St. Sergius in these two examples represented as a *turcopole*, how shall we understand the banner with a red cross and a white ground that he carries? Weitzmann interpreted that banner as an emblem of the Knights Templar, he concluded "that the two icons were made either at the commission of a Knight Templar, or perhaps for a chapel in a settlement of this order," and he even proposed to name the painter of this closely related group of icons we have been discussing as the "Master of the Knights Templars."[820] The banner with the red cross on a white ground appears in Crusader and Western, but not in Byzantine imagery during the thirteenth century, either as the standard of St. George or as a generic insignia carried by Crusader soldiers in icons and manuscript illumination.[821] The idea of the cross of St. George being appropriated for use by the Crusaders on their banners may have been a conflation of the cross that Crusaders placed on their clothing when taking the Crusading vow, and the visions of heavenly soldiers, sometimes specifically St. George, appearing to inspire them, as reported by the men on the First Crusade.[822]

Weitzmann does not cite the basis for his interpretation, but one likely source for his confusion on this point are the well-known fresco paintings in a Templar chapel at Cressac (Charente) in France, done about 1200.[823] Although the existence of these frescoes clearly verifies the statement of St. Bernard that the Templars decorated their chapels with scenes of battle and trophies of war, the precise interpretation of these paintings remains controversial. Of relevance to us here is the fact that there are scenes of the Crusaders in battle and scenes from the life of St. George, among others in the chapel. In regard to the former, whatever the correct interpretation of the precise battle may be, everyone seems to agree Templars are represented. The depiction of these Templar knights does not, however, include consistent or correct heraldry. Whereas one knight on a galloping horse does have a red cross on a white banner, it is surrounded by eleven eight-pointed stars, and he carries both a red cross and an eagle blazoned on his shield.[824] Other knights wear red crosses on the upper left chest of their surcoat.[825]

In fact, Templars did wear red crosses on their white surcoat, but their battle standard was something quite different. The Templar battle standard was a long narrow vertical rectangle, *argent* with a *chief sable*, meaning that it was white topped by a broad band of black. We know how the standard was used from the Templar Rule,[826] and we know what it looks like from the accurate heraldic paintings of Matthew Paris. The *gonfalon baucent*, or the piebald standard, is depicted several times in the works of Matthew Paris, in the *Historia Anglorum* on folio 42v,[827] in one manuscript of the *Chronica Majora* on p. 220,[828] and in another manuscript of the *Chronica Majora* on folios 141 and 170v,[829] works done in the 1250s. In fact, on folio 141 of the *Chronica Majora*, we also find the banner of the Hospitallers to compare it with, namely, a red banner with a white cross.[830]

It is clear therefore, that this icon of St. Sergius with a banner containing a red cross on a white ground does not represent a Templar, or a Hospitaller, on the basis of that iconography. It represents the image of a Crusader. We should recall however that if St. Sergius is represented as a Crusader *turcopole*, it is possible that these two icons could have been done in honor or in memory of *turcopoles* serving in one of the military orders. Therefore, ironically Weitzmann's original interpretation might be partly correct, namely, that these icons might be connected somehow with a soldier serving with one of the military orders. In the current state of our knowledge we cannot say for sure, however, because we do not know precisely who commissioned these icons or why exactly they were ordered. What is certain is that there is no reason to call the artist(s) who did these icons "the Master of the Knights Templars."

Weitzmann himself acknowledged that the nomenclature he had proposed would have to be revised.[831] In offering a new name here, two factors are important. One is that it is likely that a group of closely related artists is involved in the production of these icons, a group we can provisionally see as belonging to a workshop or atelier. The second factor is that these artists are doing a number of kinds of icons, but they are specializing in military saints for what appear to be Crusader patrons. Therefore, I am suggesting as a new name: the "Workshop of the Soldier Saints." This nomenclature seems reasonable because the most distinctive productions by this group of artists are soldier saints, and especially mounted soldier saints. Furthermore all of the works by this atelier seem to have been produced in a recognizeable linear Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.

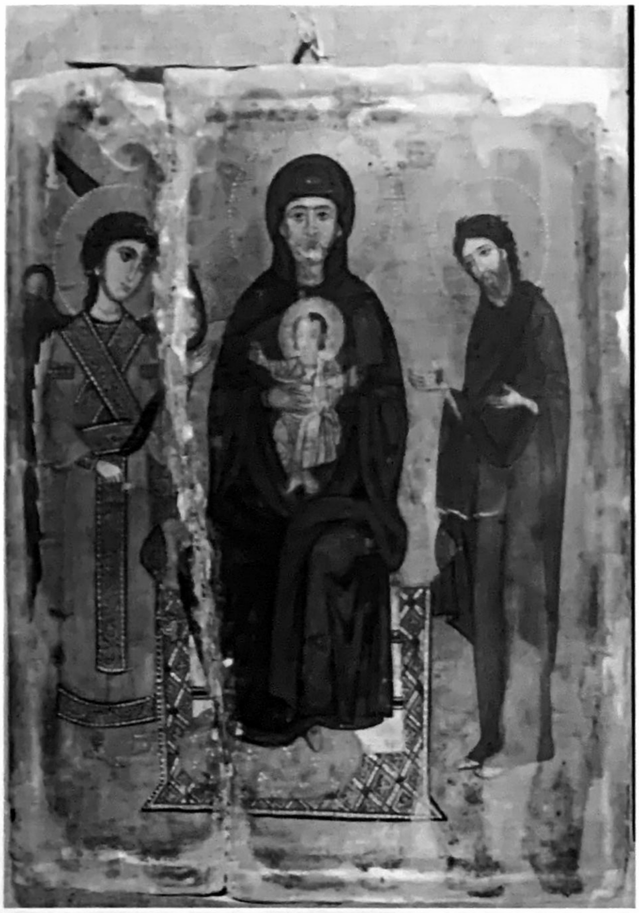
What else can we say about these painters, and where were these icons done? Weitzmann proposed that the same painter did the Sts. Sergius and Bacchus icon (Figs. 198, App. no. 10/63) and the St. Sergius with the kneeling female figure (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80), and his attribution was followed by D. Mouriki.[832] There is no doubt they are very close, but their similarities may have more to do with the model(s) they were based on and their workshop situation. The mode of painting is different, particularly noticeable in the two-dimensional style of the former and the more three-dimensional volumetric handling of the latter.[833] The design of the horses is quite different between the two icons on close examination, but also the classic Morellian details of the men with regard to their ears, the shapes of the noses, the treatment of the closed hands are done differently. Thus it is probably an oversimplification to talk about one master here for this whole series of icons, and even the two St. Sergius icons appear to have been done by different hands. Who might the artist of the St. Sergius with the kneeling female be (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80)? There have been a variety of suggestions. Originally the Sotiriou's proposed that it was done on Cyprus.[834] Weitzmann decided that the artist was south Italian, from Apulia but initially wondered whether he could be another painter of Venetian background. In 1975 J. Leroy discussed this icon in the context of Syrian fresco painting at Qara,[835] a view accepted and developed further by L.-A. Hunt in 1991.[836] But there is more to be considered. In 1986 Mouriki proposed the idea that even though these icons belong to the group identified by Weitzmann that we have discussed above, "the painter of the Sergios icon and the double-sided icon of the Hodeghetria and of the Sts. Sergios and Bacchos on horseback was an Easterner, probably a Syrian, who had obtained his training in Cyprus."[837] Mouriki bases her attribution on the mode of painting, the figure style, the ornament, and "the painted floral design on the frame of the small Sergios icon, which finds close parallels in contemporary Syriac miniatures."[838] In my earlier discussion here, I identified this group as belonging to the Workshop of the Soldier Saints in their distinctive Veneto-Byzantine linear Crusader style and differentiated the two icons as probably by different painters.

What are we to make of these diverse opinions about the Crusader style of the small St. Sergius icon (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80)? In the first place, the discussion demonstrates the complex multicultural context of these icons, the problems of analyzing and evaluating stylistic characteristics against selected *comparanda*, the difficulties of dealing with comparative material in a variety of media, and the differences in assessing a portable object in a diverse collection with other works of variable circumstances, some of which are in fixed locations – the frescoes – and some of which are also quite portable – the illustrated manuscripts and the other icons. Taking the entire discussion into consideration, there clearly seems to be a strong Syrian dimension to this icon, certainly in the choice of the image of St. Sergius, and therefore quite possibly in the patron and apparently in certain of the stylistic features of the icon that suggest the artist may have some kind of Syrian background. The fact is, however, that all of the icons in this series of devotional icons done in this Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style with linear emphasis are close and surely were done in a workshop with a strong identity in one place, wherever the various artists may have come from. That one place could have been either Acre or St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. For reasons of the diversity of possible patrons, the variety of holy sites apparently referenced, the fact that only one of the icons in this group – the Sts. Catherine and Marina – has a direct Sinaitic iconographic link, the strong interest in soldier saints, which is not necessarily something obviously characteristic of the monastery on Sinai, and the remarkable differences in the functions these mostly small icons may have served, Acre seems more likely.[839] This is an important case in point of a Crusader workshop style whose participating artists seem to have various backgrounds that reflect the diversity of the Near Eastern setting, but yet they work within the framework of a Veneto-Byzantine linear style apparently established by the head of the workshop and the models the artists are using.

Does the icon with Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (Figs. 198, App. no. 10/63) shed any additional light on this style or workshop? Although the painting of the paired saints offers a more elegant drawing style and a more intensive aesthetic of decoration, the two soldier saints do not easily reveal a different background from the artist of the small St. Sergius icon. He may also have been Syrian in origin. Recalling that this icon is bilateral, however, the image of the bust-length Virgin and Child Hodegetria can add to our understanding of this icon and the workshop from which it came.

Compared with the two mounted saints, the Virgin and Child are badly damaged, from surface abrasion and flaking (Fig. 197, App. no. 10/63). Nonetheless, on close examination, one can see the same precise drawing style for the Virgin's face and the hem of the maphorion as we find on the image of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. Noting that the Virgin and Child Hodegetria is a popular image among the "Western-influenced" icons at Sinai – there are ten extant from the thirteenth century – it is interesting to note that the model for this image probably came directly from a Byzantine, not a Crusader icon. Bearing in mind that the Byzantine Hodegetria icon published by Weitzmann is the version "Dexiokratousa" with the Child on Virgin's proper right side,[840] instead of the regular Hodegetria as we see here, our Crusader image has the same aristocratic Virgin, a similar vertical composition, a comparable relationship between the Virgin and the Child on her hand, and a similar upward gesture by her free hand. The hem of her maphorion also has a similar threefold ripple effect on the side between the Virgin's head and that of the child, and they both have pendant tassels visible from the shoulder of her free hand. Yet the Crusader copy is obviously not exactly the same, because the Virgin's head is larger; the Child is plumper, blesses in the two-finger Latin manner, and holds the scroll differently; and the Crusader icon has neither angels above nor any extant inscriptions. This image therefore appears to have been done by the same painter who did the two saints on the other side, referring to a good Byzantine icon of the Hodegetria for his model.

Other Icons in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader Style: Are there other icons that can be related to this group? Although there are various opinions about what icons should be grouped with the Veneto-Byzantine linear style group in the Workshop of the Solder Saints that I have discussed, I propose that two additional icons can be associated with this first set that can be dated in association with the outer wings of the Acre Triptych to the 1260s. These icons include a Virgin *H THS BATOU* with St. Michael and St. John the Baptist (Fig. 200, App. no. 48/544) and a very important example from this workshop, the Virgin and Child *H THS BATOU* with St. John the Baptist and Moses (Fig. 194, App. no. 43/428). Other icons can indeed be related to this large group among works done by artists in the workshop of the Soldier Saints, with its distinctive Veneto-Byzantine linear Crusader style.[841] But I propose that these other icons belong to a later phase of development, in the 1270s and possibly the 1280s, and I discuss them in Chapter 7.



200. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 48/544, Panel with the Virgin and Child "n tns batou" enthroned, and two standing saints, St. Michael, and St. John the Baptist. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

The icon of the Virgin "*H THS BATOU*" (Fig. 200, App. no. 48/544) is again a relatively small devotional icon with several features that link it to our Veneto-Byzantine linear style Crusader group.[842] In type it looks like a variation of the Deësis image, in which St. John the Baptist appears in three-quarter view on the right side in an intercessory pose, but otherwise there are significant changes. The place of Christ alone is taken by the frontal enthroned Virgin and Child, with the tiny Child gently held suspended in front of the Virgin, in the manner of the *Platytera.* The significance of this image is once again, however, the appearance of the Virgin "*H THS BATOU*" as an image of the Virgin in the Burning Bush, a peculiar Sinaitic imagery for which we have seen several interpretations. To the left, also in three-quarter view, is the figure of St. Michael the Archangel in his imperial courtly robes somewhat loosely interpreted, gesturing to the Virgin and Child with his left hand, and swinging a censer with his right hand to honor their holiness.

This icon differs subtly from the others in this group with three standing saints because of its pronounced hierarchical composition, but its close ties with the workshop style are evident in its presentation and repertory of form. The figures are all suspended weightlessly on the matte gold ground. There is the linear handling of the figures including the conventions for the face and eyes. We note the strongly decorative interest in the embroidered costume of St. Michael with its vine-scroll patterns and pearl-encrusted borders comparable to St. Catherine's embroidery in the icon of Sts. Catherine and Marina (Fig. 195, App. no. 90/1418). There is the losenge pattern of the Virgin's throne, generically comparable to both the cloth of honor pattern on the throne and the incised gold pattern on the background of the central Virgin and Child panel of the Acre Triptych (Fig. 156, App. no. 66/753). We observe the three-dimensional ropey drapery, especially of the Virgin, reminiscent of what we saw in the billowing cloak of St. Sergius, in the Sts. Sergius and Bacchus icon (Fig. 197, App. no. 10/63), and the red haloes decorated with pearls link this panel with many other Crusader icons.

Compared with this icon, the last example of this workshop to be discussed here is a much more sophisticated production. The standing Virgin and Child *H THS BATOU* flanked by St. John the Baptist and Moses (Fig. 194, App. no. 43/428) is a somewhat larger icon done in an elegant style by a highly accomplished painter in the tradition of this Veneto-Byzantine linear style workshop.[843] Again the Virgin holds a tiny Christ Child frontally with the significance of the Virgin *H THS BATOU* as we saw in the Virgin and Child *H THS BATOU* (Fig. 200, App. no. 48/544) and a number of earlier examples, but here she stands on a luxurious red cushion placed on a jeweled golden platform. St. John the Baptist stands in three-quarter position at the left, ascetic in his somewhat emaciated proportions and simple garment, gesturing and holding a scroll with a Greek inscription of his prophecy. To the right, a beardless Moses stands also in three-quarter position, cradling a text in his draped proper left hand and his bare right hand, a curious treatment that may have been drawn from an image of Moses holding the tablets.

These figures also float somewhat weightlessly on the gold ground behind them, although the Virgin's footstool is placed solidly on the lower frame. It is odd, however, that whereas St. John the Baptist is placed satisfactorily at the left with only his one foot touching the lower corner of the frame, Moses by contrast overlaps the frame all along the right side and with his foot. This gives the clear suggestion that the artist's model only included two figures, the Virgin and a figure to the left, with Moses being added without sufficient space for his broader proportions. Weitzmann discusses such models, for example, the Byzantine Virgin and Child "*H THS BATOU*" with Isaiah,[844] noting the Crusader artist's efforts "to achieve a higher degree of plasticity." There is also the Byzantine Virgin and Child "*H THS BATOU*" with Moses, very spaciously placed on a small icon with a painted or repainted scroll border.[845]

Weitzmann notes that no fewer than ten such Byzantine icons exist in the Sinai collection, from which the artist might have drawn his model. The Virgin and Child type is repeated without variation, but the holy worshipper is different each time,[846] "presumably selected as namesakes of the donor who commissioned the icons, either as votive gifts or souvenirs. Such a production would indicate a local workshop, and this is also supported by the fact that we can recognize the same workshop in other Sinai icons, all to be dated at the very beginning of the thirteenth century." Thus some of these Byzantine icons were already being used for the same purpose I am proposing for the later Crusader icons whose artists used them for models, and some of these Crusader icons may have been made in Sinai;

the fact is it is difficult to know which were done in Sinai and which were done in Acre.

Weitzmann also notes that this Crusader artist depicts the Virgin and Child "*H THS BATOU*" in the same manner and with the same variable set of worshipper saints as the icon done in Franco-Byzantine Crusader style with the Virgin and Child, with Moses, Elijah and St. Gregory of Nazianzus (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54, Fig. 355) discussed earlier. In this case, however, the figure of St. John the Baptist is inserted even though he does not appear in the selection of worshippers found in the Byzantine icons referred to above. Moreover St. John has "contracted brows and disheveled hair . . . revealing the artist's keen understanding of a Byzantine model. The choice of the Virgin type and the two Prophets is once more thoroughly Sinaitic; but even here the greater corporeality, the sharp design of the faces, the simplified, more realistic drapery reveal the Italian hand mistakably." For "Italian hand" I would propose to substitute Crusader hand of the Veneto-Byzantine linear style, most remarkable for the elegant linearism of the draperies on all three standing figures, and the sophisticated handling of the three-dimensional facial types so finely painted. The style of this painter is pivotal, linking this panel both to the saints on the outer wings of the Acre Triptych (Figs. 161, 162, App. no. 66/753) and to a group of later works in the most monumental version of this elegant linear Veneto-Byzantine style,[847] works that I discuss in Chapter 7.

There is one final issue that requires comment at this point before we move on to consider other paintings from Acre. Simply put, given how problematic Venetian painting in Venice is in the second half of the thirteenth century in Venice, how and why should we have so many icons done by Crusader artists whose training seems to reflect Venetian traditions painting in Acre after *c.*1258? As Weitzmann pointed out, "our knowledge of Venetian panel painting of the thirteenth century is rather limited, and what little we know about it does not permit a coherent conception. As for the end of the thirteenth century, one focal point is the minatures of the diptych of King Andrew III of Hungary in Bern, a key monument within a whole group of Venetian miniatures under rock crystals; another is a pair of panels in the Museo Correr in Venice with the busts of John the Baptist and St. Andrew." It is with reference to these paintings that Weitzmann defines the painterly Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style with reference to the diptych, and the linear Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style compared with the pair of panels. The diptych of course dates quite a bit later, *c.*1290–6,[848] whereas the pair of panels of John the Baptist and Andrew has fairly recently been dated *c.*1281.[849]

Weitzmann very carefully, of course, only considered *comparanda* among panel painting in his discussion, but certain other Venetian work might help fill in the picture we have of Venetian painting in the period. In mosaics the ongoing work at San Marco is a monumental source for contemporary *comparanda.* Here Demus identified an orderly stylistic development that he characterized as follows:

> Up to and to a certain degree also including the mosaics of the fifties and sixties, Byzantine linear formulas more or less dominated the design and modeling of the draperies. From then onwards they began to be superseded and were finally completely ousted, first by classical lineaments and fold schemes, and finally in the last three decades of the century, by the new glittering light technique and the bulging plasticity of Palaeologan art.[850]

In panel painting there is in the Museo Correr in Venice a wooden *cassa sepolcrale* done for the Monastery of Sts. Biagio and Cataldus at the time of the death of the donor, Giuliana di Collalto (Fig. 201). The box is a large chest with a lid painted on the interior; hence the paintings are apparently in good condition. We see there two standing frontal bishops fully vested with haloes and inscriptions identifying them as the title saints of the monastery. Kneeling to the right in profile is Giuliana, also identified by an inscription. Giuliana died in 1262 as indicated in an inscription on the front of the chest. The three figures are placed on a dark green background with no ground line, and the figures are framed by two decorative bands left and right, bands that look like the golden brocade found on liturgical garments. These brocade borders give the lid the aspect of a silk covering, a kind of pallio for the sepulchral chest. We cannot say if the lid has received any repainting, but it is likely the designs are original to the period around 1262, or according to recent dating, the 1290s. Little attention seems to have been paid to this *cassa*, except to say that it is one of the earliest dated works of Venetian panel painting.[851]

The painted figures of the cassa are of immediate interest because although they resemble miniature painting, they are done in a strongly linear style with intense colors and patterned draperies. St. Cataldus wears a bright red chasuble, and St. Biagio wears a dark blue one with a pink undergarment. Both hold croziers painted with an alternating black and white pattern that appear to be simplified versions of the crozier held by St. Nicholas on the outer wing of the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753). We also note the halo type with white dots on black circles, very similar to a large number of crusader panels in the Veneto-Byzantine style referred to earlier.

Finally, the gold brocade panels, with inverted heart-shaped palmettes, constitute a basic pattern for liturgical garments of all kinds in the Sinai icons for which we can cite no fewer than twelve parallels of one kind or other.[852] This is not to suggest that there is any direct connection between this painter in Venice and the icon painters on Mount Sinai, but it is indeed interesting that we can find these parallels with this painting, hitherto unintroduced into the discussion of the Sinai icons. The paintings on the lid certainly tend to validate the dating offered by Weitzmann and assist us in trying to see the earlier and later developments with this style. The links with various decorative motifs also provide interesting parallels, although they cannot necessarily help us with the dating. Perhaps one day it might be possible to find extant silk brocaded vestments that would correspond to these designs at this date in the later thirteenth century.

In manuscript illumination we also find a certain number of examples from the late thirteenth century, including the *Supplicationes variae*. This codex was made in 1293 for use in Genoa, but A. Neff believes that the main cycle of painted line drawings illustrating the life of Christ was done by a Venetian artist.[853] As such this artist exhibits a strong and active interest in the contemporary art of Byzantium, much as Demus has found in the contemporary mosaic work of San Marco. Neff

201. Venice: Cassa Sepolcrale of Giuliana di Collalto. (photo by courtesy of the Pinacoteca del Museo Correr, Piazza San Marco, Venice)

also points to certain other works by Venetian artists in the second half of the thirteenth century, for example, paintings in an antiphonary now in a private collection[854] or mounted on liturgical objects.[855] These examples serve to indicate that Venice itself was apparently a cosmopolitan artistic center during this period, in which artists were actively producing work demonstrating strong interest in byzantinizing styles, not only for the state, but also for private patrons. Thus we cannot be surprised to find vigorous activity in Acre by artists of Venetian background during the period *c.*1258 and later, a period when Venice assumed a role of special political and economic importance in the Crusader capital.

Manuscript Painting in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader Style in Acre, c.1258–1268: After looking at the various developments with the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in Acre in the decade between *c.*1258 and 1268, the question remains as to whether we can identify other significant contemporary work in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style. In fact, it is in the medium of manuscript illumination that we can see an important new departure in Acre and in Antioch. Following the various religious books done in the Franco-Byzantine style from the 1250s, such as the Perugia Missal, the Egerton Missal in London, and the Padua book of Old Testament selections from the Acre scriptorium, and such as the Arsenal Bible from a Dominican scriptorium, we find in the 1260s the beginnings of the narrative illustration of secular books written in the vernacular, that is, in Old French.

The two most popular texts – judging from extant illustrated examples – were both types of "histories." First, there is *History of Outremer*, the Old French translation of the great Latin work by William II, archbishop of Tyre (1175–84?), the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*. Second, there is the *Histoire Universelle*,[856] which relates in one continuous narrative the history of the world from Creation to the time of Christ.

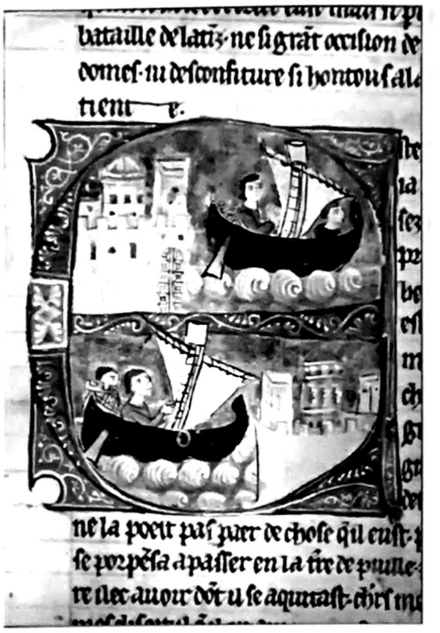
The *History of Outremer* was written in the late 1170s and the early 1180s,[857] carrying the story up to early 1184 and left unfinished when William died, perhaps in the fall of 1184.[858] Then his text was translated into Old French at an early date and continued in Old French instalments carrying the story up to various points, the main dates being 1227, 1229, 1231, 1248, 1261, 1264, or 1277.[859] Despite the groundbreaking and substantial studies of these continuations by R. Morgan[860] followed by others,[861] certain basic questions still remain, for example, when and where the Old French translations of the original Latin were done and by whom[862] and which French translations of William of Tyre's text were used with which continuations. In any case it is in the 1240s that we begin to see the production of the first illustrated *History of Outremer* codices in France,[863] followed by the first examples in Acre in the decade following.

For the *Histoire Universelle*, in origin it appears to have been written in Old French for Roger de Lille in France, at the time of Baldwin I, Latin Emperor of Constantinople and an as yet undetermined king of France, probably in the period 1208–13.[864] The first part of the work is largely a compilation from works of Peter Comestor and Orosius, starting with the events of Genesis, Assyrian and early Greek history interspersed with chapters on King Ninus of Nineveh, followed by stories of the *Histoire de Thèbes*, the minotaur, the Amazons, and Hercules. The history of Troy is adapted from the twelfth-century poem by Benoît de Sainte-Maure. Then comes the story of Aeneas adapted from Virgil, and the work ends with Roman history, which incorporates the stories of Persia and the Medes, Judith, Esther, and Alexander the Great, and carries the narrative up to the triumph of Pompey the Great.[865]

A number of extant manuscripts of both of these texts have been attributed to the Latin East, partly on the basis of their codicological and palaeographical characteristics, partly on the basis of the style of their miniatures and decoration, if any. The codex that appears to be the earliest Old French *History of Outremer* manuscript extant from Acre, Paris, B.N. MS fr. 9086, has a continuation to 1232, but no illustrations. It was done apparently in the third quarter of the thirteenth century and might be as early as the latter part of the 1250s. It can be assigned to Acre on the basis of workshop and scribal features.[866] It is of importance to note the evidence of this manuscript. Even though it has no decoration other than its red and blue chapter initials with typically French calligraphic flourishes in the margins, it demonstrates that codices of various levels of production existed, according to the desires and the means of the patron. This suggests the strong possibility that certain scriptoria in Acre operated on a commercial basis, similar to what we find in Paris in the thirteenth century.[867] Certainly there is no reason that requires this manuscript to have been done in the ateliers that specialized in religious and liturgical codices discussed earlier. The hand of the French scribe(s) that produced this manuscript cannot be found in other religious books from Acre. The French scribe(s) that executed this manuscript most likely produced this text in a workshop accessible to the Crusader aristocracy and soldiers who would have been most interested in it, either in a commercial shop, or another possibility would be on contract in the house of one of the military or religious orders.

The earliest illustrated and decorated *History of Outremer* that survives from Acre is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, MS fr. 2628 (Fig. 202, CD nos. 106–32). This codex has the basic translated text of William of Tyre, and a Continuation to 1247 as parts of the original project. Then there was added in a later hand a further continuation carrying the story up to 1264. Corresponding to these divisions it contains twenty-six historiated initials probably dating from the decade of the 1250s, and one final miniature added with the last section of text, probably added in the late 1270s, just before 1280.[868] As Buchthal says, "in a modest way the cycle represents a new and interesting venture. These miniatures were not copied from any western model; none of the numerous French manuscripts of William of Tyre has illustrations which are at all comparable."[869] In particular, the illustrations of MS fr. 2628 are completely independent of the *History of Outremer* painted at the court of Louis IX in Paris before he left on Crusade in 1248, Paris, B.N. MS fr. 9081, discussed earlier in this Chapter.[870]

The basic approach to the illustration of these *History of Outremer* manuscripts was the same in the thirteenth century, East or West. Major events, or an event, marking the start of each book division of the text was chosen for illustration. Usually these events were chosen from one of the first chapters of each book or from one of the last chapters of the preceding book, as for example, with the death of one king and the coronation of his successor. Because of this similar process independent cycles often share the choice of the same events, but their style, their specific iconography, their mise en scène, and their treatment of the narrative are all totally different. In the case at hand, there is one other way MS fr. 2628 is parallel to MS fr. 9081, however; it shares with it the mid-century format of historiated double-decker initials, the only *History of Outremer* codex from Acre to exhibit this feature. Yet although MS fr. 2628 is "early" and conventional in that respect, the choice and treatment of scenes is completely independent of the Parisian cycle. True, the artistic level of quality is mediocre in MS fr. 2628, and the painter employs repetitious formulaic imagery, such as knights on horseback riding to a city (Books 2, 3, 5, 13, 17, 20) or the deathbed/coronation pairings (Books 10, 12, 14, 15, 19, 21, 23). Even so these historiated initials have bold designs[871] and appealing narrative images, and this cycle shows certain unique features. In particular the details of life in the Crusader States are vivid and interesting. The coronation rite is rendered with the Crusader focus on the crowning of a kneeling king, instead of the French enthronement, as Buchthal has pointed out.[872] He also observes that "the patriarch of Jerusalem is regularly present at the kings' death-beds. As a rule he is accompanied by an ecclesiastic in a white alb, as worn by Augustinian Canons, in whom we are to recognize the prior of the Holy Sepulcher."[873] There is also the special story of the death of King Fulk while on a *chevauchée* with the queen in the environs of Acre at Book 16, a pair of scenes remarkable for their details of everyday life. We find, for example, the queen in her broad-brimmed sunhat, and the dog capturing the hare who startled the king's horse, the cause of this terrible accident.


bataille de latiz· ne si grāt occision de
comes· ne desconfiture si honteuse al
tient — e.
ne la poeit pas parer de chose qu'il eust·
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202. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 2628: fol. 89v, book 11, (E)stez ert . . . , (historiated initial) Bohemond's journey to Apulia. (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

There are also notable figures singled out for depiction in MS fr. 2628. We have the unusual depiction of the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, praying at the Holy Sepulcher in Book 1. At Book 17 there is the attack on Damascus during the Second Crusade at Book 17 led by a knight identified by black fleurs-de-lis on blue trappings as King Louis VII. In Book 25 of the Continuation there is the representation of the elderly knight from Champagne, John of Brienne, sailing to the Holy Land to play an unexpectedly important role in the Latin East. Finally, the illustration at Book 18 records the dastardly abuse of the patriarch of Antioch, Aimery, by Raynauld de Chatillon.

Buchthal claims that although this *History of Outremer* was not copied from a Western model, most of the imagery in its miniatures was "not freely invented: their iconography, just as much as their style, is based on that of the *Histoire Universelle.*" He claims that "the entire repertory of types, groups, figures, and scenes appears to be derived from the Dijon [*Histoire Universelle*] manuscript." Despite the list of "the more obvious borrowings" that he presents, the relationship of these two manuscripts does not seem to exhibit the kind of dependency, one to the other, that he proposes. For example, the Dijon *Histoire Universelle* has its own, different set of repetitious formulae and conventions. There are, for example, numerous figures in bed scenes, images of large seated figures addressing standing or kneeling groups, knights on horseback with brightly colored heraldry, and battle scenes between armies on horseback. If we compare these examples to the historiated initials in MS fr. 2628, as contrasted with the panel miniatures in the later *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 10175 and London, B.L. Add. MS 15268), the examples in the latter seem much closer in most respects, compared with the former. It seems more likely that the similarities found in MS. fr. 2628 and Dijon MS 562 exist because they are both early secular illustrated manuscripts. Their common features in terms of iconographic formulae and conventions can be explained by their relatively early date and the fact that their artists are both dealing with developing a new secular repertory of images, rather than depending one on the other.

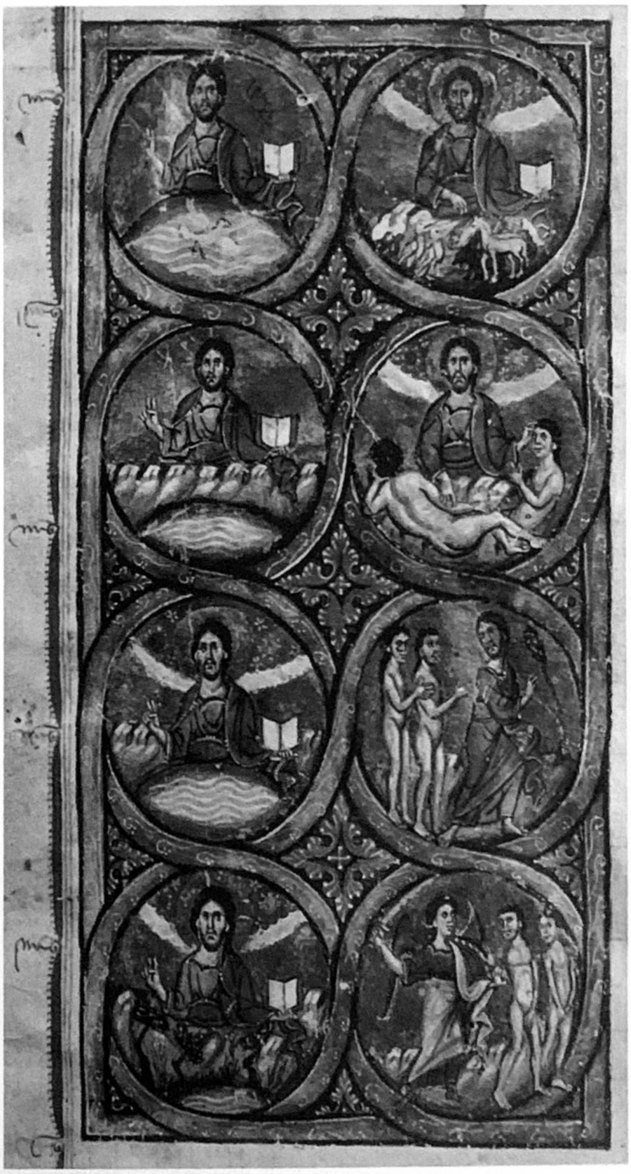
In any case MS fr. 2628 seems earlier than Dijon MS 562, not later, based on format and style. In the former, its historiated initial format of the midcentury contrasts to the panel miniatures in the latter, which becomes the format of choice in the latter half of the thirteenth century in the East. Clearly the two manuscripts are also done by different artists in different styles.

Buchthal comments that "apart from differences in quality, which are obvious, the illustrations in . . . Paris fr. 2628, are in the same style as those of the copy of the *Histoire Universelle* in Dijon. Both sets have the same short, stocky figures with big, round faces, protruding eyes, and characteristic lines running from the eyes towards the temples. But in the Paris manuscript their doll-like appearance and standardized gestures make them look lifeless and dull. . . . The drawing is careless and sketchy, the modelling flat and schematic; the human figures are now exclusively rendered in black outlines, and their size is out of all proportion to that of the buildings."[874] Buchthal's analysis is, as always, accurate, and there is no doubt that the quality of the miniatures in MS 562 is higher than in MS fr. 2628, but there are two additional points to be made. First, the figures in the narrative scenes in MS fr. 2628 are charming and interesting, not lifeless and dull, when viewed in the original manuscript. This is because, second, the black and white reproductions in Buchthal's book completely extinguish the vivacity of the images in MS fr. 2628, which are characterized by a lively colorism that these excessively flat gray photographs fail to transmit.

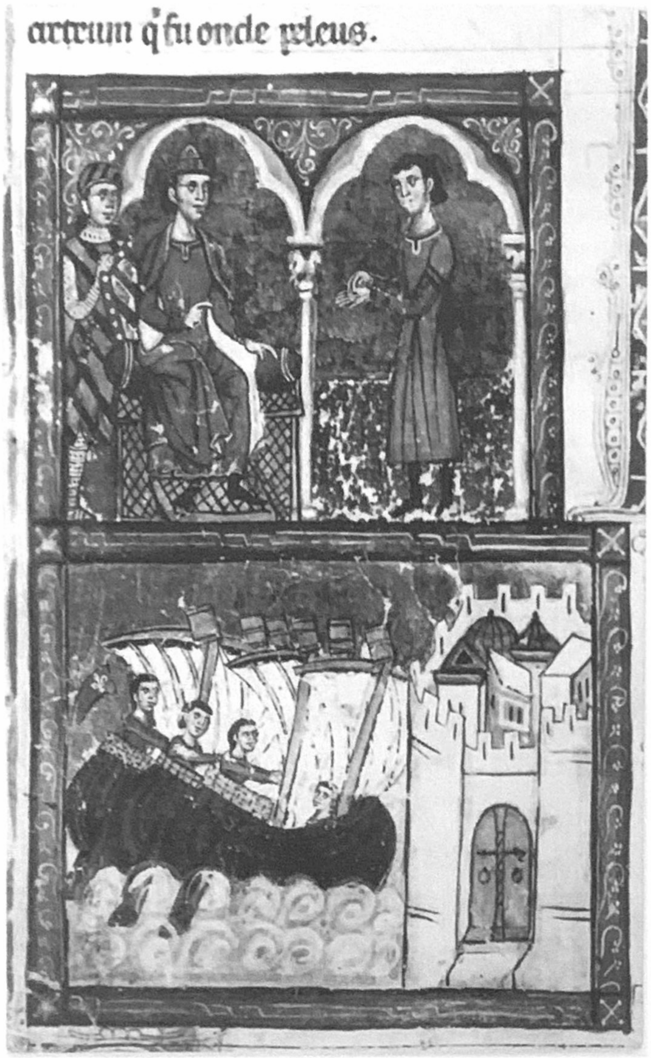
As for Dijon 562[875] (Figs. 203, 204, CD nos. 133–82), Buchthal notes that its "miniatures, rather modest in scope and contained in small square fields inserted into the single columns of the script, are products of the same scriptorium as the Arsenal Bible, and must be of about the same period. They present a similar mixture of eastern and western elements, . . . [but] the Dijon miniatures are more progressive than those of the Arsenal Bible only because they show the influence of a Byzantine model of more recent date; otherwise they are hardly more developed stylistically, and can be only slightly later in date – probably about 1260/70."[876]

Looking at these two manuscripts, MS fr. 2628 and Dijon MS 562, it seems unlikely that they both are stylistically related to the Arsenal Bible in any direct way; only the miniatures in the slightly later manuscript, the *Histoire Universelle*, suggest a distant connection. Furthermore, although they both relate to an overall Acre Franco-Byzantine Crusader style for these secular manuscripts, the artists seem quite different. We can be enabled to evaluate this issue better if we introduce a second early *History of Outremer* codex for comparison, an important manuscript now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 1963.

MS Pal. Lat. 1963 is unique among the extant illustrated William of Tyre manuscripts because its text consists solely of the Old French translation of the *History of Outremer* with



203. *Histoire Universelle*, Dijon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 562: fol. 1r, rubrics: Ce est li livres dou commencement dou monde. (panel: 14.7 × 7.4 cm).
1. The Creation.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin)



204. *Histoire Universelle*, Dijon, fol. 89v, rubrics: Si comence la voire estoire de troies. (panel: 12.5 × 8.5 cm). See COLOR PL. 6.
1. Pelias and Jason.
2. The sailing of the Argo.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon, Ms. 562, cliché François Perrodin)

no continuations[877] (Fig. 205, CD nos. 183–203). The scribe is once again French and the calligraphically decorated chapter initials are also French types. The pictorial decoration was originally planned to be panel miniatures of the sort we see in the Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, but when the cycle was actually carried out, historiated initials were chosen, many in more or less rectangular panels, and a few in a double-decker configuration. The result is an unusual type in which an historiated letter is "floated" on a framed gold ground, something familiar from earlier Crusader work in Jerusalem and Acre, or even in Sicilian illumination, but something we do not find in other William of Tyre manuscripts from Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century.[878]

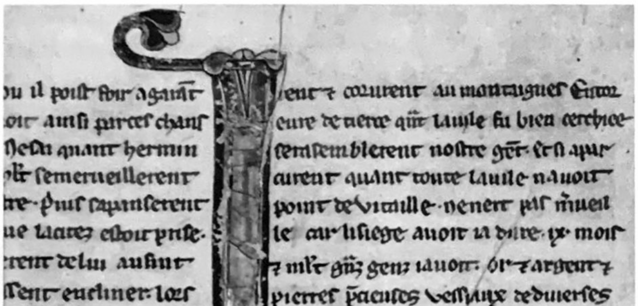
The striking facts about this cycle of miniatures, however, is that in iconography they are completely independent from anything we find in Acre, and in style they are totally different from the Acre Franco-Byzantine style of MS fr. 2628 or Dijon MS 562. Both aspects are worth further consideration.

The narrative cycle in MS Pal. Lat. 1963 is complete except for the author portrait of William of Tyre at Book 1, which is a replacement image done *c.*1400 in the manner of the International Gothic style, and the initial at Book 3 which has been cut out. The other twenty historiated initials are for the most part single scenes, and quite simplified versions of the basic events also illustrated in the cycle MS fr. 2628. For example, where in MS fr. 2628 there are five deathbed-funeral and coronation sequences in the initials, in MS. Pal. Lat. 1963 the same five initials have one scene only with the coronations of Kings Baldwin I, Fulk, and Amaury, the funeral of Amaury, and the episode of Emperor John Comnenus riding into Syria instead of his deathbed scene. These independent choices and the imagery of each scene make clear that the artist of MS Pal. Lat. 1963 was choosing important events at the start of new Books to formulate his cycle, just as the other artists were doing at Acre, but he was doing it independently of contemporary cycles for William of Tyre manuscripts from Acre.

This becomes evident when we look closer at the MS Pal. Lat. 1963 cycle. There we find a few historiated initials that are different from the typical single scene examples at the start of most books. Those initials are found for Books 5, 6, 11, 18, and 22. The striking feature about all of these historiated initials is that they contain scenes pertaining to the history of Antioch. In one case, Book 22, the lower scene of the patriarch riding to Antioch is unique among William of Tyre manuscripts. Book 18 is comparable in its choice of scenes – the episode of the abuse of the patriarch of Antioch by Raynauld de Chatillon – to that also found in MS fr. 2628, but in MS Pal. Lat. 1963 the mise en scène is totally different, and more vivid. Whereas in MS fr. 2628 the imagery of the patriarch is based on the idea of a Byzantine-type Symeon Stylites hooded figure, see, for example, the Sinai icon of Symeon Stylites and St. Barbara (Fig. 193), in the Vatican MS the imagery is more richly narrative. A strong distinction is being drawn between the patriarch in his vivid scarlet robe and the figure of Raynauld wearing his blue cloak lined with vair. This miniature is moreover composed from bottom to top, with the count ordering the abuse of the stubborn patriarch below. Conspicuously standing behind Raynauld is his wife, Constance, over whom he and the patriarch were at odds. The patriarch wearing his scarlet skullcap is being taken to the citadel at right. Then above we find the aged patriarch, who was in rather frail health, with his hands bound, exposed on the citadel in the heat of the day, while one of Raynauld's henchmen pours honey on his bald pate, to attract the flies and insects. The lively narrative is detailed in this case, which accords even with the distinctive masonry of the citadel of Antioch, which is represented constructed with large masonry blocks of an orangish hue. These blocks are rough-hewn on the outer surfaces so that, in effect, an imaginary sun creates a strong pattern of shadow over these surfaces.

Perhaps the most dramatic scenes with the most specific iconography of place in this book are found, however, in the two initials at Books 5 and 6 that depict incidents connected with the First Crusade. In Book 5 the Crusaders ride out from their camp to attack the allies of the Antiochenes. The Antiochenes watch this action looking southwest over the walls with the bridge gate below. The split image suggests a double-decker arrangement, but actually it is a conflated image in which the city in the background is behind the soldiers and the camp in the foreground. Furthermore, the representation of the bridge gate is not imaginary, but rather indicates this artist's direct knowledge of the city of Antioch, a knowledge most impressively represented in the initial for Book 6.

The scene for Book 6 shows the Crusaders putting the surprised Antioches to the sword, after having been let into the city by a Christian sympathizer. With count Bohemond's "*vexillum . . . rubicundum*"[879] rippling in the breeze above the tower where the Crusaders gained entry during the night, the Crusader commander points to their next objective, the citadel of the city still in Antiochene hands. The artistic convention for the inside of this city, with its verdant enclosure sprinkled with flowers, could well have been derived from the Moralized Bibles, as I have discussed elsewhere.[880] There are important changes in this generic model, however. Most significantly, we see a shift from a very general wall profile to what is obviously a very specific depiction. So specific is this that we may identify the city as Antioch. The lower walls of the city have two gates with three towers between them, representing the northeastern St. Paul Gate and the southwestern Gate of St. George. In this miniature the river is omitted and the Bridge Gate seen in Book 5 is accordingly suppressed. The artist focuses, however, on the silhouette of the wall along the heights high above the lower city. We see a three-tower fortress above, which sits on the left peak of an undulating ridge line just before the city walls plunge into a deep ravine, mounting a lower hill to the left before descending to the St. Paul Gate. This distinctive profile must be Mount Silpius at the right. The citadel fortress is not on its highest peak but on the slightly lower one to the northeast just adjacent to the cleft through which flowed the torrent known as Parmenius, separating Mt. Silpius from Mt. Staurin. The significance of this image is that the artist, who is clearly intimately knowledgeable with the topography of Antioch, has painted a city "portrait" of some precision as a setting for the episode of the Crusaders conquering the city in June 1098. The view he has chosen is a famous and characteristic one, which visitors to Antioch can still enjoy while standing on the right bank of the Orontes River.



205. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 1963: fol. 49r, book 6, (L)a estoient..., (historiated initial) The Crusaders fighting inside Antioch. (photograph: copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City)

I have referred to this iconography of place as a manifestation of the representation of *loca profana* found in Crusader art of the thirteenth century.[881] It is a secular equivalent to the *loca sancta* iconography we have seen in icon painting, especially in the examples that refer by symbolic reference or direct representation to one or other holy site. It is also an iconographical aspect of formal developments known from western Europe in terms of "Gothic naturalism" first seen, for example, in the drawings of Villard de Honnecourt in the 1230s. We see it in this miniature both through the depiction of the city of Antioch and in the comparison of the Crusader soldiers in the city with the then-current coinage. The "helmet deniers" issued by the rulers of Antioch starting in the second half of the twelfth century form one of the most consistent types seen in the Crusader East. On the obverse we find a knight's head with a crescent and a star, surrounded by the inscription, "+ BOAMUNDUS." Looking back at the Book 6 historiated initial, we see exactly the same head type on some of the Crusaders in the city as on the coins. The Antioch helmet denier was issued and circulated from the 1160s into the mid-thirteenth century with certain variations, but it is both distinctive of Antioch in its own way and found from the mint of no other Crusader city.[882] It is, in short, characteristic of Antioch.

> Such direct and unique evidence of specific relationships to Antioch in MS Pal. Lat. 1963, both internal and external to the cycle of historiated initials suggests in the strongest possible terms that the manuscript was done there, in view of its otherwise distinctive Crusader characteristics.[883]

What are the other distinctive aspects of this remarkable manuscript?

One other initial in this codex deserves our attention. Buchthal pointed out that the Book 12 miniature depicts Xerxes, king of Persia, "enthroned in the attitude and costume of a contemporary sultan, and attended with Muhammadan dignitaries; this scene is clearly a direct adaptation of an Islamic miniature in some thirteenth-century Arabic manuscript of the Kitab al-aghani or the Makamat of Hariri."[884] It is remarkable because no direct copy of a Baghdad school miniature appears in Crusader painting in Acre until the mid-1280s. The explanation for its presence here, in a manuscript painted in Antioch, may be found in the fact that Bohemond VI was for a brief time a vassal of the Great Khan. We know what a momentous event it was when Baghdad had fallen to the Mongols in January 1258. "Asiatic Christians everywhere rejoiced. They . . . hailed Hulagu and Dokuz Khatun as the new

Constantine and Helena, God's instruments for vengeance on the enemies of Christ."[885] We know also that when Aleppo and Harenc subsequently fell to the Mongols in 1260, both Hethoum I and Bohemond VI visited Hulagu at his camp to pay him homage. It was there that Hulagu rewarded Bohemond for his deferential visit with spoils taken from his recent conquests. Obviously, among those spoils may have been illustrated Baghdad school manuscripts.

What can be said about the style of these miniatures and the date of this manuscript? The painting seems to be provincial in character, but it possesses a certain strong appeal precisely because of its simplicity and its colorism. The Crusader artist seems to have Italian, probably south Italian, background, but there are also Byzantine and French aspects to his painting as well. The basic figure style suggests the south Italian aspect.[886] Some of the iconographical vocabulary evokes Byzantine parallels.[887] Further, as we have seen there are basic formulas used that seem to be drawn from the Moralized Bibles.[888] But the overall synthesis including the striking colorism of these miniatures seems to be fully Crusader, and apparently Antiochene.

As for the date of this codex, having noted the strong south Italian element in the background of this Crusader artist along with clear French influence in the miniatures, we can probably conclude that the codex was done sometime after Louis IX intervened in the Antiochene succession dispute in 1252.[889] At that time Louis IX would have likely presented Bohemond VI with gifts of recent illustrated books from Acre or even from France on the occasion of knighting the young man at Acre. So if 1252 can be proposed as the *terminus post quem*, the *terminus ante quem* is obviously 1268 when Antioch fell to Baybars and the Mamluk army. The presence of evidence indicating this Crusader painter also used models drawn from School of Baghdad manuscripts suggests further that the *terminus post quem* should be moved up to 1260. So the likely period for the production of this codex is 1260 to 1268 in Antioch.[890] In sum, these considerations make MS Pal. Lat. 1963 slightly later than MS fr. 2628, which may have been done shortly before 1260, but contemporary with Dijon MS 562, which also seems to have been done in the early 1260s.

In conclusion, although it is perhaps surprising to find that this codex seems to show no certain links to Syriac or Armenian manuscript painting but does reflect the impact of work from the School of Baghdad, it is no surprise to find an illustrated manuscript from Antioch nor can it be unexpected that this manuscript contains the *History of Outremer*. Antioch was, along with Jerusalem, Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli, one of the most important Crusader cities, and therefore a center with great potential for artististic production.[891] The fact that this illustrated codex is a *History of Outremer* only provides further evidence of the great popularity in the Latin East of the Old French translation of William of Tyre's great *Historia*.

OTHER EVIDENCE FOR PAINTING IN ACRE BETWEEN C.1260 AND 1268

The existence of the Dijon *Histoire Universelle* as an Acre School product in the 1260s raises the question of whether we can identify any other paintings, especially icons, in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style from this period. Clearly this codex demonstrates a continuing Crusader patronage interested in secular book illumination in the Franco-Byzantine style founded in Acre by the French king, Louis IX. As Buchthal pointed out, *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts of this type "were produced for 'connoisseurs' who belonged to the native nobility, and the character of their illustrations in is keeping with the small literary merits of the text: it reflects the crude taste and the mediocre education of the military caste for which this unpretentious compilation was intended. Works of no more than local importance were entrusted to second-hand local craftsmen; they lacked the cosmopolitan training and outlook of the great master of the Arsenal Bible, and their achievements were at best no more than prosaic."[892] We might think that the patronage for this kind of manuscript could extend beyond the "native nobility" to recently arrived soldiers of the French regiment, or of one of the military orders. But it is interesting that in contrast to the Crusader *History of Outremer* manuscripts, which were illustrated completely independently of western European cycles,[893] in this case Dijon MS 562 follows "the original French cycle more reliably than any surviving western manuscript." What is also notable is that Byzantine formulas that do not appear in the Western manuscripts appear here, which must have been clearly copied directly from Greek thirteenth-century prototypes. As Buchthal remarks, "that several Byzantine manuscripts of a very recent date were present in . . . Acre, at a time when the supply of contemporary French models had already dried up," is an unexpected discovery from "these otherwise so inconspicuous miniatures."[894]

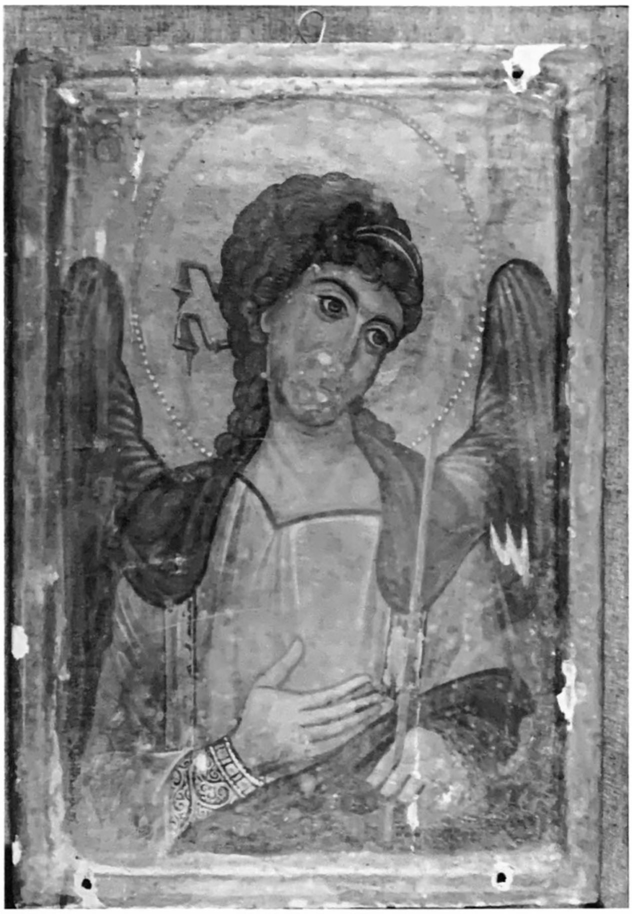
It is this strong Byzantine connection, both iconographically and stylistically, in the Genesis cycle of Dijon MS 562 that provides us with important evidence for what the Franco-Byzantine style by a Crusader painter looked like in Acre during the 1260s. Buchthal has pointed out how the Genesis frontispiece to the Dijon manuscript bears certain iconographic links to that in the Arsenal Bible. Two other miniatures, however, reveal that the artist did not follow the Western cycle and must have had access to recent Byzantine models. The image of Abraham's Hospitality at folio 21v is one example. "The angels are more closely related to each other by their gestures and movements, and Abraham and Sarah, who is shown full length standing in the doorway of her house, are very similar to the figures in the mosaic at Monreale. Moreover, the crossed nimbus is now given to the angel sitting to the left, at the head of the table, in a position comparable to that of Christ in representations of the Last Supper."[895] Another example is the miniature for the Sacrifice of Isaac. Here Abraham brandishes a dagger in typical Byzantine fashion, and the second scene included in this miniature, Abraham and Isaac ascending the mountain, also follows Byzantine models. Besides these iconographic aspects, we note in these miniatures, typical Byzantine-style facial types of bearded old men, figures seen from the back with their heads turned around, tubular drapery folds, and upper garments with symmetrical zigzag edges ending in sharply pointed tips.[896]

These examples of Byzantine influence in Dijon MS 562 give us a bit of evidence for the existence of Crusader painters in Acre in the 1260s working in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style as well as the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. Besides this manuscript there are also a few icons that may belong to this period as well.

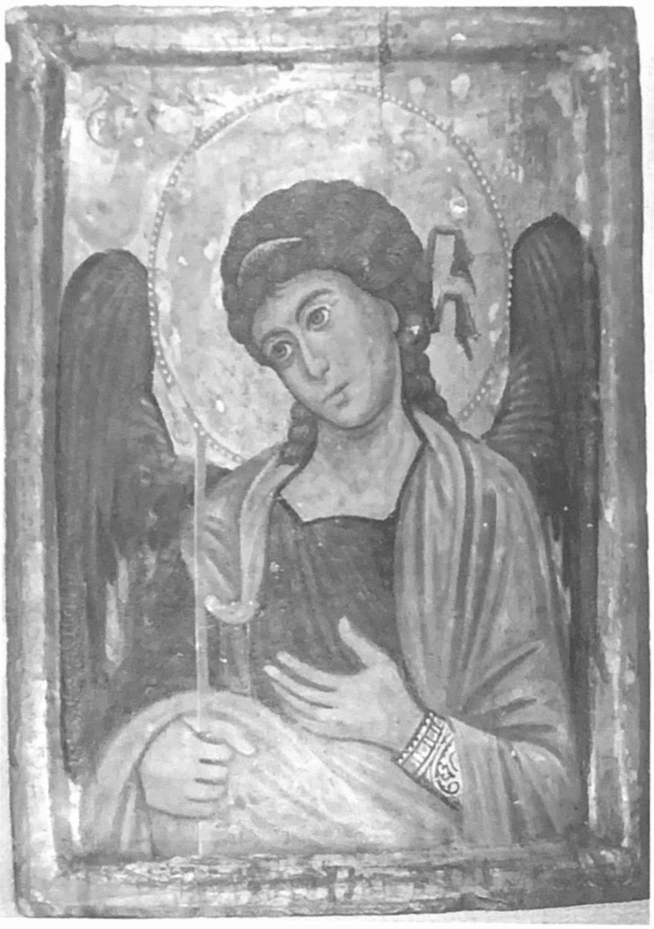
Additional Crusader Icons in the 1260s: There exist at Sinai in the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery, two sets of small icons which constitute the Deësis. The first set consists of two icons. There is a frontal bust-length image of Christ (Fig. 129, App. no. 16/110), blessing and holding an open Gospel book with a Greek inscription of John 8: 12,[897] and there is also a panel with the bust-length Virgin (Fig. 128, App. no. 15/109) turning to our right and making intercessory gestures with her hands.[898] There is no doubt that these two icons were probably not done by the same painter, but their style is quite close, both in their facial design and shading and in the handling of the draperies with pronounced loops and fold patterns emphasized by white highlights. They also share similar details such as their undecorated red haloes and the matte gold cuffs and hems on their clothing. These two examples may not have originally gone together, because although both are small, their measurements are slightly different, but if not, they were very likely part of similar Deësis sets.

A similar pair is also found along with a separate figure of St. John the Baptist, all of which may have belonged to two or more sets like the first one. In this group, the figure of the blessing Christ Pantokrator (Fig. 125)[899] holds a closed book with a handsome golden cover. The treatment of his face is smaller in design, more simplified, and reflects the Acre style conventions for the definition of the eyes. His drapery is designed with simpler linear folds, and his hands are somewhat clumsy in their articulation. The head is nonetheless impressive with its richly decorated halo featuring the typical red outer rim intensively studded with pearls. A similar bust-length Virgin (Fig. 126, App. no. 1/36)[900] with intercessory gestures appears to be part of the same or a similar Deësis set. Her drapery, the modeling and linear definition of her hands and face, the linear convention used for her eyes, and her red halo studded with pearls are all comparable to the blessing Christ (Fig. 125, App. no. 2/37) mentioned earlier. In fact her softly painted face seems to be a model example of what a Crusader painter of Franco-Byzantine training would do when trying to emulate good Byzantine icons.

Such purely Byzantine icons exist from the early thirteenth century that our Crusader artists could have been using as models. Mouriki published a somewhat controversial bust-length Christ Pantokrator with a comparably sized bust-length intercessory Virgin which show us handsome examples of what appears to be the late Comnenian Byzantine style shortly after 1200 at Sinai.[901] Both of these Byzantine icons are much larger, over twice the size of the Crusader panels we have been discussing, but they indicate the high-quality painting that was available for later Crusader painters to see when they visited the monastery. Mouriki describes the late Comnenian characteristics in the figure of Christ. There we see "the gold striations in the light brown chiton and in its purple clavus, the gold letters on the open Gospels with their deep red pages which imitate purple dyed parchment, and the use of the familiar technique for the reflection of light on the gold ground [to] give the impression of a 'precious' work." We also see, "a preference for light tones for the iris and for the smooth modelling of the flesh, with a sharp contrast between the warm ochre and the abundant red. Impeccable technique is exhibited in the detailed rendering of line and colour with many fine brushstrokes, following older trends. . . . Despite the diminished volume of the body, the Sinai icons may be placed at the beginning of the thirteenth century."[902] We can clearly see the difference between the linear elegance of the monumental and highly decorative late Comnenian Byzantine examples of Christ and the Virgin, when compared to the much less pretentious, simpler, and more softly modeled Crusader examples (Figs. 125, 126, App. nos. 1/36, 2/37). We can also sense, however, what an inspiration these Byzantine icons of outstanding artistic quality could have been for the Crusader artists who were studying them and imitating them in their work.


206. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 89/1414, Panel with bust-length figure of Archangel Michael. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

The question remains whether these sets would have had two, three, or even five panels, in the case of Great Deësis ensembles, as I alluded to in Chapter 5. Surely the Virgin discussed here (Fig. 126, no. 1/36) is done in the same style as two archangels (Fig. 207, App. nos. 85/1357 and Fig. 206, App. nos. 89/1414) that we discussed in Chapter 5 as belonging to the 1260s. Surely the pose of their head is the same, their drapery is closely similar with comparable highlights, their round facial design and soft modeling is similar, and their haloes are red and intensively studded with pearls. In fact, a feature that seems to parallel other icons we have seen is the embroidered designs on the cuffs of their garments, which clearly resemble as costume variants the work on many of the small icons done in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, such as the three standing soldier saints, George, Theodore, and Demetrios (Fig. 196,



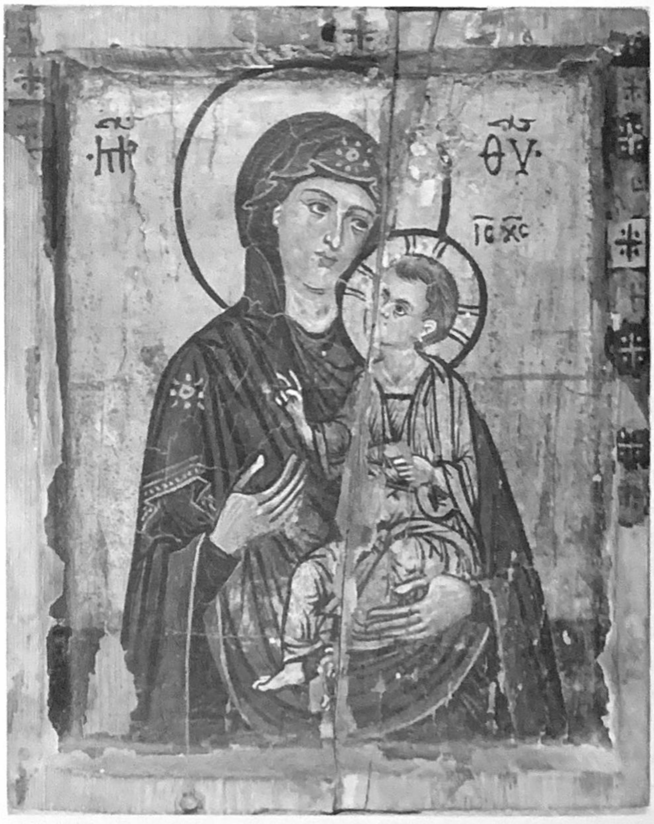
207. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 85/1387, Panel with bust-length figure of Archangel Gabriel. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

App. no. 78/1118) or the standing female saints, Catherine and Marina (Fig. 195, App. no. 90/1418), also dated in the 1260s.

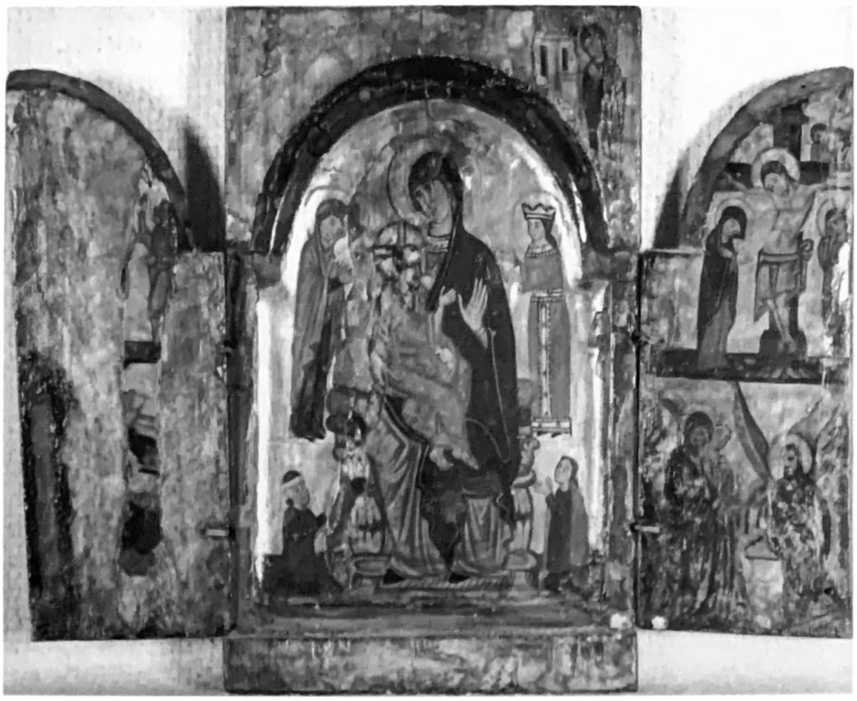
For the Great Deësis there would have been a set of five icons, which in this group may have been the Christ blessing (Fig. 125, App. no. 2/37), the intercessory Virgin (Fig. 126, App. no. 1/36), the archangels Michael and Gabriel (Fig. 206, App. nos. 89/1414, Fig. 207, App. nos. 85/1357), and an image of St. John the Baptist. In this case there are two possible examples. First we have a strongly linear St. John the Baptist (Fig. 127, App. no. 3/38)[903] that actually seems a bit later in style at first glance compared with the softer modeling of the Virgin and Archangels icons. There is also a very fragmentary but beautifully painted St. John the Baptist (Fig. 131, App. no. 45/470),[904] which is striking because of the verticality of its composition and his more emphatic intercessory gestures with John's proper right arm and hand completely vertical. Of the two, the former St. John (Fig. 127, App. no. 3/38) seems more likely to be linked with this Great Deësis group, either as an actual part of the ensemble or as a copy of a member of this ensemble. The main similarities seem to be found in the size of his panel, the contrast in modeling between the finely painted face and the somewhat inarticulated hands and arms, the more or less comparable draperies with white highlights, as well as the familiar red halo intensively studded with pearls.

Besides these panels for Deësis icons and ensembles for the Great Deësis, perhaps to place on templon screens, we also have a series of small panels of the Virgin and Child and three diminutive triptychs. Of the three, one has a central panel containing the Crucifixion, and two have enthroned images of the Virgin and Child. All of these icons seem somewhat related in style to the Crusader icons discussed earlier, one way or other. First, there is a tiny panel of a bust-length Virgin and Child Hodegetria (Fig. 208, App. no. 25/220).[905] It resembles the intercessory Virgin (Fig. 128, App. no. 15/109) in terms of aspects of drapery design and handling, as well as seeming to be a more folksy version in linear terms of the basic image of the Virgin and Christ. White highlights clearly appear to have been used for this little devotional plaque, which, however modest, is quite charming. It reminds us somewhat of the figure style in the Dijon MS 562 *Histoire Universelle*. Furthermore, the decorative design of alternating squares of color with equal-armed crosses and four dots gives its frame a bold coloristic and geometric design on the one hand and a somewhat more intimate feel of a touch of folk art.

A similar feature is found on a tiny unpublished triptych (Fig. 209, App. no. 70/822)[906] that, however modest as a work of art, presents a program as remarkable in some ways as the slightly earlier, but more or less contemporary Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753). The triptych configuration here is different from what we see in the Acre Triptych however. Instead of covering the central panel, the two wings fit into a sunken field in the central panel, a design developed in Byzantium during the twelfth century, and by the thirteenth century Crusader



208. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 25/220, Panel with bust-length Virgin and Child Hodegetria. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



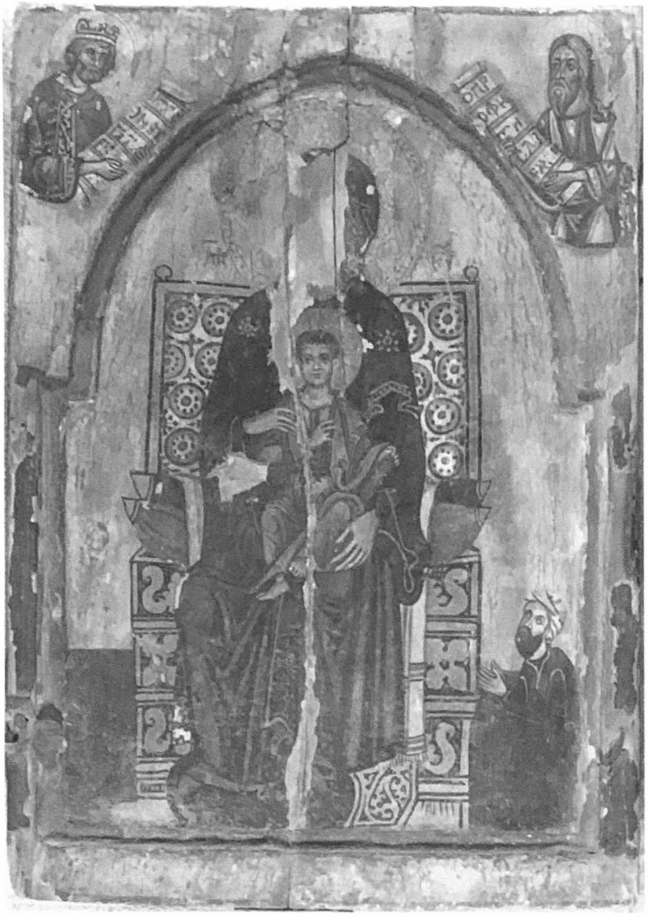
209. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 70/822, Triptych with Virgin and Child Galaktotrophousa Enthroned with Sts. Marina and Catherine on the central panel along with two kneeling donors, and on the wings: (inside left wing) the Nativity and the Annunciation of the Angels to the Shepherds, and (inside right wing) the Crucifixion and the Three Maries at the Tomb. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

icon makers started using it as we see here.[907] In the central panel we see the Virgin and Child enthroned, with the specific iconography of the Galaktotrophousa, that is, the Mother nursing her child, a motif extremely popular in the West in the late Middle Ages, but also known in early and middle Byzantine art. It appears in Byzantine thirteenth-century icons as well as Crusader panel painting seen here.[908] The main group of the Virgin and Child is accompanied by two saints, Marina and Catherine, suspended to each side above two kneeling donor figures. In the round arch above there are large nine-pointed star shapes, creating the idea of an arc of heaven and a border with bold geometric design as we saw earlier in the Virgin Hodegetria plaque (Fig. 208, App. no. 25/220). Above the Virgin and Child, in the spandrels of the arch, was a scene of the Annunciation, with the angel, Gabriel, now effaced, at the left, and at the right a standing Virgin gesturing in surprise.

Like the program of the Acre Triptych, this small devotional icon is focused on the life of the Virgin, although here the choice of scenes is more conventional and drawn from imagery of the Byzantine feast cycle. Following the Annunciation chronologically, there is, or was – this wing is badly damaged – on the inside left wing, a scene of the Nativity below, and above presumably the Annunciation of the Angels to the Shepherds. On the right wing are found the Crucifixion, in a simplified version but that still bears some marks of the Acre School imagery for this scene, which we have seen in the 1250s. Below this is the three Maries at the tomb (from Mark's Gospel) with an angelic figure (from Matthew's Gospel) seated on the empty tomb to the right. The iconography of the front figure from this threesome, presumably Mary Magdalene, relates her to the Virgin Mary above and in the central panel of this triptych.

As a program, the series of scenes provides an expectable sequence, which highlights the role of the Virgin at major points in her relationship with Jesus. Here the scenes pertain to the Incarnation, the Nativity, the Death, and, in effect, the Resurrection, quite in contrast to the unusual choices found on the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753). The main central cult figure of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa does, however, focus on the motherly role of the Virgin as the human source of flesh and nourishment for the Child, a devotional focus parallel in its humanity to the image of the "Virgin of Tenderness" type on the Acre Triptych. This devotional focus is enriched here, however, by the diminutive attending female saints, in fact, two Sinaitic saints, as we have seen already in our discussion of the icon of Marina and Catherine (Fig. 195, App. no. 90/1418) in the Veneto-Byzantine style. They are joined by the two small donor figures, an aristocratic man wearing an ermine-trimmed hat to the left and a woman in a red cloak to the right. They are kneeling in the upright, Latin or Western mode, worshipping the Virgin and Child Galaktotrophousa in a typically devotional manner characteristic of pilgrims at the Holy Sites. Images of donors are a frequent feature of Crusader icon painting as we have seen, and although they are far less frequent on purely Byzantine icons, they also do appear from time to time in Armenian and Syriac painting.[909]

In this case, however, the icon seems to have been done by a Crusader artist of French background, indeed, one who arrived quite recently off the boat perhaps. His style is simplified and his figures parallel those in the secular manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* and the *Histoire Universelle* in their immediacy and charm, as well as in the bright colorism and folk appeal of the



210. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 51/573, Triptych center panel with the Virgin and Child "n tns batou" enthroned, with kneeling male figure in a turban. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

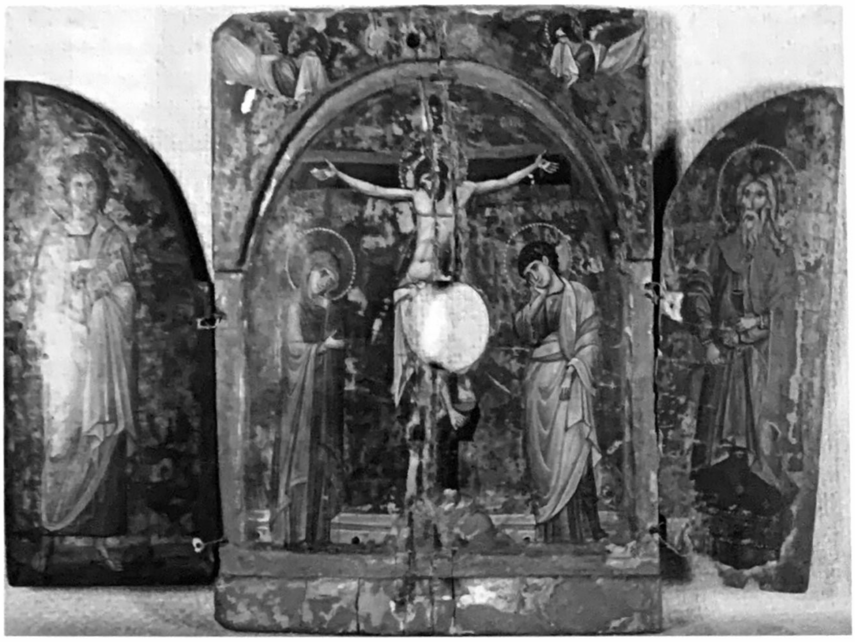
end result. The artist was hardly an accomplished master but seems to have been a competent painter who was somewhat timidly attempting his hand at what seems like it may have been a new kind of art for him, devotional panel paintings for Crusader patrons.

To some extent we find a similar end result on a damaged central plaque for a comparable type of triptych featuring an Enthroned Virgin and Child on a beautiful ivory throne (Fig. 210, App. no. 51/573)[910] in which we see represented a kneeling male donor figure wearing a turban who worships the Virgin and Child Platytera with two bust-length Old Testament figures above on the spandrels of the arch, a king at the left, and to the right, Aaron. It is striking that the array of donor figures – male and female – in Crusader icons is so diverse, starting with the column icons in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem between 1130 and the late twelfth century[911] and continuing with various icons in the thirteenth century, among which the most important already discussed are the equestrian St. Sergius with the veiled female donor (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80) from the 1260s, and the equestrian figures of Sts. Theodore and George with the male donor named George Parisi (Fig. 74, App. no. 94/1463), from *c.*1225.

As we mentioned, this icon (Fig. 210, App. no. 51/573) is the central panel for a triptych, one of several extant from this period, for which the wings in this case are now lost. It is again a Byzantine-type triptych with the central field sunken so that the wings would fold over into this cavity. These Crusader triptychs were usually small and easily portable, which perhaps was their main devotional function. This triptych panel is, however, strikingly different from the round-arched example of the Virgin and Child Galaktotrophousa (Fig. 209, App. no. 70/822) seen earlier. The arch in this case is pointed in the Gothic manner, but a typically Levantine design, broad and open, seen in architecture in the Latin Kingdom since the mid-twelfth century. Pointed arches like this are much less frequent in panel painting, however, or in miniature painting either, for that matter. The main examples we have are in the Arsenal Bible in the frontispiece for the Wisdom of Solomon, and another major icon, an iconostasis beam dossal, which features the Deesis with seven additional bust-length saints (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003), a major work in the Veneto-Byzantine style discussed in Chapter 7.

The imagery of this central panel presents us with several unusual features on this devotional icon. First there is the Virgin's throne, which appears to simulate ivory carving in its design and white coloration. This idea may be meant to suggest the idea of the Virgin as the *sedes sapientiae*, the Throne of Wisdom, as taken from 3 Kings 10: 18–19, where the throne of Solomon was made of ivory.[912] This suggests that the king – an aged king with white hair and beard – at the upper left may be Solomon, as indicated also from the text on his scroll. Solomon and Aaron otherwise form an unusual pairing on this panel. Finally, who might the donor be? Sotiriou thought he could be an Arab monk or St. John of Damascus, who is frequently shown with a turban. But as Weitzmann points out, his garments are secular, not monastic, thus indicating an Arab Christian layman who cannot be identified specifically.[913] The fact that he is an Eastern Christian should not surprise us, because clearly the clientele for these devotional icons seems to have been drawn from Eastern as well as Latin Christians, who might have been on pilgrimage or seeking holy images from nearby holy sites.

The style of painting on this icon is simplified as we also found it to be the case on the Virgin and Child *Galaktotrophousa* (Fig. 209, App. no. 70/822). Yet this artist is more accomplished, working in a more sophisticated figure style with drapery fold designs that both articulate the body and suggest a certain three-dimensionality for the figure. One unusual aspect of the decoration is found in the Virgin's halo, where we note incised foliate – palmette – designs combined with studded dots punched around the rim of what appears to be the compass-drawn circle. Sotiriou thought this kind of incised pattern could be related to work in ceramic, and Weitzmann suggested that the closest formal design could be seen in the important *Histoire Universelle* now in London, which is to be dated in the mid-1280s. It is true that the incised decorative design of the Virgin's halo here does resemble the haloes of the patriarch and the angel at the left in the scene of the Hospitality of Abraham on folio 24v of London, British Library, Add. MS 15268 (Fig. 248). Closer inspection reveals that none of the designs is exactly alike, however; they are, rather, generically similar. Furthermore, it seems more likely that the idea for using the incised technique found here came from a workshop like that of the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753),



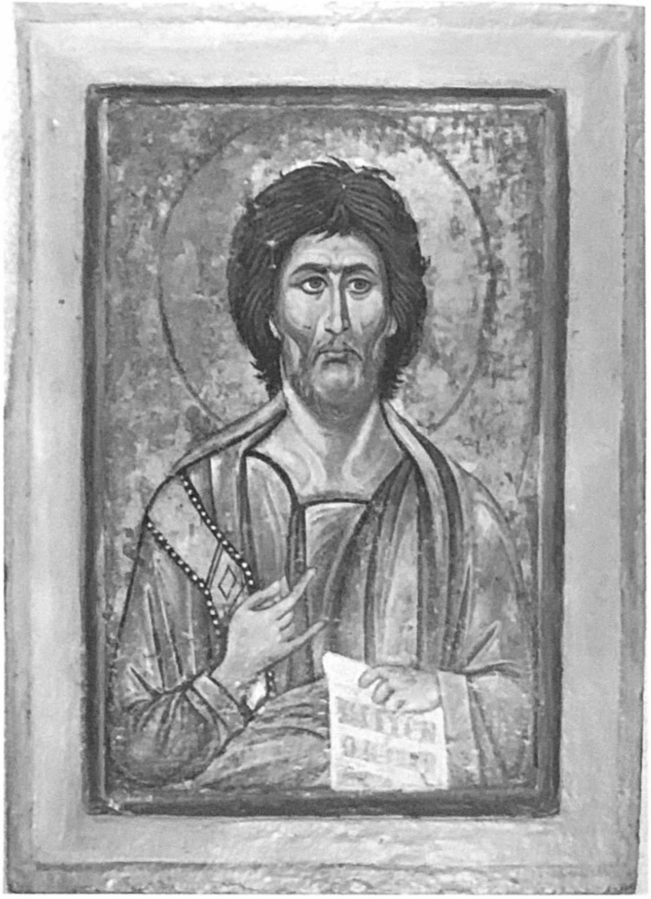
211. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 13/78, Triptych with Crucifixion, sorrowing Sts. Mary and John on the central panel with two sorrowing angels in the spandrels of the arch above, and on the wings: Moses and Aaron. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

which has the richest array of incised work found on any Crusader panel. Thus, rather than imagining that the manuscript illumination influenced these icon painters,[914] I would propose that it is instead much more likely that the designs achieved in this technique by the panel painters in the 1250s and 1260s were later reflected in generic versions found in important miniatures, as we see in the London *Histoire Universelle* of the 1280s.

Finally, from approximately the same time, we have a tiny Triptych with the Crucifixion (Fig. 211, App. no. 13/78)[915] that relates once again to the Crucifixions we studied in the 1250s on icons and in manuscripts. Despite the damage done to the central panel, we can see that this is a traditional four-nail crucifixion, found in the Acre Crusader Crucifixion icon of *c.*1250 (Fig. 152, App. no. 104/1732), but otherwise this image seems to be linked to the Crucifixion panel in the Perugia Missal. Slight changes in the style in terms of the greater linear definition of the drapery, the softened poses, the enlarged loincloth of Christ, along with the simplified architectural backdrop, and the introduction of the familiar red haloes studded with pearls, suggest this is a later version of this imagery. The expressive poses of the sorrowing angels as a pair are not exactly the same as those in any of the earlier Crusader images, but individually they are close to one or other example, and they certainly echo the same high emotional intensity.

Following Weitzmann's argument but revising it, I propose the icon is done by a Crusader painter of Franco-Byzantine artistic background. On the basis of the figures on the wings, Moses and Aaron, the patron saints of Mount Sinai, Weitzmann also proposes that this triptych "was actually made for Sinai."[916] Moses here is the older, Western-type figure, who holds some kind of tablet instead of the scroll we see him carry in other earlier Crusader examples (e.g., Fig. 187, App. no. 33/293). Aaron's costume is more complex. His priestly headdress seems to relate to the imagery found in the frontispiece for the Book of Numbers in the Arsenal Bible. The Crusader artist has also simplified the ephod he wears over the long robe into a generic mantle. The pearl-bordered embroidered panel we see on his ephod in Byzantine images,[917] is here transferred to the long robe. This decorative element of his costume in our Crusader context relates this icon and its painter to the context and characteristics of the Veneto-Byzantine style from the 1260s discussed earlier, along with the formally rather expansive figures and the other slightly later aspects we have identified. Decorative motifs of this kind could, of course, apparently be passed along in workshop situations, and we must imagine that this is what has happened here, where a Crusader painter of Franco-Byzantine background has appropriated a motif found frequently on icons currently quite popular in Acre and at Sinai, done by artists working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.

Finally, there is a handsomely painted bust-length image of Moses (Fig. 208, App. no. 88/1412),[918] finely painted and beautifully modeled, that even relates to the Christ (Fig. 129, no. 16/110) we started out with or with the image of Moses on the little triptych discussed earlier (Fig. 211, App. no. 13/78), but seems perhaps to date a bit later in relation to an important series of Veneto-Byzantine style works we find in the 1270s. There are also other works that relate to these icons we are dating to the 1260s but that seem later following slightly different developments. Weitzmann mentioned a panel with Moses and Aaron (Fig. 209, App. no. 12/76),[919] one that shows the artist better understood the Byzantine iconography of Aaron's costume but that seems stylistically quite different from the rather flat decorative figures of the Veneto-Byzantine workshop examples of frontal standing small devotional icons. There is also a small figure of a bust-length Christ (Fig. 130, App. no. 77/1025)[920] that seems coarse and less accomplished in style compared with the comparable panels in our 1260s groupings (Fig. 125,



212. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 88/1412, Panel with bust-length figure of middle-aged, bearded Moses. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

App. no. 2/37 and Fig. 129, App. no. 16/110). All of these latter three icons (Fig. 212, App. no. 88/1412, Fig. 213, App. no. 12/76, and Fig. 130, App. no. 77/1025) seem to relate to work found in the 1270s, which I discuss at length in Chapter 7.

Minor Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and The Testament of Count Eudes de Nevers in Acre, 1266: The final bit of written evidence for painting, as well as an impressive array of minor arts in Acre, for examples of manuscripts, metalwork, enamels, and textiles, during the 1260s comes from an unexpected source. On 20 October 1265 an immensely wealthy Crusader, Eudes, count of Nevers, landed in Acre with Erard de Valery and fifty knights. After brief service, Eudes died there less than a year later, on 7 August 1266, and he was buried in the cemetery of St. Nicholas, where his tomb became a celebrated monument. As Hans Mayer points out, "Rutebeuf lamented his death in his *Complainte du comte Eudes de Nevers* portraying him as the model crusader."[921] By great good fortune the executors' inventory and accounts survive, and they clearly lay out his assets in detail, indicating what a fully equipped artistocratic Crusader carried with him.[922] Written between 9 August and 7 October 1266 in the form of four parchment rolls of differing sizes, these extraordinary documents indicate what Count Eudes, a vassal of King Louis IX, possessed in Acre at his death; they indicate his debts and his bequests and gifts. They present in list form much of what was necessary and desirable, indeed what he required for the day-to-day practicalities of life, for the spiritual life of prayer and the liturgy, for information, and even for entertainment. The information in these documents forms an essential part of our knowledge of the cultural life in Acre in the later thirteenth century.[923]

The documents of Eudes de Nevers were first studied in 1871 and have been commented on briefly from time to time since, but they have had little extended attention paid to them since then.[924] According to Chazaud we can consider these texts as the report by the legal executors of the will of Eudes de Nevers. They consist of four rolls written in "roman du Nord," now preserved in the Archives Nationales in Paris.[925] Chazaud outlines theirs as follows:

The first roll (A) is entitled on its verso, "Ce sunt li escrit des choses le Comte de Neverz après son decès." The contents of the accounting is found on the recto as follows:

1. "L'état des sommes léguées par le comte de Nevers à ses gens, chevaliers, écuyers et garçons, et payées la veille de saint Laurent (9 August 1266), à chaque légataire par Hugues d'Augerant et Geoffroi de Sargignes fondé de pouvoir d'Érard de Valeri." This report deals with the statement of bequests made by the count to his men.
2. "Le compte des sommes payées, au nom de la succession, pour le loyer des maisons occupées par les gens du comte de Nevers, pour la solde des arbalétriers et Turcoples qu'il avait pris à son service, pour celle des chevaliers, pour le remboursement d'emprunts faits au Temple et à plusieurs personnages, enfin pour diverses dépenses, entre autres celles de l'embaumement du corps, et celles de la construction dans le cimetière de Saint-Nicolas d'Acre." This report deals with the statement of accounts payed for debts incurred, for loans received, for diverse expenses of the count and his men.
3. "La recepte des choses le conte de Neverz qu'il avoit au jor qu'il alla de vie à mort." This report deals with the accounting for the assets of the count.

The second roll (B) contains on the recto the statement of "mobilier" of the count on the day of his death. These include "bijoux and argenterie," "toile et les étoffes," "etoffes de toute sorte," "utensiles, les armures, testières à cheval," "utensiles de cuisine," "les chevaux de combat" and other animals, "provisions" including wine, grain, meat, and "les chose de la chapelle." On the verso there are listed persons and religious houses that received bequests from among the objects that were not sold.

The third roll (C) contains the records of the assessments of value for the garments of the count, followed by the nomenclature of the religious houses and hermits and what was given to them.

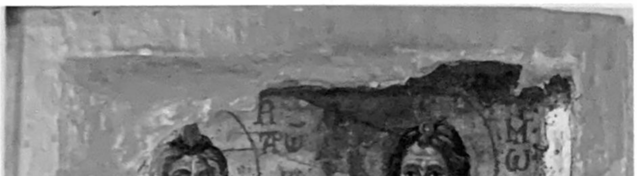
The fourth and final roll (D) contains the price of sale for each of the objects that was not bequeathed to anyone.

Chazaud remarks on the interest of these rolls for the mediaeval archeologist (p. 168), but he spends most of his time commenting on the historical names mentioned in these texts (pp. 168–73) and on the different types of financial terms used in the accounts (pp. 173–6). Our interest from an art historical perspective is mainly with regard to the objects inventoried, as found in the texts that M. Chazaud has transcribed and published in his study.[926]

On roll (A), in part 1, substantial monetary gifts are listed for six knights and chaplains, eight horsemen and nine sergeants, and thirty-three attendants, and servants, including one priest. These gifts range from a minimum of six bezants to the lowliest recipients to 120 bezants, or forty livres tournois, to each of four knights.[927]

In part 2, payments are listed for rents and expenses to be paid by men in the service of the count. The most notable payouts are 105 bezants to five crossbowmen for two months service and 117 bezants to four *turcopoles* apparently for service over an unspecified length of time. Among other payments made are very substantial sums for Erard de Valery, 831 and a half bezants, and to the Templars, 742 and 5/24 bezants, along with 40 bezants for the tomb of the count in the cemetery of St. Nicholas at Acre. The total of all these payments is listed as 8,860 and 19/24 bezants. These accounts are stated as having been paid on 15 September 1266 in the presence of the grand master and the treasurer of the Templars.[928] Other payments or financial transactions in livres tournois or silver marks are also listed which were paid by 29 September 1266.[929]

It is clear as the reports on transactions continue in part 3 that the four knights listed at first, along with Erard de Valery, Hughes d'Augerant, and Geoffrey de Sergines, are the principal figures in this report in terms of the value of money and objects they are reported as dealing with. Some of the objects are of great interest, such as "I chapel d'or à pierres et perles,"[930] worth eighty livres tournois, along with decorations and rugs for this chapel, which "demorèrent monsegnor Erart de Valeri."[931] Or there are what appear to be three manuscripts valued at thirty-one bezants, "li romanz des loheranz et li romanz de la terre d'outre mer, et li Chançoners."[932] These manuscripts appear more likely to have been brought from the West, although it is possible one or more could have been done in Acre. Most likely the chansonnier, and the *romanz des loheranz* – probably a work like *Garin le Loherain* – came from the West, but the *romanz de la terre d'outre mer*, which was almost certainly a copy of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre, might well have been a codex ordered by the count in Acre. We do not have examples of the texts of the chansonnier or the *romanz des loheranz* in actual manuscripts from Acre identified as yet, but the *History of Outremer* was without doubt the most popular work done in Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century. One wonders what kind of decoration each of these books may have received, but the text does not refer to them as being illustrated or decorated.



213. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 12/76, Panel with standing figures of Moses and Aaron. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Eudes is not the only aristocrat to have brought such literary works with him to the Holy Land. In 1271 when Edward of England came to Acre on Crusade, he apparently brought with him a manuscript containing the stories of King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table. Furthermore, as several scholars have pointed out, Rusticien of Pisa made a copy of this manuscript which he incorporated into his own work.[933]

On the second roll (B), the "mobilier" listed are extensive. In the first section there are many precious vessels and objects listed in the hands of various persons, from which I select the following examples:

a. [I.] viii boens éniaus (rings),
b. ii saffirs (precious stones),
c. i camahé (cameo),
c. xii petiz éniaus dou Pui,
d. ii croisetes d'or,
e. i viez corroie d'or pelles,
f. i chapel d'or à pierres et à pelles,
f. ii bacins d'argent à donner l'aigue,
g. i henap d'argent à pierres et à émaus,
h. i cope d'argent, d'orée, cuvesclée,
i. ii poz d'argent,
j. ii petis henas d'argent à donner dragiée,
k. i orfroi à perles,
l. iiii cuillers d'argent.[934]

Also listed are other luxury items such as "[VI.] toiles qui fu achetée à Troies" and "toile de la duchoise de Borgoingne."[935] There is luxury clothing and accessories of many kinds, and materials for making clothing, including quantities in bulk: "[VI.] xiiii pannes de gros vair, et une de menu vair, xiiiii dras de tartais; ii chameloz; iii boqueranz plains, et i ovré."[936] Under VII there is a whole assemblage of armor.[937] And at XIV we find, "Les choses de la Chapelle," apparently objects that belonged to the count's personal *cappella*.

a. le calice,
b. une croisète ou il a de la veraie croix,
c. le Saintuaire que li patriarches dona le conte,
d. le messe et le bréviaire,

e. une chasuble viez, et aube, et roichet
f. ii sorpeliz, et i amit,
g. i drap d'autel devant et darrière,
h. i boiste d'ivoire,
i. ii toalles à mains,
j. ii chainètes d'argent,
k. le corporal d'estui,
l. ii custodes parées.[938]

Along with these objects is another large set, all apparently new. This list is of great interest not only for its metalwork and precious objects, but also for the books mentioned here: a sanctorale, a missal, and a breviary.[939] Again there is no indication as to whether they were illustrated or decorated or where they came from, but it is most likely the count had brought them with him from Burgundy, probably from Nevers or Dijon.

There then follows the actual garments which belonged to the count at the time that he died. "Tote ceste robe viez... fu départie au povres hopitauz d'Acre, et au povres maisons de religions."[940] The list of hospitals and houses of religion that these objects were given to is written out in roll C, and indicated subsequently.

Under III, on the verso of roll B is a list of jewels and jewelry which belonged to the count. Geoffrey de Sergines, "li pères," was given a sapphire that the count wore hanging from his neck. His son, Geoffrey de Sergines, "li juennes," was given an emerald. Other notable gifts were to the following:

> Item messire Hug[ues] Augerant en porte l'enel que li dux avoit doné le conte, et l'enel qui deit estre as oirs de Neverz. Messire Erarz de Valeri a les ii croisetes d'or, et le petit vaisselet d'argent ou il a reliques que le patriarches aveit donées le conte.'

At the end of this section we are informed also that the chaplain was given the breviary, and that all the cooking utensils, except for two large pots that were donated, were sold to the Hospital of St. John.[941]

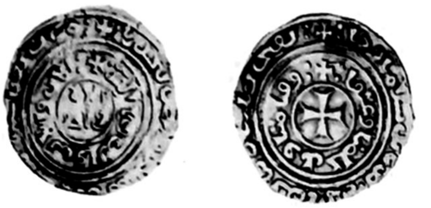
In the assessments of value on roll C, the items evaluated are surprisingly inexpensive. The total of these objects, mostly items of clothing, only comes to 206 bezants. The second list on this roll is however much more interesting because it lists the items from roll B which were given in the name of the count to the various religious institutions and hospitals of Acre.

These organizations, with locations indicated, include the following:[942]

1. Saint Michel [in the old city in the northwest corner along the sea],[943]
2. Li Jacobin [or the Dominicans, in the old city on the west side along the sea],[944]
3. Li Cordelier [or the Franciscans, in Montmusard just north of St. Anthony's along the east side],[945]
4. Saint Antoine [near St. Anthony's gate in Montmusard on the east side],[946]
5. Nostre Dame de Vamit (?)[possibly near the gate of Our Lady in the old city, east of the Hospital of St. John],[947]
6. Sainte Katerine [in Montmusard on St. Catherine's street, near the Carmelites],[948]
7. La Trinité [in Montmusard along the sea south of the Carmelites],[949]
8. Saint-Ladre [Lazarus] des Chevalers [St. Lazarus of the Knights was in Montmusard along the sea south of the gate of St. Lazarus],[950]
9. Saint Thomas [In Montmusard the hospital of Saint Thomas of Canterbury was in the northwest corner just south of the gate of St. Lazarus],[951]
10. ceus de Sas(?),[952]
11. ceus dou Carme [or the Carmelites, in Montmusard along the sea west of Bethlehem street],[953]
12. l'opital dou Saint-Esperit,[954]
13. Saint Elide,[955]
14. meselles de Bethléem,[956]
15. Saint-Barthélemi de Bereithe [Beirut?],[957]
16. Saint-Martin des Bretons,[958]
17. l'opital de Saint Denis,[959]
18. nonnains de la Magdalène,[960]
19. nonnains Nostre-Dame de Sur,[961]
20. ii hermites,
21. nonnains de Saint-Ladre [Lazarus] de Bétennie,[962]
22. Sainte-Anne,[963]
23. Saint Samuel,[964]
24. ceus de la Carpitre(?),[965]
25. Saint-Demitre,[966]
26. l'opital des Alemanz,[967]
27. une béguine, et à une autre béguine,
28. iiii povres,
29. l'opital de Saint Jehan."[968]

On the final roll D, most of the entries record the sale prices of objects which had belonged to the count. In the case of the most prominent men, the purchaser is also named, such as Erard de Valeri, Geoffrey de Sergines, "li pères," and Hugues d'Augerant. A certain "Hue de Mont-Cornet" is also mentioned, and later on in this list there is a whole section dealing with items sold to the Templars. There is also a brief report on money held in specie at the time of the count's death, that is, "deners monaez et en besanz au jor qu'il ala de vie à mort."[969] Finally, there is also a section listing those objects which were at the time of this accounting not yet sold. Clearly some of the most expensive items inventoried earlier were among these objects not yet sold. Conspicuous among them is "I chapel d'or à pierres, et à pelles."[970]

First, it can be said that the religious institutions in Acre must have been the beneficiaries of many wills, and these legacies provided useful support to each institution, in addition to their other revenues. The inventories and accounts indicate that the will of Eudes de Nevers was large, but there were other wills that may have been more modest in size and thereby more characteristic. In 1264 there is, for example, the will of a certain Saliba, an Oriental Christian linked with the Genoese,[971] who gave large bequests to the Church of St. Lawrence, where he wished to be buried. After that he divided up eighty-eight bezants into thirteen gifts to be given to various religious organizations.[972] Most are represented in the list of Eudes de Nevers, but a few are not. The religious institutions in Acre were numerous, which, as Hamilton points out, gave potential donors many options for diversified bequests. At the same time the many organizations diverted potential gifts from the bishop of Acre, and indeed the Cathedral Church of the Holy Cross is not mentioned either in the inventories of Eudes de Nevers or in Saliba's will.



214. Acre: golden bezant with inscriptions in Arabic. (photo: after Slocum catalogue)

OTHER MINOR ARTS IN THE CRUSADER STATES, 1244–1268

The remarkable – and the unremarkable – items in the inventories of Eudes de Nevers would have mostly come with him from France. But his holdings would have been paralleled by those of other aristocratic men of wealth to a greater or lesser extent, depending on their rank and stature and their financial means. For those long-term Frankish residents in the Latin East, even if they had some things from the West, most of their possessions would have come from the Levant, either made by Crusaders or other local artisans. We can therefore use the inventory of Eudes de Nevers to give us some idea of what a Frankish baron might have owned, transforming the items mutatis mutandis from Western to Eastern produced objects and works.

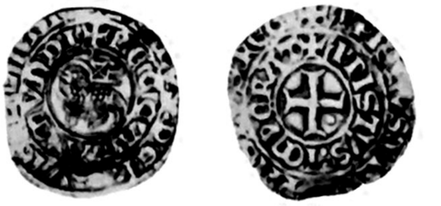
The inventories of Eudes de Nevers therefore provide us with an important index for works we might expect to find. Finding actual objects and works is quite difficult, however, for some types. As we approach the end of the Crusader States in 1291, there appear to be fewer Crusader objects that can be identified as datable new coins and seals, metalwork or glass and fine pottery from specifically Crusader artisans, and textiles from Crusader sources, from the period after 1244. This situation will no doubt be changed by the excavations currently underway in places like Acre and elsewhere. It will also be changed by the fact that more Crusader work will be recognized as produced in the thirteenth century when more study – historical, art historical, archaeological, economic, institutional, religious, literary – is focused on Crusader developments in the Holy Land during those years. For the present, we are unable to say much about developments in some of these various media because so little evidence can be adduced. Accordingly, I comment on what few examples we have in the "minor arts" as indications of what may become richer fields of study in the near future.

Coins and Seals: 1244–1268: In the previous period, 1225–44, we found comparatively few new coin types issued in the Latin Kingdom, in Tripoli, or in Antioch, and this situation continues in the years 1244–68. In the Latin Kingdom, as noted in the first section of this chapter, the major development was the change imposed on Crusader coinage by the papal legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, at the time of Louis IX's residency in the Latin Kingdom. In 1250 Eudes, objecting to the Crusader minting of coins with Muslim inscriptions, put a temporary stop to the production of Crusader imitations of bezants and dirhams.[973] From 1251 to 1258 a new type appeared intermittantly with purely Christian legends written in Arabic, including the inscribed notice, for example, "struck at Acre in the year 1251 of the incarnation of the Messiah" on the obverse[974] (Fig. 214). Eventually a handsome new bezant was also struck, the rare *Agnus Dei* bezant of uncertain date, which probably also appeared in the 1250s and certainly by *c.*1260[975] (Fig. 215). With its concentric design, it is clearly related to the French *gros tournois* issued by Louis IX in 1266. With its ringing acclamation, "*+Xpistvs: vincit Xpistvs: regnat+Xpistvs: imperat,*" it proclaims a strong Crusader presence, based on a Crusader battle cry, and the coronation acclamation of the kings of France.[976] But as Metcalf points out, "it is so scarce today that one must suspect that few were ever struck,"[977] and as Porteous comments, "the coin is not only anonymous, but also carries no indication of where it was minted, it is only because of the oriental provenance of the few surviving specimens that it can be attributed to the Latin states at all."[978]

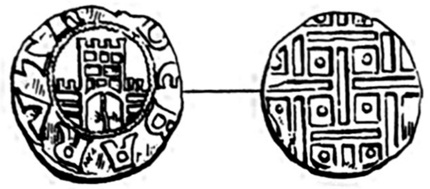
We can, I submit, assume the coin was minted in the Crusader States *c.*1260, most probably in Acre; Tyre, although possible, is much less likely.[979] As a development in coinage design, this gold bezant demonstrates an intensification of Western presence and influence, which we also find in manuscript illumination and panel painting. In particular, it is striking that the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753), which also dates *c.*1260, includes a possible reflection of this new coin. On the exterior right hand wing, we find the image of St. John the Baptist carrying as his attribute a golden disc with the *Agnus Dei* painted on it. It is clear that the iconography of the image of the lamb is slightly different on the two examples and that they do not demonstrate artistic dependence on each other. But it is also remarkable that they are so close, and that they were produced in the Latin Kingdom, most likely in Acre in close chronological proximity to each other. In fact they may both independently reflect the same circumstances and possibly a similar model.

Acre continued as the most active mint through the 1250s, and substantial numbers of gold coins were struck up to about 1260.[980] After this point there is a reduction in gold coins minted, but a full range of coin denominations are issued more or less continuously – coppers, billon deniers, silver and gold types – through this period. More Western coins are no doubt present, however, because of the residency of King Louis IX and the French Regiment in the Latin Kingdom and the vigorous commercial activities of the major Italian maritime cities.[981]

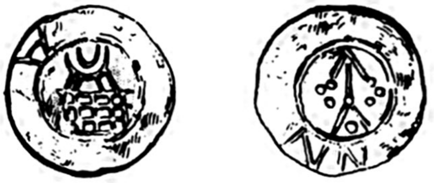
As for baronial issues in the Latin Kingdom, there seems to have been no substantial increase in the mid-thirteenth century, despite the warning of the weakening of royal rights by the *Livre au roi c.*1200, the absentee Hohenstaufen kings, and the new treatise on jurisprudence by 1266 written by John of Ibelin, the *Livre des assises.*[982] As a class the nobility had steadily improved its social and legal position, but the main baronial mints were only three: Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon. Their issues were remarkably conservative and featured architectural motifs of fortified towers or city gates, reminiscent of older Jerusalem types, as seen in the anonymous coppers from Beirut[983] (Fig. 216), the



215. Acre (?): golden *Agnus Dei* bezant. See COLOR PL. 7 (photo: after Slocum catalogue)



216. Beirut: copper coin. (photo: after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)



218. Sidon: *pougeoise.* (photo: after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)

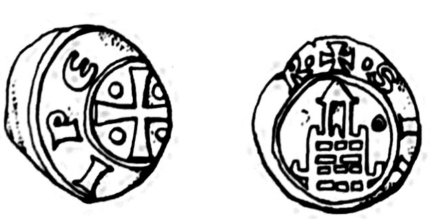
pougeoise of Philip of Montfort at Tyre[984] (Fig. 217), and the anonymous *pougeoise* of Sidon[985] (Fig. 218). When we see variations on these types, they mostly also feature architectural motifs, such as the domed building on the billon deniers of Sidon[986] (Fig. 219) or the classical temple with four columns on the coppers of Tyre[987] (Fig. 220).

Elsewhere, at Antioch the familiar helmet deniers continue until the fall of the city in 1268 (Fig. 221). The commercial prosperity of Antioch was perhaps the greatest of any Crusader city outside the Latin Kingdom, ranking a distant second after the port of Acre, but making the lack of extant art and architecture there extremely puzzling. And in 1268 the treasury of the city was overflowing, so that after the Mamluk conquest, when the sultan ordered the distribution of booty, "coin was so plentiful that it was handed out in bowlfuls."[988] Meanwhile in Tripoli, Bohemond VI (1252–75) reinvigorated the mint. He had the silver gros and half gros struck, which are of excellent workmanship, among the most handsome of Crusader coins with their eight-pointed stars (Fig. 222). It is of interest that his gros is almost exactly the same weight as the gros tournois of Louis IX (Fig. 223), first issued in 1266.[989] This Tripolitan gros therefore appears to be related to several important coins in this decade; the *Agnus Dei* bezant in gold from an unknown Crusader mint, probably from Acre but possibly also from Tripoli; the French gros tournois of 1266; and the Venetian grosso, which by the 1240s had become widely circulated in the Mediterranean world.[990] No one has as yet been able to demonstrate conclusively to all concerned that the Tripolitan gros and the *Agnus Dei* bezant preceded the French gros tournois in date, but it seems likely that they did. Porteous has presented an interesting argument for the priority of the Tripolitan half gros, based on the Venetian grosso, as having been the stimulus for these other developments well before the gros tournois made its appearance in France. Grierson observed in 1954, "whether or not St. Louis inspired the striking of the coin [the *Agnus Dei* bezant], he is at least likely to have made its acquaintance before his departure from the Holy Land (April, 1254), and it may have influenced his own future coinage."[991]

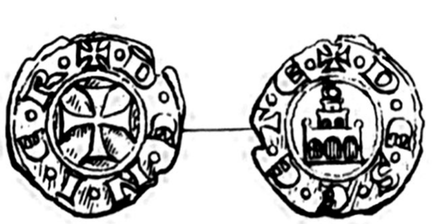
In Crusader coinage, therefore, we see not only the maintenance of many immobilized types from earlier years, but also certain traditions continued, especially in terms of architectural designs, even when new coins are designed. The most dramatic changes occur with the coinage imitating Muslim issues, however, in which the message of the inscriptions is abruptly revised starting in 1251 to include only Christian admonitions. The appearance of the splendid *Agnus Dei* issue appears to be a truly creative attempt – however limited its production and circulation – to provide a Crusader gold coin of the first rank with Latin inscriptions and imagery to "compete," as it were, with comparable Muslim and Byzantine coins. It would not be surprising if these new Crusader coins eventually can be certified to have been the inspiration for the gros tournois of Louis IX, issued in 1266, at about the same time that he decided to take the Cross a second time.[992] This in itself would be a notable achievement apart from the other lively developments in Crusader coins in the Latin Kingdom at this time.

Crusader Seals: 1244–1268: In the years 1225 to 1244 we noticed two features. First, the seals of Frederick II were important, but they cease to have an impact with his death in 1250. Second, seals from the Crusader States were to some extent more conservative and less experimental in their imagery than we found on the coins, a somewhat surprising development and a reversal of what we would expect. Clearly the most important royal seals produced in the Latin Kingdom in the years 1244–68 were done for King Louis IX during his residency, 1250–4. Not only did he require a new royal seal matrix to be made after its loss during his retreat and capture on the Damietta Crusade,[993] but his vigorous diplomatic activity also necessitated its constant use. Louis's personal seal is a magnificent royal portrait of him enthroned frontally on the *sella curulis*[994] (Fig. 224), the same royal faldstool on which Saul is anointed in the third scene of the I Kings frontispiece of the Arsenal Bible. Louis appears in full regalia, with crown, royal robes, scepter topped with a fleur-de-lis, and holding a fleur-de-lis.[995] This image on the seal of the French king, when compared with the "royal portraits" in the frontispieces of the Arsenal Bible (CD nos. 63–5), makes the Eastern Crusader characteristics of these manuscript paintings more vividly and clearly understandable.

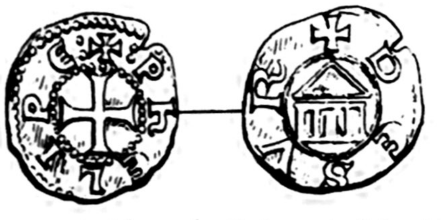
There are no other royal Crusader seals from this period to compare with those of Louis. Among other extant examples



217. Tyre: *pougeoise.* (photo: after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)



219. Sidon: billon denier. (photo: after Schlumberger, *Numismatique*)



220. Tyre: copper coin. (photo: after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)

222. Tripoli: silver *gros*. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

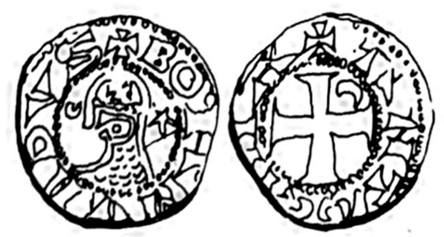
we have nothing in this period from the barons of the Latin Kingdom,[996] but the seal of the commander of the French regiment, Geoffrey de Sergines, survives[997] (Fig. 225). On a letter from 1267, his seal is included along with several others. It contains the inscription, "S'. GAVRIDI. DE SERGINIS MILIT[is]," and his coat of arms. This is a significant example of a seal from an important commander in the Latin Kingdom, and it demonstrates that heraldic arms were now in widespread use.

Another important seal type that we can recognize as characteristic of the Crusaders survives from Beirut and Tripoli. The magnificent wax seal of John II Ibelin of Beirut survives on a document in the Archivio di Stato in Venice[998] (Fig. 226a). The image consists of a knight in full armor brandishing his sword and holding his triangular shaped shield. His right foot is thrust forward in its stirrup as his horse, fully caparisoned, rears with his front hooves at the right. His cross arms are emblazoned on his shield, tunic, and the cloth housing of the horse.[999] It is a stirring example of a Crusader in full array. From Tripoli the great seal in lead of Bohemond VI survives attached to a document of 1255 (Fig. 226b). The inscription on the obverse reads, "+B. PRINCEPS: ANTIOCH: ET COM: TPOL. FILY. B: PNCIPI: ET COMI."[1000] The image in the central medallion is a knight fully armed with lance and shield on a horse galloping right to left, with apparently some kind of banner billowing out from behind his head.[1001] On the reverse is found the standing images of his patron saints, Peter and Paul, much as we would expect to find them on Crusader icons, but here carrying their typical Western attributes of keys and sword, respectively. Peter also carries a cross staff, which is somewhat unusual.

One of the most interesting aspects of these seals is the emphasis it gives to the image of the mounted soldier as an important Crusader type, one which we have also found in the extant Crusader icons from the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai and one that is found widely in fresco paintings commissioned by Crusaders. We find this imagery in a variety of types, with galloping, rearing, trotting, and standing horses, and the directions they head can be either left to right or right to left. So far no clear interpretation can be given for the choices made from these possibilities as far as the seals are concerned.

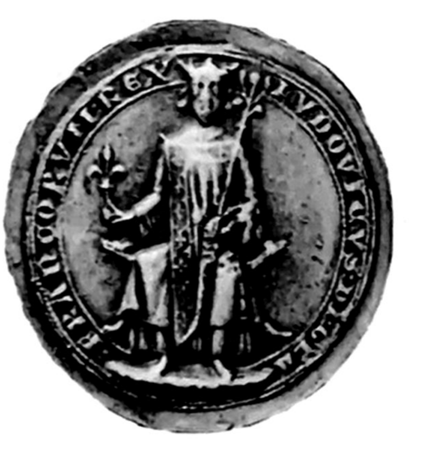
Among other extant seals, we find no major new developments among those of the Hospitallers and the Templars.[1002] What is new, perhaps, is reflected in a valuable document in Old French, which describes the full range of seals used not only by the grand commanders East and West, but also by other important officers of the Hospitaller Order.[1003] There are also certain seals of the Teutonic Knights now extant for the first time, and it is interesting that those used by them feature the image of the enthroned or bust length Virgin and Child[1004] (Fig. 227). The Virgin Mary was the patroness of the Order and her image on seals is further testimony to the dramatic growth of her cult in the thirteenth century. The inscriptions on the two earliest wax seals are abbreviated differently, but they are essentially identical in content: "S. MAGRI. HOSPITAL SCE. MARIE TEUTONICORUM. IRLM." In the central medallion on these seals we find a frontal seated Virgin and Child on a carpentered throne. Both figures are nimbed. The Child blesses and sits on Mary's proper left side. The Virgin holds a staff topped by a fleur-de-lis as a kind of attribute on the later example.

Finally, among ecclesiastical seals, it is also the case that few survive for the leading prelates or any major clerics from this period. James Pantaleon, patriarch of Jerusalem before he became Pope Urban IV, had a great seal with a seated patriarch on the obverse, and the standard Resurrection on the reverse as we have seen from earlier patriarchs.[1005] William of Agen, patriarch from 1263, also used a seal with a handsome image of an enthroned patriarch, designated by his pallium and the patriarchal staff he holds and seated on the episcopal version of the *sella curulis* (Fig. 228a). William also uses a counter-seal, which is remarkable because it is similar to the Hospitaller images of the tomb of Christ, but this time with three figures inserted behind the *gisant* figure[1006] (Fig. 228b). The bishop of Acre, Florent, appointed in 1255, adopts an elongated format for his seal, "en navette," in which he appears standing frontally, in



221. Antioch: billon Helmut denier. (photo: after Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*)

223. France: silver *gros tournois*. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)



224. Royal seal of King Louis IX. (photo: after Labarge, *St. Louis*)

full regalia, holding his crozier and blessing. The inscription reads: S' FLORENTII DEI GRATIA EPISCOPI ACCONENSIS.[1007]

Finally attention might be drawn at this point to a phenomenon that had been developing during the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries without much notice, namely, the establishment of convents in Acre for various types of religious women, for which seals came into existence. Some long-standing organizations, including several that relocated to Acre from Jerusalem after Saladin's conquest in 1187, had seals with architecture or bishops reflecting conventional twelfth-century Crusader imagery. But one of those, the nuns of St. Lazarus of Bethany, had introduced on their seals the image of their abbess in examples that go back to the mid-twelfth century.[1008] Some convents and churches for women, Western or Eastern, such as the church of Our Lady of Tyre or the Monastery of St. Margaret, apparently have no extant seals, but others did. Among the most interesting is of the nuns of St. Mary Magdalene – one of the institutions mentioned in the inventory of Eudes de Nevers – a house for reclaiming prostitutes, which has a profile kneeling figure of the nude St. Mary Magdalene holding her ointment jar on a seal configured, "en navette."[1009] Another example is the seal of the Hospital Order of St. Lazarus (Fig. 229). On the obverse of its seal we find what Schlumberger identified as a leper with his noisemaker, but this "leper" might well be a frontal bust-length female figure, who represents Mary or Martha, a sister of Lazarus, in effect as a nurse.[1010] Although of course there are a number of Crusader seals that represent the Virgin and Child as part of their imagery, the growth of an iconography of women on these seals is an interesting and important development that apparently gains momentum in this period.

225. Seal of Geoffrey of Sergines. (photo: after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*)

There appear to be fewer extant ecclesiastical seals from this period than there are secular examples, which must be an accident of survival in a time of vigorous church activity. Overall, however, the seals appear mostly conservative in design in what was a turbulent period of vigorous military, political, and economic developments and rapid change. Whereas we can see aspects of Western influence in a number of these seals, in the main such influence appears to be related mostly to French sources. This development is certainly a part of what we find with the pictorial developments in manuscript illumination, icons, and coins. What is not equally evident in the seals – or coins – is the strong and growing Italian influence we find in the icons, despite the fact that a number of the clerics in the Holy Land came directly from Italy, and the fact that the War of St. Sabas was an all-consuming struggle between 1256 and 1258. No doubt if more seals can be identified from those ecclesiastics connected directly to Italy, we will be able to evaluate the dynamics of East–West interchange more fully.

Metalwork and Other Minor Arts: The Problem of Multicultural Artisanal Production in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century in Syria-Palestine: In metalwork Syrian-Crusader or "Syro-Frankish" vessels, secular objects, form the most intriguing works from this period, works that remain mysterious in origin but constitute part of a Near Eastern continuum that stretches from the second third of the thirteenth century into the fourteenth century. By contrast, there seem to be few explicitly religious objects in metalwork, such as the reliquaries and pilgrim's ampullae evident in the twelfth century that can be dated to these years, 1244–68.[1011] A certain number of relics of the True Cross can be documented in the West, but none of them can be directly related to reliquaries for which the metalwork, the enamels, or the ivory carving can be shown to have been done in the Crusader East.[1012] But in fact it is not only the secular metal vessels but also secular glass and fine pottery that emerge as major new luxury commodities in the Levantine marketplace. The issue that has been raised about these works is precisely what they are, that is, are they Crusader? Are they Islamic? Are they Levantine? To what extent do they reflect local traditions of Christian and Muslim imagery, style, technique, and function?[1013]

To this point in our discussion we have been looking mostly at artistic work produced in what might be called Crusader-controlled media, that is, religious and secular figural painting in manuscripts, religious figural painting in icons, religious and military architecture, coins and seals, and certain types of metalwork. In these media the Crusader control could have been exercised by the patrons and the artists together or separately for the special needs and functions the work of art was commissioned and produced, bought, or given to serve. We have seen how the Crusader works of art and architecture can be multicultural in their conception and production, how they synthesize East and West, and how they reflect the specific Crusader circumstances in the Near East. Compared with these works, the luxury commodities of fine secular metalwork and enameled or colored glass, as well as some textiles and especially silk, along with the often more modest productions of glazed pottery, belong in effect to a different category of art work.

These various so-called minor arts are works that raise special issues of style and artistic identity in terms of the

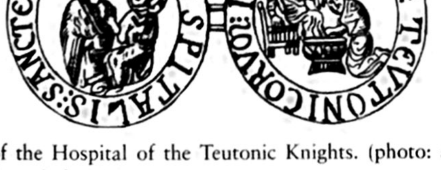
226. Seals of a. John II Ibelin of Beirut and b. Bohemond VI. (photo: after Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico*)

background and ethnicity of the artisan in ways that are often distinct from the other Crusader media. Whereas they, too, can be studied for their technique and certain technical issues, for their iconography, for their inscriptions, for their typology, and for their function, mostly these minor arts have not yet successfully been convincingly localized. Their artistic production is not yet fully understood in terms of the dynamics of artisan, patron, and marketplace. The difficulties of studying these media reside partly in the fact that, except for some of the pottery, they represent artisanal traditions native to the Near East that existed in some cases even before the Crusaders arrived. These were traditions the Crusaders admired and apparently emulated in some cases but that continued in non-Crusader centers even after the Crusaders established their own metalwork, glass, pottery, and textile industries. Compounding the problems of studying these works is their portability, often their total lack of documentation, and the special functions they served. They could be objects of status, which meant they were of high quality and prized as possessions. They could be luxury gifts, diplomatic or otherwise, which meant they often crossed cultural borders. They could even be souvenirs, which meant that they were sometimes acquired by Crusaders, resident Franks, or pilgrims for the explicit purpose of evoking the special place or the unique quality of design that characterized them as "other," valuable, unusual and sophisticated, fascinating and appealing, and even exotic.[1014]

Because of the special problems this category of works present, no attempt will be made here to identify "Crusader" objects. It is not clear that any such Crusader works necessarily existed in these media in the terms with which we have identified Crusader art earlier in the chapter. But it is likely that Crusaders – among others – patronized and owned these objects of "minor arts," based on their provenance and the circumstances of where they are found today, mostly in European or North American collections. In many cases these objects raise similar questions, by displaying recognizeably Christian religious or culturally Frankish themes or subject matter on works that appear to be Muslim in technique, typology, and function as well as in decorative style. We have examples in metalwork of this period such as the famous Paris candlestick (1248–9), the Freer canteen (*c.*1245–50), and the Freer basin (*c.*1240–50).[1015] We have examples in enameled glass such as the Walters Museum beakers (*c.*1260), the Aldrevandini beaker in the British Museum (*c.*1260–90), and the Montfort beaker (mid-thirteenth century).[1016] For the record, we can also mention three examples of proto-maiolica pottery found at Acre and dated to the thirteenth century, such as a bowl with a standing woman holding a distaff,[1017] a bowl fragment with a stylishly dressed soldier on foot holding a shield and a sword,[1018] and a bowl fragment with a standing woman holding a flower.[1019] These works differ in regard to cost and quality, but they all belong to a class of secular objects decorated for special use at some level.

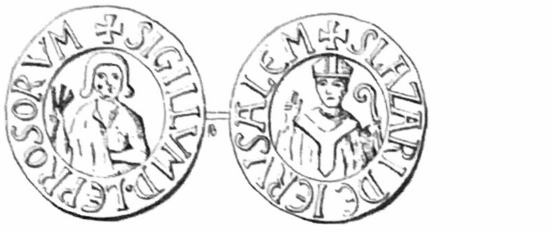
The glazed proto-maiolica pottery all comes from abroad, from the West, probably from Italy. There is a great deal of it in Acre, probably as the result of Italian merchant activity there. And the choice of figural decoration accords with the Crusader clientele for whom these bowls apparently were made.[1020] Similarly with the "Syro-Frankish" metalwork and enameled glass, the objects all seem to have been made outside the Crusader States, brought there and bought there by Crusaders, Frankish residents, or Western pilgrims.

To become acquainted with the issues involved with the works in these media, I propose to discuss selected examples of the mid-thirteenth-century glass, the beakers from the Walters Art Museum, as a case in point. (Figs. 230–3). In this way



227. Seal of the Hospital of the Teutonic Knights. (photo: after Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico*)

228. Seal of the patriarch of Jerusalem, William of Agen. (photo: after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*)

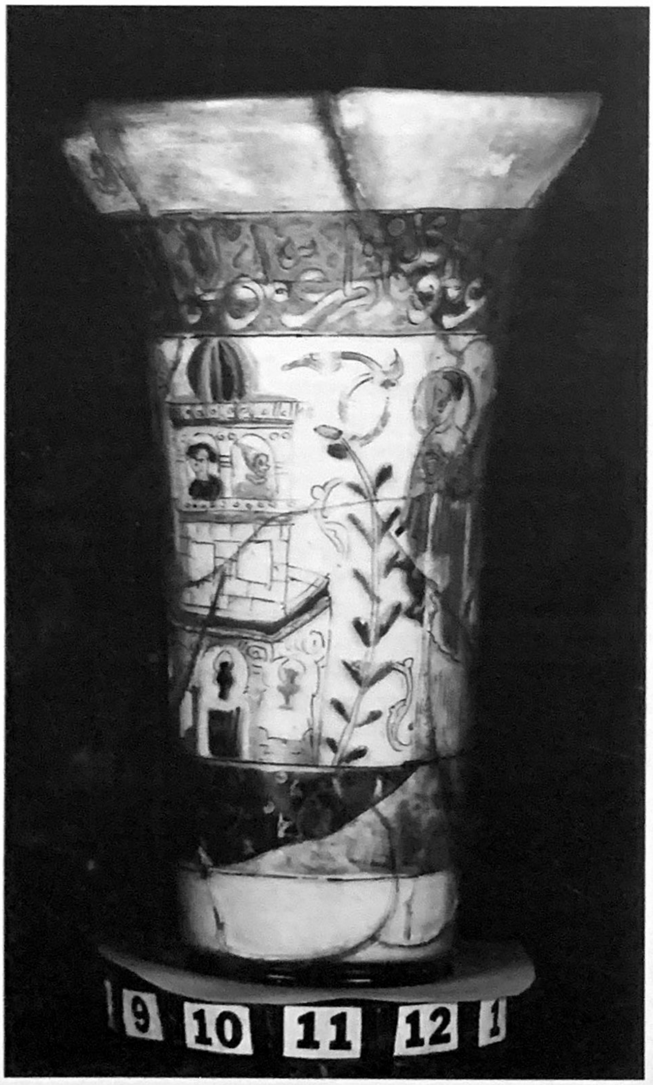


229. Seal of the Convent of St. Lazarus. (photo: after Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*)

we can introduce the objects and the problems they raise, on the basis of which current and future research will discuss and decide the issues outlined.

These glass beakers with enameled decoration in Baltimore are examples of a major form of Islamic luxury glass production.[1021] They were probably originally made in Aleppo as a pair. Broken at a later time, they were then mended and sold in Baghdad in 1912, at which time they entered the G. Dattari Collection in Cairo. Henry Walters acquired them in 1925 as a pair. Their shapes are nearly identical in form, one being slightly larger in diameter and very slightly taller than the other. Both have a short foot-ring, a cylindrical but slightly tapering body, and a gently flaring rim. The figural decoration on both is set between two zones, both of which apparently originally contained inscriptions. In both cases it is only in the upper zone that the Arabic inscription survives.[1022] The inscription on the larger beaker reads (Walters Art Museum, inv. 47.17):

> Glory to our Lord the Sultan, the Royal, the Diligent, the Wise, the Defender, the Protector of Frontiers, the Fortified by God, the Triumphant.



230. Large Glass Beaker, Walters Art Museum, Inv. 47.17: view (photo by courtesy of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

On the smaller beaker the inscription reads (Walters Art Museum, inv. 47.18):

> Glory to our Lord, the Sultan, the Royal.

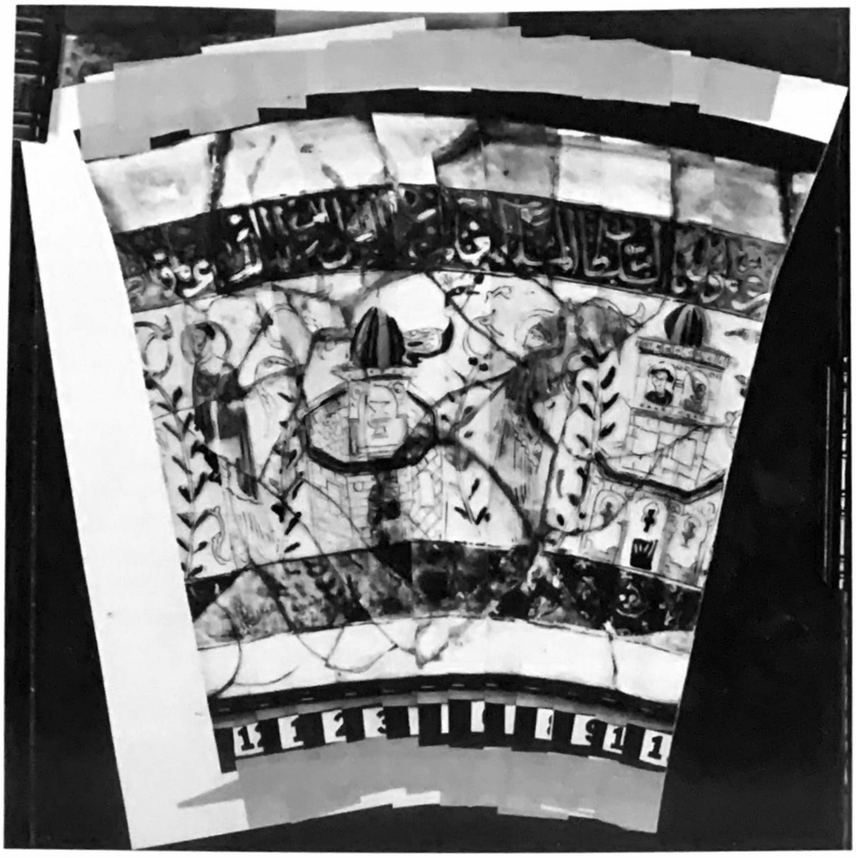
In neither case is the sultan named, nor is there anything specific in the text that would allow us to identify who is referred to.

The glass vessels are both approximately seven inches high (about 19 cm), gilded and decorated with green, yellow, blue, and white enamel. Their decoration features large haloed and small non-haloed figures; each has two domed masonry buildings, large green flowering plants, with a bird on one and a donkey on the other. On the smaller beaker, there is a haloed figure riding a donkey to the left heading toward two towerlike buildings. The first is probably meant to represent the Tower of David with a haloed figure standing next to it; the second is possibly meant to represent a gate to the city with a small figure, possibly a child on the roof of the first story. Both Georgopoulou and Carswell identify this scene as the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, but they differ on the extent to which the buildings can be identified within the Holy City.

On the larger beaker, we find, not a scene from the life of Christ, but an image of the two main Christian buildings in Jerusalem during the Crusader period. The larger centralized structure with the three hanging lamps and the dome is the Anastasis rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher. The smaller structure with the octagonal lower story, the single lamp and the dome is the Templum Domini, the Muslim Dome of the Rock, which the Crusaders transformed into a church. Both Georgopoulou and Carswell more or less agree on these identifications, but the former offers a much more detailed art historical discussion of the buildings and each element of the decoration.

Based on these analyses and identifications, what interpretation can we give to these beakers? In function, if they are really beakers for wine, they are clearly not made for a Muslim clientele. If, however, they are beakers for other liquids, possibly for some kind of quasi-ceremonial domestic use, they could be used by Muslims as well as Christians. Kenesson suggests that there is a wide range of possible functions for these beakers. "They are often depicted in other media being used as drinking vessels.[1023] In addition to being simple drinking vessels some could have been intended for ceremonial use, others as gifts or awards, some for export and sale on an open market; it has even been suggested that some were used for lamps." The question of their function is unresolved with regard to the Walters Museum beakers, and in fact not much discussed, but it is an important issue with all of these objects, whether they be glass, metalwork, or pottery.

Given the fact that we find scenes of Jerusalem on these beakers, where would they be sold – in the city of their



231. Large Glass Beaker, Walters Art Museum, Inv. 47.17: panoramic view (photo by courtesy of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

origin, that is, Aleppo, or in Jerusalem itself? Or would they be ordered from Aleppo by someone who was going to or had been to Jerusalem? The question of market dynamics in historical context is important here as well. It is especially relevant in this case because in 1260 when these two beakers were apparently done, Jerusalem was in Muslim hands, but Syria was being invaded by the Mongols. Recall that Aleppo was held by an Ayyubid prince in 1259, captured by the Mongols in January 1260, recaptured by the Mamluks in August of 1260 after the battle of Ain Jalud, and then retaken by the Mongols in November 1261.[1024] What impact would this activity have had on the glass industry in Aleppo, and in Damascus as well, in a particularly difficult time?

Who would buy these beakers – what was the targeted clientele? Would they be Christians going to or from Jerusalem?[1025] If so, what kind of Christians might they be? Would they be Western pilgrims or local Orthodox pilgrims – either Arabs, Syrians, or Greeks – or others, possibly Copts, Maronites, or Armenians? There are no explicit Christian religious symbols on these beakers, no crosses, no Latin or Greek or Syriac captions. In fact the inscriptions we do find are in Arabic and refer to the sultan,[1026] whoever that was. Could these pilgrims have been Muslims? Jerusalem is the third holiest site in Islam after Mecca and Medina. Jesus is revered as a prophet by the Muslims. The image of the Entry into Jerusalem by Jesus is possibly "a neat metaphor for the pilgrim's own spiritual journey,"[1027] whoever that pilgrim might have been. Or were they pilgrims at all? Could the patron or purchaser have been a Christian resident of Aleppo, Damascus, or some other Muslim city? Could they have been Christian residents of one of the Crusader cities on the Mediterranean coast? The issues of market dynamics and clientele as related to function are crucial to discuss and attempt to resolve in regard to these objects.

The style and technique of these beakers, as well as their typology, is accepted by most scholars as evidence of their Muslim manufacture.[1028]

The same is true of the inlaid metalwork. Further material from archaeological study and continued technical analysis will no doubt shed further light on how and where these objects, be they enameled glass beakers, silver inlaid bronzes, or proto-maiolica pottery, were made, what functions they served, who their patrons and owners were. Objects of these types which have made their way to Western collections must be studied in comparison with similar objects that have stayed in the East to attempt to neutralize the "Orientalist" aura that surrounds the reception and perception of works that currently reside in Western museums.

In sum, the "minor arts" present us with many important questions that are undergoing reconsideration and further discussion, that are very much under current discussion and on which we can expect much light to fall in future years. We can therefore conclude our discussion of these "minor arts" by observing that, in the words of Carole Hillenbrand, "compelling evidence survives to indicate that the Crusader knightly and mercantile classes acquired a taste for the luxury goods of the Near East. Indeed, the interiors of their houses must have been sumptuous, judging by the precious enamel-painted glass beakers and glazed pottery fragments excavated at Crusader sites." These objects, along with the inlaid metalwork, "were probably prized for their 'exotic' value in much the same way as Oriental carpets are treasured today by their Western owners. The more exotic the artefact the better, since quite apart from their obvious Christian allusions these works pandered to the medieval Western taste for marvels of the East. It is well known that the Arabic script appeared on many medieval European works of art often without any knowledge on the part of its users that it enshrined Islamic political messages." Hillenbrand concludes, "the Crusaders were well ensconced in the Levant in a period [including the years 1244–1268] in which... they came to form part of the political fabric of Near Eastern life. There is clear evidence that the Crusaders shared Muslim artistic tastes and that Muslim craftsmen tailored their artefacts to please a Crusader clientele."[1029]

Textiles: Although almost nothing survives that can be attributed directly to this period, 1244–68, we should not forget that commerce in textiles and silk was vigorous through Crusader ports during the entire thirteenth century up to 1291. This included massive imports of Western cloth as well as exports of Eastern luxury stuffs. Obviously it is the Eastern work that interests us here. As Hillenbrand has observed, "lasting evidence of trading links between the Muslim world and Europe [as well as the Crusader East] is found in the words of Arabic (or Persian) origin which have become embedded in European languages; financial terms such as cheque, tariff, douane, and the names of textiles such as damask, fustian, taffeta, cashmere, samite, organdy, and muslin. The profusion of these names is a clear enough indication of the key importance of the textile trade."[1030]

It was especially silk that formed the main focus of one trading and production industry, in which Crusader merchants and ports were heavily involved. "The thirteenth century represented in many respects the heyday of the Mediterranean trading network, when expectations were still high, the return on voyages significant... The products of the Near East – silks and spices, purchased on the voyages east – were redistributed in the western Mediterranean."[1031] It is the silk trade in the Crusader period that has come under the recent scrutiny of David Jacoby. He is in the process of releasing a veritable torrent of studies that will collectively reshape our understanding of this important aspect of Crusader economic activity and artistic involvement in the Latin East, including both the Crusader States of Syria-Palestine and the Latin Empire and Frankish Greece.[1032]

Conclusions – Artistic Developments in the Crusader States: 1244–1268: There are certain considerations to bear in mind when thinking of this period and the artistic material associated with it. We have chosen the date of 1268, rather than 1275 or some other proximate date, as a signifier of major change in the Latin East of Syria-Palestine because of the momentous historical events in the 1260s leading up to 1268, in relation to the Crusaders, the Mongols, and the Mamluks, and especially the rise of Mamluk power from 1260 on, culminating in the fall of Antioch. We cannot demonstrate that Crusader artistic production paused or is marked by new characteristics as a result of the events of 1268. In fact the artistic output and developments seem relatively continuous from the 1260s into the 1270s. But we prefer this framework to the abstractly assigned idea of "the third quarter of the thirteenth century" for historical reasons. For Acre, the Latin Kingdom, and the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine, we propose that the important time frame was 1244 to 1268, and artistically we have argued that the important time frame was from 1250 to the 1260s, before 1268. Without doubt 1250 was the pivotal date, when Louis IX arrived at Acre and immediately after deciding to stay in the Latin Kingdom for an extended visit, he began to stimulate new artistic work.

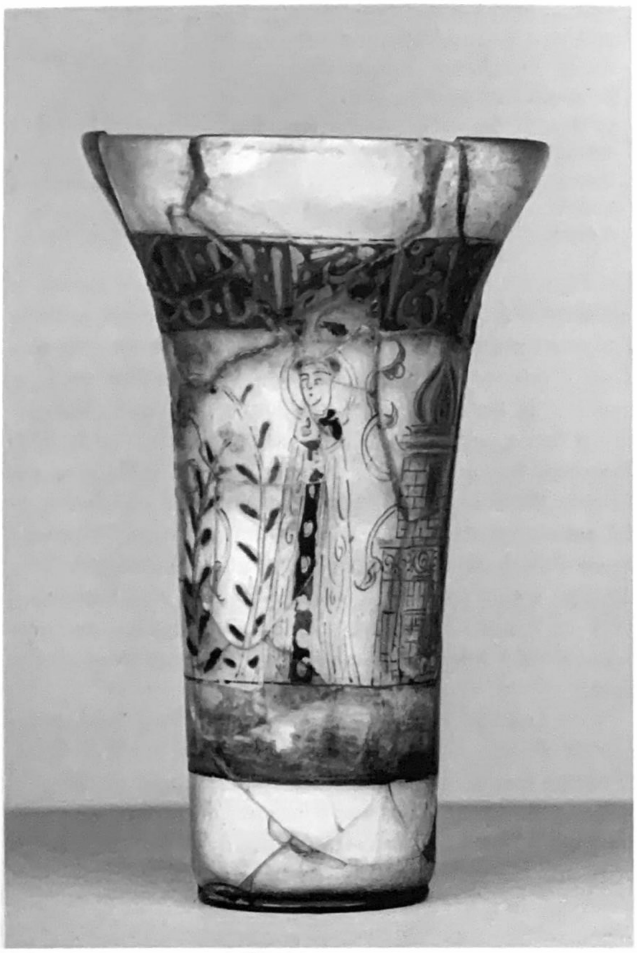
This period, 1244–68, certainly included some of the most momentous and important military and political developments of the thirteenth century in the Near East. The conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 was seen by Eastern Christians as the fall of the Second Babylon. With this decisive stroke the Abbasid caliphate was finally eliminated.[1033] Then the battle of 'Ain Jalud in September 1260 ended the Mongol dream of world conquest, and the current fantasy of Christianity becoming the dominant world religion. It proclaimed the new Mamluk dynasty as the prevailing force. Finally, on 25 July 1261, Michael Palaeologus entered Constantinople with his troops and restored the Byzantine Empire to its capital city. The ill-fated Latin Empire was dead,[1034] and the Latin front line against Islam was once again established in and focused on Syria-Palestine.

With this in mind we can observe the following major artistic developments. Along with the massive architectural projects worked on during this period, the identification of the icons along with related manuscript illustration constitutes the major body of extant material for the study of Crusader artistic development in these years.

In architecture, it is unlikely that any other period saw as much building going on as we find between 1244 and 1258, but as we have seen little of it remains to be identified and studied. What does remain is important, however, because it shows us how the Gothic style in architecture was developing in the Holy Land, and how fortifications and defensive strategy were developing and changing.

In painting, as we have seen, there are a large number of important aspects that characterize this period, especially after 1250. First, there is the reestablishment of painting as a major component of Crusader art in the Latin Kingdom, especially in the capital city of Acre in the 1250s. This body of painting is significant for several reasons, even though it is difficult to date many of the icons with any precision. The revival of painting is accomplished at Acre in conjunction with vigorous activity in certain other locations, especially in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai and in the capital city of the Latin Empire, Constantinople.

Second, taken together, the Crusader art of this period, the 1250s and 1260s, exhibits the greatest multicultural diversity seen in Acre in the thirteenth century, and part of this phenomenon must be the result of many different patrons on the one hand, and on the other, a richly diverse group of artists working not only in Acre but also in St. Catherine's Monastery. It is perhaps this multicultural diversity that stimulates the new interest in the "realia" of the visual world, what is called "Gothic realism" in France, and what might be called "Crusader realism" here in the Crusader States. We see this reflected in various media, in manuscript illumination, icons,



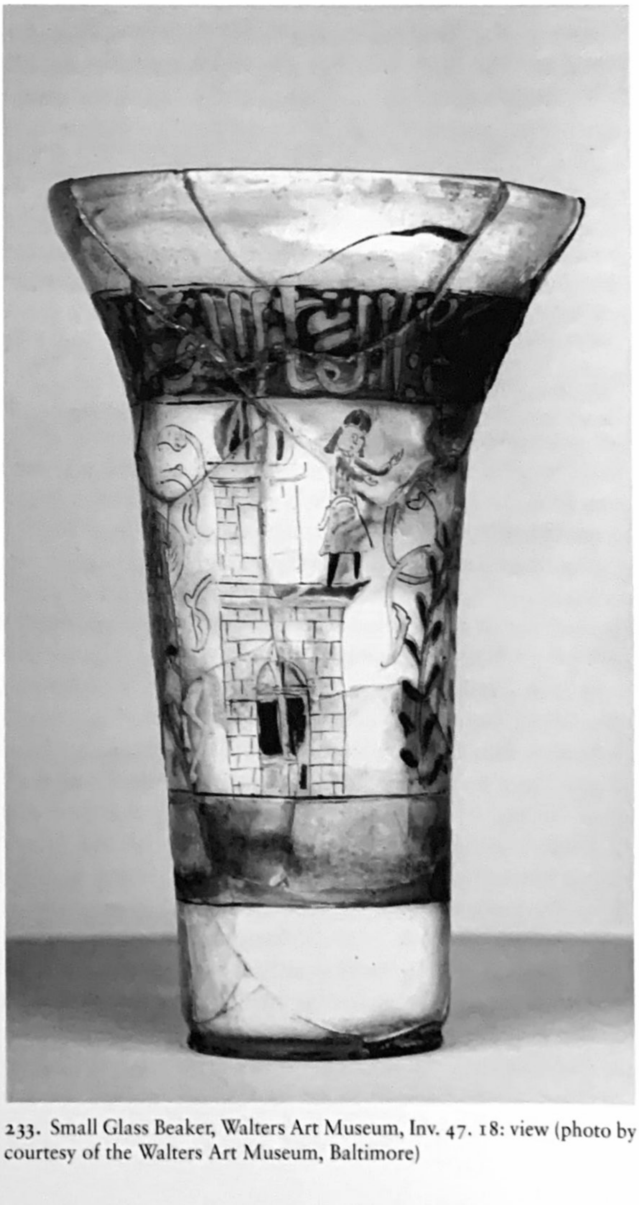
232. Small Glass Beaker, Walters Art Museum, Inv. 47. 18: view (photo by courtesy of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

coins, seals, and even painted glasswork. We also see this interest all around the Crusader States, not only in Acre, but also in the other major centers such as Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, and outside the Crusader States at the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.

Third, there are major innovations that appear in this period. There is the rebirth and broad expansion of the book industry to include illustrated secular as well as religious books, starting in the 1250s and continuing in the 1260s. There is the sudden expansion of the making of icons for Crusader and Eastern Christian patrons by Crusader artists starting in the 1250s, which produced many types of panels serving a variety of functions. There is the evidence of major developments in Crusader style that strongly reflects both French and Italian traditions, especially Venetian prominence, in Acre during this time especially after the War of St. Sabas. Furthermore, we see how the important Franco-Byzantine and the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader stylistic traditions are distinctively established in Acre, and possibly also at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai by about 1260, and how in the 1260s they begin to interact more and more with each other.

It is striking how important the painting for Crusader patrons or by Crusader artists is during 1250–60s. It is also significant that a number of patrons are depicted on the icons, and what diversity we see in who they seem to be. It is remarkable that in contrast to other media, such as metalwork, textiles, or sculpture, painting provides us with the best surviving examples. One feature about the icons that we notice in comparison with the entries in the inventory of Eudes de Nevers and the will of the Genoese, Saliba, is that virtually none of the "Crusader" panel paintings seem to relate to the religious institutions mentioned in those documents, with one or two possible exceptions.[1035] This places in much greater relief, the fact that many of the icons are oriented to the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, that these icons seem to be painted for a clientele of pilgrims and visitors with an interest in Sinai, and with images that reside strongly in the Byzantine tradition whatever their Western-influenced interpretations may be. Furthermore, these icons and their patrons and clientele, by giving further indication of this linkage to Sinai, add to the weight of evidence that indicates a strong connection between Crusader painting done in Acre and whatever Crusader painting may have been done in Sinai.

These developments are hardly unexpected in the case of the Franco-Byzantine style, in view of the importance of the French regiment's presence in Acre as established by King Louis IX before he left the Latin Kingdom. But it is perhaps more



233. Small Glass Beaker, Walters Art Museum, Inv. 47. 18: view (photo by courtesy of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

remarkable with regard to the latter to find that in Acre in the period of the decade from *c.*1258 to *c.*1268, Venice inspires such rich and flourishing painting developments in Acre – the various manifestations of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. It is all the more remarkable at a time when, relatively speaking, so little painting is known in Venice itself, and when, comparatively speaking, Tuscan painting is flourishing in the West, but minimally reflected in the workshops of Acre.

These developments also pose the question of what artistic achievements one can identify in the Latin Empire before its fall in 1261. To what extent might Crusader artists working in a Veneto-Byzantine or Franco-Byzantine style in Constantinople have had, first, a strong impact on art in the Crusader States to the East, and second, might they have even transferred their activity to Acre after July 1261? We have so far not recognized this to be an important feature of Crusader art in the Latin Kingdom in the 1260s, but it is a question on which future research may shed much new light.

In conclusion, however, we may say that Louis IX had the most important positive impact on Crusader art in the period 1244 to 1268 with the greatest influence on its growth and development. With regard to the activities of Louis IX in the Latin Kingdom and the importance of his presence in the Levant between 1248 and 1254, we might therefore paraphrase the famous passage from Joinville's *Vie*, which forms the preface to this chapter, as follows:

> Well may the Crusader residents of the Latin Kingdom, and with piety, mourn the departure of this holy Prince, who held the Kingdom of Jerusalem with such devotion, righteousness, and loyalty, and who did in it such great and generous deeds of alms and gave it such good service and beneficial administration. Just as the scribe, when he has written his book, paints it with azure and illuminates it with gold, so did the king, after stabilizing the military forces and opening negotiations to repatriate the Crusader prisoners held in Egypt, enhance and reinvigorate the Latin Kingdom by his substantial interests in architectural projects and the visual arts. He not only strengthened the kingdom with the finest fortifications at Acre, Caesarea, Jaffa, and Sidon, and with establishments for the Franciscans, Dominicans, and other orders, but also he stimulated painting activity: with personal commissions of manuscripts made possible and enriched from artistic resources made available through loans from his own holdings, thereby reestablishing the major scriptoria at St. Jean d'Acre, and with panel paintings, which he used for his personal devotions.

The vigorous activity that followed his departure cannot be too surprising in view of the stimulus he provided while he was resident in the Latin Kingdom. What is more surprising is the diversity of the work that followed, both in terms of style and of types of books and panels produced. What we find is that a truly Crusader art existed, which was strongly stimulated by the patronage and the activity of the king and his men. While he greatly contributed to it and enriched it, he did not change the basic features of its character. Despite his strong French Gothic aesthetic taste, a rich and diverse Crusader art with a remarkable variety of artists who based their work on Byzantine, French, and Italian traditions, and even began to show interest in Islamic work, emerged from 1250 to 1268.

"King Louis of France never forgot the Holy Land. Every year he sent a sum of money to maintain the small company of troops that he had left behind at Acre under Geoffrey of Sargines; and the practice was continued even after Geoffrey's death and his own. He always hoped one day to set out again on a Crusade, but the needs of his own country gave him no respite. It was only in 1267, when he was weary and ill, that he felt able to prepare for his second Crusade and began slowly making the necessary arrangements and collecting the necessary money. In 1270 he was ready to embark for Palestine."[1036] As a result of the loss of Antioch in 1268, and in the face of the continuing threat from Baybars, those in the Latin Kingdom hoped for Louis's return. What impact would he have the second time?

7

ACRE AND THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS: THE FINAL YEARS, 1268–1289

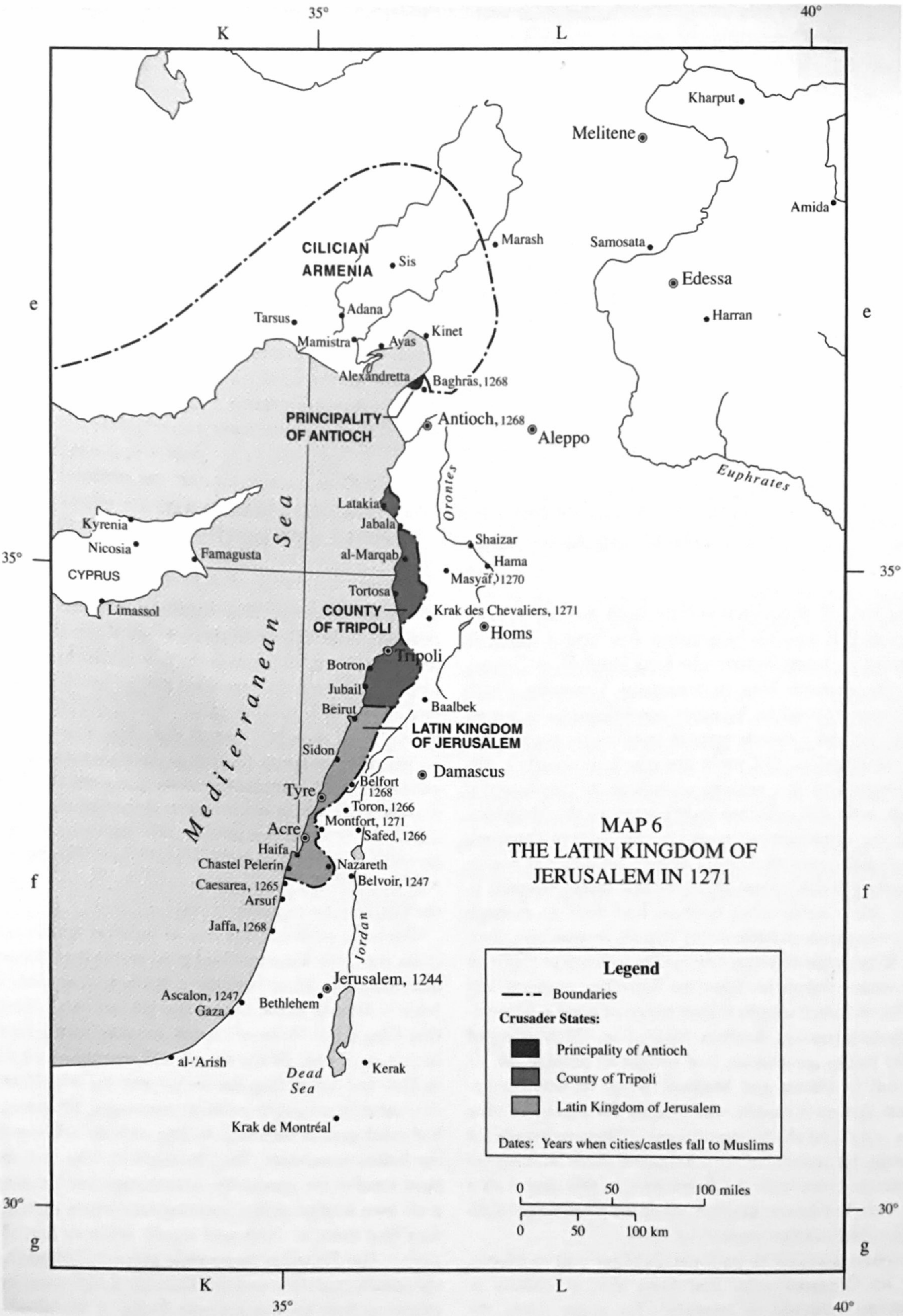
THE FINAL CRUSADES AND THE MAMLUK ASSAULT ON THE LATIN KINGDOM TO THE FALL OF TRIPOLI

Shortly after the fall of Antioch in May 1268, Baybars sent an emir, Kamal al-Din, and his biographer, Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir, to Acre to conclude a treaty initiated by King Hugh III of Cyprus, regent for the absentee king of Jerusalem, Conradin. Hugh balked at certain provisions, however, not wishing to be bound by the treaty if a new Crusade were to materialize, not wishing to include the kingdom of Cyprus for which he sought a separate agreement, and not wishing to include the territories of the Assassins who still operated independent of the Mamluks. As a result the negotiations failed and the envoys departed. Only Bohemond, count of Tripoli, despite his anger at receiving the "victory letter" from the Mamluk sultan (quoted in Chapter 6), after seeing what Baybars had done to Antioch and fearing what he could also do to Tripoli, concluded a truce separately. Meanwhile Baybars returned in triumph to Cairo on 22 August where emissaries from the Byzantine emperor and from Charles of Anjou sought maintenance of good relations.[1]

In the ensuing months Baybars focused on the training of his army for future campaigns, and sought to prepare for his upcoming *hajj* to Mecca and Medina. When he was reasonably assured that no Crusade was headed for Syria-Palestine or Egypt in 1269, and the Mongols were unlikely to invade for the time being, he proceeded with his plans. After making yet another separate truce with the Crusaders, in this case with a noble lady, Isabel of Beirut, Baybars made his pilgrimage to the Muslim holy places in the summer of 1269.[2]

While Baybars was able to perform his pious visit to Mecca, something no Crusader ruler had been able or chosen to attempt *mutatis mutandis* to Jerusalem for many years, the Franks were endeavoring to regroup in a fitful way. Following the death of Conradin in October 1268, which ended Hohenstaufen claims on the crown of Jerusalem, the *Haute Cour* accepted Hugh III as the new ruler. However, immediately the rights of Hugh III to be sole heir were contested by Maria, daughter of Bohemond IV of Antioch and Melisende of Lusignan. As we have seen in Chapter 6, despite the legal merits of Maria's case, Hugh III had the advantage of his de facto position and of the military resources from Cyprus he commanded to aid the Latin Kingdom in the face of the threat of Baybars.[3] Eventually he was duly crowned king of Jerusalem in the cathedral at Tyre in September 1269.[4] Maria, of course, did not give up and even took her case to the pope, who befriended her. So when the question refused to die and was eventually even put before the Council of Lyon in 1274, the ruling was made that the High Court of Jerusalem alone had jurisdiction. After nearly six years, the squabbling over that case would cease, but her rights were *still* not resolved and would only be settled later. Nor would Hugh's attempts to unify the various factions inside the kingdom be successfully resolved either.[5]

The basic problem was one of political fragmentation, because the Latin Kingdom had gone for so long without a resident monarch. There had not in fact been a resident king since John of Brienne in the 1220s, and we can recall the difficulties that King Louis IX faced on this account during his residency. In any case Hugh III started off well by staging his coronation in Tyre and reconciling the Ibelins and the Montforts through two astutely arranged political marriages. However, the king had much greater difficulty dealing with the military orders and the Italian merchants. The Hospitallers, who had consistently been loyal to the monarchy, nonetheless continued to conduct their own foreign policy, entering into truces on their own, as they had done in 1267 and would again be forced to do in 1271.[6] The Templars meanwhile supported Maria's claims to the crown, and they and the Teutonic Knights disliked Hugh's efforts to bury the hatchet with Philip of Montfort. Although Philip died shortly thereafter in 1270 at the hands of the Assassins, the "damage" had been done – Hugh had shown his intentions.[7] Meanwhile, the Venetians and Genoese continued their hostilities and refused to allow the new king to intrude on their dispute. So, at a time of great peril, when the new king was attempting to retake the reigns of government, few in the Crusader States were willing or able to suppress the quest for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MAP 6
THE LATIN KINGDOM OF
JERUSALEM IN 1271
Legend
Boundaries
Crusader States:
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
Dates: Years when cities/castles fall to Muslims
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 km
CILICIAN ARMENIA
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
CYPRUS
Mediterranean Sea
Dead Sea
Orontes
Euphrates
Jordan
Kharput
Melitene
Amida
Marash
Samosata
Sis
Edessa
Harran
Tarsus
Adana
Kinet
Mamistra
Ayas
Alexandretta
Baghrās, 1268
Antioch, 1268
Aleppo
Latakia
Jabala
Kyrenia
Nicosia
Famagusta
Limassol
al-Marqab
Shaizar
Hama
Masyāf, 1270
Tortosa
Krak des Chevaliers, 1271
Homs
Tripoli
Botron
Jubail
Beirut
Baalbek
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Belfort 1268
Toron, 1266
Montfort, 1271
Safed, 1266
Acre
Haifa
Chastel Pelerin
Nazareth
Belvoir, 1247
Caesarea, 1265
Arsuf
Jaffa, 1268
Jerusalem, 1244
Ascalon, 1247
Gaza
Bethlehem
al-'Arish
Kerak
Krak de Montréal

Map 6

their individual rights and/or ambitions in favor of supporting the larger cause, of which almost everyone seems to have lost sight.

Overseas, the situation was no better for the Latin Kingdom. In November 1268, the pope, Clement IV, had died shortly after the fall of Antioch. His strong interests – "Crusades" against the Hohenstaufens and attempted church reunion with the Orthodox – had already diverted attention away from the Holy Land. Now, with the death of Conradin as well, the papacy faced several major challenges, but remained powerless to deal with them directly due to a three-year interregnum, until Tebaldo Visconti was elected as the new pope, Gregory X, on 1 September 1271. This also enabled Charles of Anjou the freedom to pursue his designs. Politically and personally hostile to King Hugh III, but on friendly terms with Baybars, Charles sought to organize an attack on the Byzantine Empire. But first he would have to defer to his brother's second attempt at a Crusade to the East.[8]

THE CRUSADE EXPEDITIONS OF 1269, 1270, AND 1271

Seen from the Levant and in the eyes of the new king, Hugh III, the great hope for the Latin Kingdom on the horizon was a new Crusade, called by Pope Clement IV, but mainly the project of King Louis IX.[9] In March 1267 he and his three sons had taken the Cross. The Noailles Continuation of the *History of Outremer* somewhat overly optimistically reports that Louis, king of France, and many other counts and barons of France and England and Germany took the Cross to aid the Holy Land.[10] However, even if there was more popular support in France than is sometimes supposed, Jean de Joinville, Louis IX's faithful friend and biographer, refused to go. He reported having had a dream that foretold "the Crusade will be of little profit." Joinville even forthrightly states he "considered that all those who had advised the king to go on this expedition committed mortal sin" because, on the one hand, everyone had seen how the state of the kingdom had worsened since he had been away, and because, on the other, "he was physically so weak that he could neither bear to be drawn in a coach, nor to ride."[11] However, Louis was nonetheless determined, and he was able to convince a few great nobles, his brother Charles of Anjou, and Prince Edward of England, Henry III's son, to join him. In Spain, King James I of Aragon actually set sail in September 1269, but his fleet was decimated by a terrible storm and only "a small squadron" led by two of his sons was able to make it to Acre by the end of December. For the time being they occupied themselves by aiding in the defense of Acre, but when the rest of their army failed to appear, they sailed home, never having had a real chance to attack the enemy.[12]

Meanwhile, Louis IX and Charles of Anjou were forced to delay their departure until a year later. Even though Louis proceeded with the same meticulous preparations as he had done for his first Crusade, there were financial and administrative problems and the ships would not be ready until 1270. Louis was burdened with the major expenses of this Crusade and he still had certain obligations incurred from his residency in the Latin Kingdom in 1250–4. Charles of Anjou meanwhile owed his brother a sizeable sum, which he made no attempt to pay until 1270. The main funding again came from the Church in the form of the ecclesiastical tenth that the pope authorized Louis to collect in France and the twentieth of revenues from churchmen in border dioceses for three years, which started in 1268.

There were, however, also some conspicuous differences between the arrangements in the late 1240s and here in the late 1260s. First, the king purchased some ships outright in addition to leasing many. In Labarge's view these "were the first ships ever actually owned by a [French] king and Louis really deserves to be considered as the founder of the French navy. Another innovation was the king's appointment of a Frenchman, Florent of Varennes, as admiral."[13] The ships came from Genoa and Marseilles and they were to be delivered to Aigues-Mortes in early May of 1270. Second, Louis's wife, Marguerite would not accompany him on this expedition; moreover she was not made the regent. The regency was instead assigned to a knight and a cleric, with stipulated alternates in case of need.[14] Now that his mother was dead, the regency would be placed in bureaucratic rather than in dynastic hands. Third, Louis made no provisions to stockpile supplies for his army in Cyprus or elsewhere on this expedition, as he had done on his first Crusade. Fourth, unlike Louis's ambitious commission of the Sainte Chapelle in 1244–8 while preparations for his first Crusade were going forward, he made no comparable effort to express his Crusader ideals artistically in the late 1260s. Neither of the most famous royal commissions associated loosely with this period, the St. Louis Psalter (Paris, B.N. MS lat. 10525) or the Isabella Psalter (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Musem, MS 300), seems to reflect Crusader concerns directly.[15] However, it is significant that the St. Louis Psalter makes a large point of contextualizing its Old Testament imagery in frames inspired by the architecture of the Sainte Chapelle, so an indirect connection may exist by this means. Finally, everyone seems to agree that Louis's army in 1270 was significantly smaller than it was in 1248, although the estimates vary.[16] The question is, where was this Crusade headed when the fleet set sail from Aigues-Mortes on 2 July 1270?[17]

When the ships assembled in Cagliari on Sardinia a few days later for final orders, Charles of Anjou and his men had not yet joined the expedition. Nonetheless, the king announced the decision to attack Tunis. The sailors and the army rank and file seemed genuinely surprised, but "Louis's reputation stood so high that few men could question his decisions."[18] Louis, never one to act precipitously, must have planned this beforehand, perhaps with input from his brother, Charles, but when and why?[19] Several historians point to a Tunisian embassy to Paris in early October 1269, reported by Geoffrey of Beaulieu, the king's confessor, as playing an important role in Louis's decision. Although the exact purpose of this diplomatic initiative is not discussed by Geoffey, the main source in Arabic, Ibn Khaldun, sees it as "an embassy to ascertain Louis's intentions and to propose 'conditions of peace sufficiently advantageous to quell his warlike ardor.'"[20] Richard and Riley-Smith suggest the possibility that, however unlikely, Louis could have entertained the hope of converting the emir of Tunis, al-Mustansir.[21] It was certainly a hope that earlier historians identified, one that we encountered in the king with regard to other personalities during his diplomatic initiatives at the time of his first Crusade and residence in the Holy Land.[22] In any case, Strayer points out that "Tunisia was the only objective which satisfied both the religious policy of Louis and the political needs of Charles.

Each king could hope that after the Tunisian raid his interests would prevail." However, Richard comments pointedly, the problem remains "how a landing in Tunis was expected to bring assistance to the Holy Land, then in dire need."

A week later, on 18 July, the Crusaders landed at Tunis without significant opposition. They established camp and secured it. Al-Mustansir, the emir, clearly suspecting that the Crusaders were coming, had taken precautions: repairing the walls of his city, bringing in provisions, and organizing his army. Louis ordered that there would be no attacks on the Muslims until Charles arrived with his soldiers. The Muslims sent out patrols and harassed foragers, but there was very little fighting. Neither commander was ready to risk an open battle or attempt a siege. Meanwhile, as July turned into August, Crusaders at all levels suffered from serious disease and dysentery in the stifling heat. In the royal family, Philippe, Louis's eldest surviving son, became ill and was so weak he could not to exercise his command. John Tristan, the twenty-year-old prince born at Damietta, precipitously became sick and died, just as his father fell ill. Louis, already in weakened condition, gradually succumbed. William of St. Pathus records Louis's last prayer for his people:

> Gracious good God, have mercy on this people who stay here and lead them to their country, that they do not fall into the hands of their enemies and are not constrained to deny Thy holy name.[23]

Then he said, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem," and died, just hours before his brother, Charles, arrived with his fleet, on 25 August.[24]

With his nephew, Philippe III, Louis's successor, too ill to function, the king of Sicily, Charles took command. Certainly neither he nor al-Mustansir wished to risk hostilities and disease was taking its toll on both sides, so eventually peace terms were arranged. Prince Edward of England arrived just as the negotiations were in their final stages, but even his displeasure with the situation could not change the final outcome. The treaty was ratified on 1 November. Charles of Anjou received a war indemnity from which he, personally, took 175,000 *livres*, and he regained the old rights of the kings of Sicily in Tunisia, including trading privileges, controls, and annual payments of tribute. The settlement neither paid for the expenses of the Crusaders nor compensated them for the thousands of deaths they had suffered. "Of all the crusaders, [Charles of Anjou] was the only one who had reason to be pleased." The Crusader fleet then set sail for Sicily. Edward and his men had no choice but to go with them. Voltaire, quoted by Gibbon, summarized this episode by saying, "it is thus that a Christian king died near the ruins of Carthage, waging war against the sectaries of Mohammed, in a land to which Dido had introduced the deities of Syria."[25]

The Crusader fleet arrived safely at Trapani on the west coast of Sicily on 14 November, but on the night of 15–16 November it was hit by a serious storm, which resulted in the sinking of many ships and much loss of life. In the face of this disaster, the various leaders decided to go their separate ways. Charles of Anjou recruited soldiers to join him in an attack on Michael Palaeologus that he was planning. The French Crusade was over and Philippe III was forced to return to France by the difficult overland route. What had started as a proud military venture led by the most revered Crusader of the thirteenth century had turned into a royal funeral cortege. The remains of Louis IX were divided. Charles took his entrails to Palermo where he placed them in the Benedictine Monastery of Monreale, overlooking the city.[26] Philippe III took his bones in a casket where they were laid to rest at Saint Denis, the burial church of the French kings and the site that Louis had chosen to be interred. Joinville reports, "at this tomb in which he was buried God has since then performed many fine miracles in his honour, and by his merit."[27] Along with the bones of his father, Philippe also carried the remains of his wife, Isabel of Aragon, who died en route while giving birth to a stillborn child; the dead child; his brother, John Tristan; and his brother-in-law, Theobald of Champagne and Navarre.[28] Only Prince Edward of England was still determined to go to the Holy Land, and after wintering on Sicily, he and his men sailed on to Cyprus and then to Acre, where they arrived on 9 May 1271.

Meanwhile, in the Holy Land, the situation had been worsening. Baybars, realizing that there would be no Crusade for the moment, took the initiative. In January 1271 he began a new campaign against the Crusader States. Marching into the County of Tripoli by way of Baalbek, his first objective was Chastel Blanc (Safita), a Templar castle southeast of Tortosa, which is distinguished today by its massive donjon and superb masonry, the product of two rebuildings after the earthquakes of 1170 and 1202. At the time of Baybars's attack the fortress had a double enceinte with handsome Gothic vaulting, which no longer survives,[29] and a substantial garrison. However, in the face of the Mamluk army, the master of the Templars, Thomas Bérard – perhaps fearing another disaster as at Safed in 1266 – ordered his men to surrender peacefully on the condition of safe conduct to the coast. The decision of the master seems to indicate that in the circumstances, he valued his Templars more than he valued this site.[30] After this victory Baybars easily took several small castles in the vicinity as well. By this action, he completed the conquest of major Templar inland fortifications, which had started so dramatically with Safed.

From Safita Baybars abruptly turned to the southeast to attack the great Hospitaller Castle of Crac des Chevaliers.[31] Crac remained as one of the most extraordinary of Crusader fortifications, but during the time of its last strengthening in the 1260s, the estate that Crac had commanded was largely deserted. Not only was the Hospital therefore not collecting revenues from its land, but it was also said that as early as 1270 Baybars allowed his horses to graze on the meadows and the crops of Crac.[32] Now as Baybars began to position his army and siege engines on 18 February and started the siege on 21 February 1271, the lands of Crac were provisioning the Mamluks, not the Hospitallers.[33]

Baybars's already substantial army was joined at Crac by troops from Hama, Saone, and the Assassins. The siege began vigorously, but heavy rains impeded progress. By late March, however, the outer walls had been breached, but then Baybars faced the prospect of a lengthy siege of what must have seemed like an impregnable inner castle. If we are to believe the Muslim sources,[34] Baybars, drawing on his experience at Safita where the garrison had been ordered to surrender by the master, had a letter forged to the Hospitaller castellan at Crac from his superior in Tripoli, ordering him to surrender under the assurance of safe passage to save his men.[35] The Christian sources say nothing about such a letter. Thorau accepts the fact of the letter but says, "it is an open question whether the defenders actually fell into the trap and regarded the letter as genuine, as Cathcart King assumes. It would be equally possible that the Hospitallers saw the hopelessness of further defence, and so complied readily with the alleged order."[36] Up to this point the garrison had resisted all previous attacks on the inner castle successfully. On 8 April the Hospitallers suddenly surrendered to Baybars and were given safe passage to Tripoli. Baybars sent another victory letter, this time to Hugh Revel, master of the Hospitallers.

> We bring the news that God has granted us an easy conquest of Hisn al-Akrad. You fortified it, built it up and adorned it, but you would have been more fortunate had you abandoned it. You relied on your brothers to preserve it, but they were of no avail to you. You lost them by making them stay there, as they lost it and caused your ruin. No fortress can hold out when these Muslim armies come down against it.[37]

The boastful tone of this letter does not explicitly help to clarify what happened during the siege, but the irony of the language suggests that in effect the Hospitallers did abandon Crac, who were lost to the master so long as they did not capitulate. With Crac in his hands, Baybars immediately appointed a new commander of the castle, and two emirs were assigned to direct the work of repairing the damaged fortifications.

The loss of Crac des Chevaliers was a great blow not only to the power of the Hospitallers, but also to the prestige and morale of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. Now the Hospitallers and the Templars both sought to make peace with the sultan, in order not to lose control of their situation. A truce was granted for the region of Tortosa (Templar) and Margat (Hospitaller) along the coast, but "the terms imposed by him were stiff."[38] The Templars would have to cede the territory of Chastel Blanc, and the Hospitallers were required to yield half of the lands of Margat as well as revenues from Muslims in this region.[39] They were also forced to agree not to reinforce the defenses of Margat from its current condition without specific prior inspection by a duly authorized Mamluk representative. The terms of this article of the treaty like all the others are detailed and explicit.[40] Margat, just north of Tortosa on the coast, one of the largest Crusader castles ever built, was now the only major castle still in Hospitaller hands.[41]

In the wake of his great victory at Crac des Chevaliers, Baybars also besieged Hisn 'Akkar (Gibelacar) near Tripoli. There the siege only lasted a few days, from 29 April to 12 May.[42] At that point, the sultan began to prepare to attack Tripoli, but then word reached him of the arrival of Prince Edward and his Crusader army at Acre. Baybars therefore abruptly offered Bohemond a ten-year truce. Bohemond, clearly wary of the Mamluk sultan in view of his recent impressive conquests of Safita and Crac, readily accepted the truce, thus sparing Tripoli from Baybar's wrath for the moment.

On his return march to Cairo, however, Baybars added to his military victories by suddenly besieging and taking Monfort (Qal'at Qurayn), the main castle of the Teutonic Knights, in the hills just 25 kilometers northeast of Acre.[43] As long as this castle was in Crusader hands, it was a threat to Safed now controlled by the Mamluks to the southeast of Montfort. The assault began in early June, and when the south rampart was successfully mined, the castellan, John of Sachsen, sued for peace. He and his men were allowed safe passage to Acre on 23 June, together with the treasure and archives of the Teutonic Knights.[44] The castle was then destroyed by July 4;[45] it was never rebuilt. The siege of Crac had taken a month, Gibelacar two weeks, this one again only about two weeks. The Crusaders now held no major inland castles – they were pinned against the coast.

Not all of Baybars's objectives were won on the first attempt, but most were eventually taken. A conspicuous exception to this record occurred about the same time he besieged Montfort. Noting that Hugh III had come to Acre, Baybars sought to surprise him with a naval attack on Cyprus in mid-June. He even painted his galleys black like Christian ships and sailed with banners bearing crosses to deceive his enemy. However, inexperience on the part of his naval commanders and bad weather proved to be the downfall of the fleet. Strong winds off the port of Limassol drove most of his ships aground during the night before the attack. The stranded crews and troops were immediately captured. Now King Hugh sent Baybars his own letter of victory, with news of the defeat of his fleet. Baybars angrily replied that not only had he taken Montfort, which was a far more important conquest, but also he could replace these ships immediately, which he did.[46] However, the fact is that the Mamluk navy was inferior to Crusader shipping, and it could not confront the Italian maritime powers as an equal. This was Baybars's one major weakness, but the Crusaders were too distracted to notice. The Noailles Continuation remarks tersely that the Crusaders sank fourteen saracen galleys off Limassol and killed or took prisoners numbering forty thousand.[47]

So between 1269 and 1271, at a time when Baybars was free to make his own pilgrimage to Mecca in the summer of 1269, Louis IX, the greatest hope for the new Crusade, tragically died en route to the Holy Land in August 1270. A Tunisian, one Ahmad ibn Isma'il al-Zayyan, had composed this ominous epithet for Louis IX, referring back to the disaster in Egypt, and prophetically forward to his fate:

> O Frenchman, this land is Egypt's sister; prepare for your certain fate! Here Ibn Luqman's house [in Mansura] will be a tomb, and the eunuchs (to guard you) will be Munkar and Nakir [the Muslim angels who interrogate the spirits of the newly dead].[48]

Now the ambitions of his brother, Charles of Anjou, loomed over the Mediterranean at the start of 1271. The hopes that Latin Christians everywhere held for the newly named king of Jerusalem, Hugh III, and the newly called Crusade from the West in late 1268 for the Crusader Levant had failed as yet to materialize.

Whereas the army of Aragon under King James I and that of the French army of Louis IX had been destroyed or dispersed by unexpected disasters, the English army of Prince Edward accompanied by Otho de Grandson and Erard de Valéry arrived intact in Acre on 9 May 1271.[49] Edward was full of enthusiasm, but his army is estimated to have been approximately only a thousand men. Even with additional contingents, one led by Edmund of Lancaster, some Bretons, and a group from the Netherlands under the archdeacon of Liège, Tebaldo Visconti, this Crusading force was too small to constitute a major threat to Baybars and his Mamluk army. Baybars demonstrated this by brazenly attacking and destroying Montfort close by Acre a few weeks after their arrival, and Edward was powerless to interfere. Nonetheless, Edward energetically sought to make his presence felt. His aim was to create an alliance that could attack Baybars. He sent emissaries to the Mongol Il-Khan, Abaga, in Turkestan, who promised aid. The Mongol commander in Turkey was ordered to march into Syria accompanied by troops of the Seljuk sultan. Meanwhile, Edward tried to organize the knights of Cyprus to follow their king and come to the aid of the Holy Land. A few were willing to fight with Hugh III, but James of Ibelin insisted they were strictly volunteers and their only obligation was to defend the island. Edward was no more successful enlisting the exclusive support of the Italian merchants. Although he discovered they were trading with the Mamluks, even providing Baybars with important strategic supplies, their commercial activity was rightfully chartered by the high court in Acre and he could do nothing to prevent this.

Besides the commercial activity of the Italian and other European maritime cities, there were also other travelers and envoys, both Christian and Muslim, passing through Acre at this time that added to the cosmopolitan ambience of the city. Perhaps those who would become the most famous were Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, who came to Acre on their way back from the East in 1269 and then en route to the East in 1271, accompanied by Nicolo's son, Marco.[50] There seems to be no evidence that Edward ever met the Polo family, or that he ever really fully acclimated himself to the Levantine world of Acre.

Yet despite his disillusionment with the situation in the Latin Kingdom, Edward did what he could. He conducted raids into the hills around Acre in the summer and fall,[51] but he was never able to link up with the Mongol contingent, which got as far as Apamea before being forced to turn back. He helped strengthen the defenses of Acre by building a tower at the northeast angle of the city walls. He established a small garrison of *stipendiarii* commanded by Otho de Grandson. Baybars had arrived in Damascus during this time with a large army, forcing the Mongols to retreat. Edward realized that his only other real contribution might be a treaty to keep Baybars from attacking the Crusaders again until he, Edward, could effectively return with a larger, more potent force.[52] Baybars for his part was willing to entertain such a treaty, which was no more than a renewal of the truce of 1268 that had been broken in 1269. However, he was suspicious of Edward, who was ambitious. The truce was finally arranged when Charles of Anjou intervened; Baybars wanted to maintain good relations with Charles, who now represented the only real potential Crusader threat from the West. On 21 or 22 April 1272[53] the truce was ratified by King Hugh III, for the government of Acre and the sultan. Baybars, however, insisted that the Hospitallers and the Templars ratify the treaty separately. Thorau says that the Muslims "had too often had the experience of the knightly Orders pursuing their own power politics and evading treaties entered into by the king."[54] Seen from the Crusader point of view, however, this was just more evidence of political fragmentation and a continuation of Baybars's successful policy of "divide and conquer."

The truce was scheduled to last for ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours, and included some concessions of land on the part of the Mamluks, including Alexandretta, which became a condominium. The Mamluks also conceded the plain in front of Acre and open use for Christians of the pilgrimage route to Nazareth, which was still the sole major holy site in Crusader "control." Otherwise the County of Tripoli was separately covered by the truce between Bohemond and Baybars concluded in May 1271. When the truce was signed in April 1272 between the king and the sultan, ibn al-Furat says, "the people of Acre came out to see the troops, and the Sultan mounted with his men, after which they jousted with lances."[55]

Because Edward's serious interest in military strategy and the fate of the Latin Kingdom is evident[56] and his intentions to return to the Holy Land were apparently known even then, Baybars is said to have contracted with an Assassin to eliminate him before he left the Levant. Although the Christian sources record this story,[57] the Muslim sources give a different version. Ibn al-Furat claims that Edward was not pleased with the idea of a truce with Baybars and would not become a party to it.[58] Therefore, "to rid himself of this obnoxious Crusader," an attempt was made on his life. The attack occurred on 16 June 1272, and although Edward survived, he was reportedly too sick to leave for home for several months.[59] Finally, on 22 September he sailed for England. When he arrived home he discovered his father, Henry III, had died, and he was now king.

GREGORY X, CHARLES OF ANJOU, AND BAYBARS

Edward's crusading days were therefore over, although as king he persisted in proposing new expeditions to the pope until 1293. Yet despite what Edward had accomplished, his Crusade had had little impact on the main problems of the Latin Kingdom, so little in fact that it merits only a few paragraphs in the Noailles Continuation. Indeed he was the last major European Crusader to come to the Latin Kingdom, but that does not mean that the Crusade ideal was dead in the West. Tebaldo Visconti, archdeacon of Liege, who was in Acre as part of Edward's Crusade, was named to fill the papal vacancy that had existed for nearly three years, the longest in history.[60] Once the new pope, Gregory X, was elected 1 September 1271 by the conclave meeting in Viterbo, hopes were again raised that aid would be forthcoming to the Holy Land. Kenneth Setton observed that "Pope Gregory X would make a great effort – at an oecumenical council – to revive the Crusade."[61] Richard comments, "the whole of Gregory X's pontificate (1271–1276) was to be dominated by the crusade."[62]

Tebaldo Visconti returned to Italy from the Holy Land going first to Viterbo where he was ordained as a priest, and then went to Rome where he was consecrated and crowned as Pope Gregory X, on 27 March 1272. Immediately thereafter he issued a bull, *Salvator noster*, on 1 April 1272, announcing a new council that was to be held in Lyon in 1274. The program for the council was threefold: reforming the Church, healing the schism with the Greeks, and bringing aid to the Holy Land.

Like Innocent III before him, he dreamed of a new and successful Crusade. Gregory commissioned reports from several prominent churchmen that could advise him on how to proceed. These reports were done by a variety of important figures in the church, all of whom had markedly different points of view. Humbert of Romans O.P., former head of his order, genuinely believed in the need for a new Crusade to the East, but saw no possibility of converting the Muslims.[63] William of Tripoli O.P., who was living in Acre at the time, saw little hope for the success of a Crusade to the East, and advocated missionary activity instead. Fidenzio of Padua O.F.M., who only wrote down his report later, supported the Crusade as a way of eliminating the Muslims, who, he argued, were not open to Christian preaching and were dangerous to missionaries. Bruno, archbishop of Olmütz, argued the Crusade should be targeted toward the eastern frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire. Gilbert of Tournai O.F.M., although not criticizing papal policy, forthrightly decried corruption in the collection and use of Crusading tithes and the abuses of Crusade indulgences. It was clear that by this time there was widespread discussion and criticism, positive and negative, of the Crusade in Europe in all levels of society. However, none of these reports fully addressed the roots and causes of that problem, which ironically had started with the changes in the concept and organization of the Crusade instigated by Innocent III.[64]

One major figure who did not submit a report was Thomas Aquinas O.P., who was, however, invited to the council. Thomas had written an unfinished treatise "On Kingship" for a reigning king of Cyprus, unnamed but probably Hugh II,[65] and Pope Urban IV had requested a treatise on the errors of the Greeks from him, the latter which he had with him on his way to Lyon. However, Thomas never reached the council. Traveling from Naples, he died at Fossanuova on 7 March 1274.[66]

The diversity of opinion expressed in the reports he received only seemed to strengthen the resolve of Gregory X to pursue the goal of a new Crusade to the East. The Council at Lyon opened on 7 May, and when it was over on 17 July 1274 the pope could count three successes. First, a semblance of Church reunion had been achieved with the Orthodox Greeks. This was symbolized in the person of George Acropolites, who read the following words to the council on 6 July:

> I, George Acropolites, grand logothete, envoy of our lord the Greek emperor, Michael Ducas Angelus Comnenus, possessing the latter's full mandate for what follows, do entirely abjure all schism. The statement of faith to which we have subscribed, as it has been fully read out and faithfully set forth, in my said lord's name I do recognize to be the true, holy, catholic, and orthodox faith. I accept it.

"Acropolites then solemnly accepted the primacy of the Roman Church and pledged obedience thereto both on his emperor's behalf and on his own."[67]

As part of this union, the emperor Michael also expressed his readiness to support the Crusade to liberate the Holy Land; in return he wished to be assured that there would be peace between him and Charles of Anjou.

Second, the Mongol Il-Khan, Abaga, sent a delegation to Lyon, the leader of which received baptism on 16 July. Abaga "sought an alliance with the Christians against the Moslems in the Levant.... The letter which they brought the pope, the cardinals, and the conciliar fathers... proposed a confederation with Christendom against Islam, which would of course place the city and kingdom of Jerusalem in Christian possession, but obviously under Mongol suzerainty."[68] Gregory X received this embassy with pleasure and he wrote back that the Il-Khan would be informed before the next Crusade army appeared in the East. Gregory's idea of an international alliance against the Mamluks was taking shape.

Third, Gregory had formally proclaimed the Crusade, in a document, the *Constitutiones pro zelo fidei*, issued in May 1274.[69] Restating material from older decrees and adding much that was new in terms of fund raising, "Gregory X's aim was to build up a huge reserve.... As it was, his preparations were heroic.... In 1275 the kings of France and Sicily took the cross. So did Rudolf of Hapsburg in return for Gregory's agreement to crown him emperor.... It was clear that Gregory was planning an eastern crusade on a more ambitious scale than had ever been dreamed of before. But on 10 January 1276 he died.... Gregory's crusade never departed.... Although proposals for large-scale expeditions were still put forward... it was small parties that sailed to help the kingdom of Jerusalem in its last years."[70] Despite Gregory X's hope for a massive new *passagium generale*, in fact the era of the *passagium particulare* had begun.[71]

Even though neither Hugh III nor Baybars realized it at that moment, the age of the major Crusade to the Holy Land led by princes of western Europe was over. The question now was how long the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli could survive in the face of the Mamluk threat. Despite the truce with Baybars, King Hugh III was having difficulty maintaining unity with the Crusader leaders in the kingdom of Jerusalem and in Tripoli. Beirut, his chief mainland fief, was in the hands of Isabel, who had entered into a separate truce with Baybars in 1269 as we saw earlier. In 1272 she had then married one of Edward's Crusaders, Hamo l'Estrange. Before he died in 1273, Hamo placed Isabel and her fief, surprisingly, under the protection of the Mamluk sultan. Then, when Hugh III tried to remarry her to a noble in the kingdom of Cyprus, Baybars objected and the king was forced to send her back to Beirut. So not only was Baybars a threat outside the kingdom, but he was also able to be a disruptive force inside it as well.[72]

Hugh III was no more successful in attempting to assert his power in Tripoli. When Count Bohemond VI died on 11 March 1275, his son, Bohemond VII, was only fourteen. Hugh attempted to claim the regency, but Bohemond's mother, Sibylla, daughter of Hethoum of Armenia, stepped in immediately to assume the office. When Hugh came to Tripoli to press his claim, he found that Bohemond had been sent to the court of Leo III of Armenia to live. Furthermore, the king was faced with the hostile bishop of Tortosa, Bartholomew, whom Isabel had appointed to administer Tripoli in her name. Hugh avoided leaving Tripoli empty-handed only by helping to arrange a truce for Lattakia. Baybars regarded Lattakia part of the Principality of Antioch, and therefore not covered by his treaties with Acre or with Tripoli. When he tried to take it, the citizens appealed to Hugh. The king intervened and arranged a settlement by which the Christians remained in control, but they were obligated to liberate seven hundred Muslim prisoners and pay an annual tribute to the sultan.[73]

Hugh's difficulties also continued to grow even in Acre. Although his relations with the Hospitallers remained correct under Hugh Revel, who had supported him in the dispute with Maria of Antioch, the Hospitallers were now diminished in power and presence because of the loss of their greatest castle and because of their reduction in numbers. The Templars had not been supportive, however, and when Thomas Berard died in March 1273, the new grand master, William of Beaujeu, who took office in May 1273, represented a new problem. He was proud, ambitious, and directly related to the royal house of France, so when he arrived in the Latin Kingdom from Apulia in 1275 he came as an advocate of Charles of Anjou, opposed to

King Hugh personally and politically.[74] This was demonstrated concretely in the La Fauconnerie affair, in which the Templars purchased the village in October 1276 without royal consent. Hugh regarded this as the final insult, and he was so outraged by this development that he abruptly packed his things and left for Tyre, where a meeting of the Haute Cour was called. No one could persuade the Templars to recognize the king's rights. No one, not the Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights, the Pisans, the Genoese, the members of various confraternities in Acre, nor the church hierarchy, could persuade Hugh to stay, so they prevailed on him at least to appoint a *bailli.* Hugh at last named Balian of Ibelin, son of John of Arsuf to be the *bailli*, and then he sailed for Cyprus. Back home, he wrote the pope explaining his actions, describing how he found it impossible to govern in Acre not only because he could not control the feudal lords and the Italian merchants, but also because of the fractious behavior of the military orders.[75]

The result of the king's departure was rioting in the streets of Acre, which was only brought under control with difficulty, and in the winter of 1276–7 the situation must have seemed very precarious to residents of the various Crusader enclaves along the coast of Syria-Palestine. The hope of another Crusade had faded, and now the new king of Jerusalem, Hugh III, had retreated to Cyprus, leaving them to face the Mamluks on their own. Ironically the situation stabilized in a most unexpected manner. Amazingly, according to the Templar of Tyre Pope Gregory X had taken a personal interest in Maria of Antioch's claims to the crown of Jerusalem, and he suggested that she sell her rights to Charles of Anjou! Only after much delay, and even after Gregory X had died in January 1276, was Maria eventually able to effect this sale in March 1277. As part of the settlement she received a cash payment and an annuity; meanwhile Charles now styled himself "king of Jerusalem."[76]

The immediate result of Charles of Anjou becoming king of Jerusalem was that he sent a trusted lieutenant, Roger of San Severino, to Acre with a military contingent to serve as his *bailli* in the Latin Kingdom.[77] When he arrived in the spring, Roger presented his credentials duly signed by Charles, by Maria, and by the new pope, John XXI.[78] Aided by the Templars and the Venetians, Roger forced Balian of Ibelin to turn over the city to him in early June 1277. With the banner of Charles of Anjou flying over the citadel, Roger then invited the lords of the kingdom to pay homage to him as the new king's *bailli*, but there was uncertainty about what to do and they demurred. A delegation went to Cyprus to consult with King Hugh on this matter, but he refused to discuss it. Eventually the barons paid homage to Roger, and later Count Bohemond VII also recognized him as the lawful *bailli.* Once Roger was in place he appointed other men from the court of Charles of Anjou as constable, marshal, and seneschal of the kingdom.[79] Balian, Hugh's discredited *bailli*, died shortly thereafter, in September 1277.[80]

So Charles was styled king of Jerusalem, but truth be told, he was actually king of Acre. Tyre held out for King Hugh III. The Latin Kingdom was once again fragmented by absentee claimants, but now there were also two kings instead of one. Despite this problematic and potentially dangerous situation, however, the Crusader States were now in less peril than they had been during the previous fifteen years. The reason was because the main threat to the Latin Kingdom, Baybars, had good relations with Charles of Anjou, and neither he nor Roger of San Severino would treat with the Mongols behind Baybars's back nor advocate a new Crusade against the Mamluks the way King Edward I of England would do. He also had an impressive number of truces in effect: those with the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli that were scheduled to run until 1283 and 1282, respectively, and there were other separate truces with the Hospitallers, the Templars, and his special protection over Lady Isabel of Beirut. In the current circumstances the Crusaders for their part valued these truces as respites from Mamluk assault; Baybars on his side could, however, use these arrangements to decide where and when his next attack might be directed, as he had done in the past. In any case, neither Charles nor Roger would be any more successful than Hugh had been in attempting to end the feuding among the various factions inside the kingdom, but Roger, as instructed by Charles of Anjou, would make every effort to keep peace with the Mamluks. In this way Acre, the Latin Kingdom, and the County of Tripoli, perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, were given a new lease on life for at least another decade.

Now that the threat of a new Crusade had passed, Baybars had no immediate interest in attacking the Crusader States; his attention was directed elsewhere. He annexed Nubia by sending military expeditions there in 1272 and 1276.[81] He captured the last three castles of the Assassins east of Margat in 1273, thereby removing them as an independent political and military factor.[82] He dealt with internal problems, including various plots and conspiracies, and especially the bizarre case of Sheikh Khadir b. Abi Bakr, who came to trial in 1273.[83] The Mamluk–Armenian settlement of 1268, imposed by Baybars after Kalavun's conquest of Cilicia, had been broken by the new king, Leo III, and the sultan organized military action there in 1273, 1274, and 1275.[84] After attempted peace negotiations with the Il-Khan broke down in 1272, Baybars planned his next military moves against the Mongols.[85]

The trial of Sheikh Khadir is worth mentioning here, not because of the charges made against him, but because of his fanaticism against religious minorities in the Mamluk sultanate. Sheikh Khadir had become a confidant of and a personal consultant to Baybars, for whom the sultan had had a *zawiya*, that is, an abode for a holy man, erected in Cairo. Sheikh Khadir became quite powerful because of Baybars's favor, and over the years he came to possess *zawiya*s in Damascus, Jerusalem, Ba'albek, Homs, and Hama as well as Cairo. Eventually, however, he was brought to trial for "the most abominable crimes, unnatural sexual practices and adultery." However, Sheikh Khadir was also carried away by a "blind lust for destruction" against

> the Jewish and Christian minorities who lived under the protection of the [Mamluk] authorities.... In Jerusalem he laid the church of the Holy Sepulchre in ruins, and slew the priest with his own hand. In Alexandria the venerable church where the alleged head of John the Baptist was preserved, was ruined. It was turned into a Qur'an school, and called after him al-Madrasa al-Khadra'. In the spring of 1271, allegedly to celebrate the sultan's return from Crac des Chevaliers, he had the great synagogue in Damascus plundered and devastated. The Torah scrolls and all the furnishings were burnt, and the work of destruction culminated in an orgy.[86]

Many Muslims were alarmed by the excesses of this sheikh, whose destructive fury against Christian holy places had not been seen since the time of Caliph al-Hakim in 1009. A death sentence was pronounced against him at the trial, but the fast-talking sheikh was able to have it reduced to life-imprisonment. He died in prison five years later. It is one of the mysteries of this powerful sultan that Baybars was so devoted to this sheikh, a kind of Muslim Rasputin, just as Baybars is also said to have been much given to astrology.[87]

In Cilicia, Baybars had watched the new king, Leo III, repeatedly break their treaty by failing to pay the annual tribute and allowing unprovoked attacks on Muslim trading caravans over several years. After a formal declaration of war, Baybars left Cairo with his army in February 1275. They were joined by additional troops in Damascus and marched into Cilicia. By the end of March the Mamluk army had demolished Sis and had pillaged and looted Adana and Ayas. After a pause in the plain of Antioch to distribute the booty, rest his army, and graze the horses, Baybars then determined to invest the castle of Cursat (Qusayr), about sixteen kilometers almost due south of Antioch. This fort had become the property of the Latin patriarch of Antioch after the fall of the city in 1268, and it was now the only inland castle in the principality held by a Christian garrison, along with the coastal enclaves of Alexandretta and Lattakia. Baybars unleashed a full-scale siege that eventually starved out the garrison. They surrendered on 14 November 1275 and were allowed to depart under safe conduct. Meanwhile as mentioned earlier, Baybars had also threatened Lattakia, but King Hugh had been able to intervene on behalf of the citizens.[88]

It was the Mongols, however, who still occupied great importance in Baybars's thinking and who posed the largest threat for the Mamluks. After their desultory peace negotiations had failed to yield any positive results in 1272, hostilities had been resumed. Despite certain confrontations over the past several years, including a hard-fought battle at al-Bira on the Euphrates in 1273, no resolution of the Mongol presence north of Syria and the fertile crescent had been achieved by the Mamluks. Accordingly, Baybars planned a campaign against the Mongols in Anatolia where their Seljuk protectorate was located. Finally, in the spring of 1277 he was able to bring this plan to fruition.[89] Setting out from Cairo in February, Baybars marched northward past Aleppo to meet the Mongols at Albistan near Melitene. After a bloody battle the Mamluks prevailed on 18 April.[90] Baybars then occupied Kayseri to the northwest where he "received the homage of the people and caused coins to be struck in his name as suzerain of the Selchükids of Rum."[91] When the Il-Khan Abaga was informed, Baybars withdrew to Damascus.

Just as the battle of Ain Jalud had stopped the Mongol threat in 1260, the battle of Albistan stopped the Mongol threat in 1277, but in both cases the Mongol advance was only blunted and delayed or turned back, not eliminated. Baybars, however, would not live to fight again. In Damascus on June 17 Baybars became sick from drinking *qumuz*, fermented mare's milk – a favorite of his and a great favorite of his Mongol enemies[92] – and gradually his conditioned worsened. Despite the ministrations of his physicians, he developed a serious fever that increased until he died on 1 July 1277. The cause of his death was most probably hepatic dysentery. The stories of Baybar's death vary, apparently partly due to the fact that at first his death was kept secret to enable his son to take the reigns of power as smoothly as possible. The variety of legendary stories that then developed include various causes of his fatal illness. Irwin observes sceptically, "inevitably there were rumours of poison."[93] The most likely story, distilled out of the many sources, is that Baybars drank from a cup that had contained poison for someone else but had not been fully cleaned.[94] Nonetheless, Thorau observes, "the story of the poisoned draught taken in error anticipates Shakespeare's use of the same theme in the last scene of *Hamlet*."[95]

Both Baybars and Saladin were buried in Damascus not far from the great Omayyad mosque.[96] Both were great leaders, men from a minority background – Saladin a Kurd, Baybars a Kipchak Turk – who rose to become the most powerful Islamic rulers in their time. However, the impact of their deaths on the Muslim world could not have been more different. When Saladin died, the people of Islam everywhere wept from their loss; even some Christians wept. When Baybars died no one wept. Although he had been admired and had been a great general, he was not loved, and he had few of the personal qualities that had won Saladin such respect.

From the point of view of the Crusaders, the Noailles Continuation records his death in two separate years, and is completely mistaken about the circumstances in both cases.[97] Crusader knowledge about the person of Baybars was evidently limited. However, the results of his campaigns were clear enough: "when Baibars became Sultan the Frankish dominions stretched along the coast from Gaza to Cilicia, with great inland fortresses to protect them from the East. In a reign of seventeen years he had restricted the Franks to a few cities along the coast, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Jebail and Tortosa with the isolated town of Lattakieh, and the castles of 'Athlit and Marqab."[98] (See Maps 5 and 6.) From the Mamluk point of view, "Baybars not only distinguished himself as a military commander, but also demonstrated the ability and virtues of a great ruler." When he died, "he left to his heirs a firmly based and well-organized polity, rounded out by his territorial gains, and forming a centralized and unitary state."[99] It is perhaps symbolic of his military might that a sword now in the Khalili collection in London, "which is the only surviving weapon bearing the name of Baybars, is . . . the earliest curved Islamic sword known."[100] Without claiming that the Islamic curved sword was invented by Baybars, this weapon dated *c.*1270 with its two lion blazons evokes by its inscription the virtues of its owner:

> Glory to our Lord, the Sultan, al-Malik, the Just, the Learned, the Defender of the Faith, the Warrior at the Frontiers, . . . , al-Zahir Baybars, the Associate of the Commander of the Faithful, may God make his victories glorious.[101]

Baybars was also a substantial patron of the arts, active as a builder who beautified Cairo and Jerusalem and rebuilt many castles and fortifications. It was during his reign and that of his successor that there were changes in Muslim metalwork, glass blowing, and book illumination, stimulated by artists – not to mention artisans, doctors, astrologers, and other skilled refugees – from the East moving into Mamluk lands. As Irwin points out, "it is scarcely an exaggeration to claim that, under the Mamluks, Egypt and Syria became a sort of Noah's

Ark for an older Eastern Islamic culture."[102] However, in particular, Baybars was the great architect of the strategy to push the Crusaders into the sea. Although he died before it could be accomplished, it would only be a matter of time, unless some miraculous change could occur in the direction that developments were moving.

THE CRUSADER STATES AND THE MAMLUKS TO 1289

Following the death of Gregory X in 1276 and that of Baybars in 1277, the fate of the Latin East was attached to the fortunes of Charles of Anjou, the "other" king of Jerusalem, and of the Angevin empire. The papacy was enfeebled again, not by an interregnum but by a series of popes with exceedingly short reigns. Between 1276 and 1291 there were a total of seven pontiffs, and the longest reign was only four years, for both Martin IV (1281–5) and Nicholas IV (1288–92).[103] It was Charles who seemed to be in control, at least for a while.

Although he "had won [his] new kingdom without bloodshed... it was a worthless kingdom," as Runciman bluntly points out.[104] The kingdom of Jerusalem was worthless to Charles, that is, because it could provide little revenue, produced no manpower, and obliged him to support a military presence in Acre at his own expense even though the popes had forbidden him to attack Cyprus. Thus the Latin Kingdom could neither aid him in his plans to conquer Byzantium, nor could he use the Latin Kingdom as a point of departure to win Cyprus. The island kingdom of Cyprus would have been in many ways a much more valuable prize (compared to the Latin Kingdom) in terms of wealth and resources. However, despite papal restraints, Charles was cleverly and persistently preparing for his attack on Constantinople. Through deferential behavior toward Pope Nicholas III (1277–80), successor to John XXI, who died after reigning less than a year, Charles laid the groundwork to persuade the new pope, Martin IV, to impose the union of the Latin and Greek churches with force. Whereas Nicholas was an Orsini, born in Rome, who was focused on limiting Angevin influence on papal policy, Martin was French, a graduate of the University of Paris, devoted to the memory of Louis IX, and ready to cooperate with Charles. Having strengthened his position politically and financially in the intervening years, Charles was ready to pursue his designs on what he viewed as Frankish Greece. He pressured the pope to break off negotiations with Michael VIII over church reunion. In July 1281, with the pope's blessing, he entered into an agreement with the Venetians aimed at restoring the Latin Empire of Constantinople. A joint expedition was scheduled to sail in the spring of 1282.[105]

As the year 1282 began, Charles, besides being king of Jerusalem, was king of Sicily and Albania; count of Anjou, Provence, Forcalquier, and Maine; regent of Achaea; overlord of Tunis; and senator of Rome (for life). He was not only the most powerful lord in western Europe, but he was also single-mindedly preparing to lead a powerful expedition to the East. The problem for the Latin Kingdom was that his goal was Constantinople, not Jerusalem. The problem for Charles was his long-sought goal to attack the Byzantines had blinded him; he had failed to recognize the danger of the Aragonese threat, he did not heed reports of the strength of the Hohenstaufen resistance in Italy, and he could not see the potential for rebellion by the people of Sicily. When the bells for vespers sounded from the Church of the Holy Spirit on the evening of 30 March – Easter Monday – 1282, Sicilians everywhere in Palermo arose. Shouting "moranu li Franchiski," "death to the French," they massacred every Frenchman, every Frenchwoman, and all Sicilian collaborators with the French they could find.[106] The uprising quickly spread through the island, and even the huge Angevin fleet in the harbor at Messina was threatened.

Charles was in Naples when he heard the news, and when he realized what was happening, one chronicler reported him saying, "Since it has pleased you, Lord God, to turn the wheel of fortune against me, may it please you that my descent should be by little steps."[107] However unlikely it is that he would have ever said such a thing, it is interesting that such philosophizing would be attributed to him. To his credit, although he had not been able to see the rebellion coming and did not understand its cause, Charles was able to recognize what was happening very quickly. He immediately diverted men and ships from elsewhere to come to his aid in Sicily. His edict of 10 June 1282, by which he hoped to end the uprising, however, fell on deaf ears because the problem was Angevin taxation and overlordship, not refinements in the system of taxation. However, by 30 August when King Peter of Aragon landed at Trapani and marched to Palermo where he was proclaimed king of Sicily, what had been "a local rebellion became a major war between two kings of Europe." In the midst of this turmoil, the Latin Kingdom had been long forgotten by Charles until his *bailli*, Roger of San Severino, was summoned home at the end of the year.[108]

The events surrounding the rise and fall of Charles of Anjou in Sicily were equally momentous for the Crusader East in light of the developments in Cairo. Although a real effort had been made to enable Baybars's eldest son, Baraka Khan, to succeed his father in 1277, he proved unequal to the task. Despite the fact that he was acquainted with affairs of government, not being the warrior and leader his father was, he could not command the power he needed. When Baraka Khan's limitations became evident, he was replaced in August 1279 with a younger son by his father-in-law, Kalavun, emir of the Mamluk troops in Syria. Baraka Khan became emir of Kerak, while Kalavun as commander-in-chief of the army in effect became the regent for the new sultan, Salamish. Shortly thereafter Salamish too was removed and sent to join Baraka Khan, while Kalavun had a third son, Khidr, sent to Krak de Montréal (ash-Shaubak) to rule. In October/November 1279 Kalavun was elected to be the next sultan. These developments demonstrate both the respect accorded the sons of Baybars by Kalavun in honor of the great sultan, as well as Kalavun's determination to pick up the reigns of government and continue the policies of his illustrious predecessor.[109]

Kalavun, like Baybars, began his sultanate with a series of acts designed to win support and consolidate power. He abolished certain taxes on merchants, he removed Christian scribes from a segment of the bureaucracy in favor of Muslims, and in 1279/80 he began a series of building programs at the holiest sites of Islam: Mecca, Jerusalem, and Hebron. In particular, in Jerusalem he sponsored the reconstruction of the southwest part of the al-Aqsa mosque and began the Ribat al-Mansuri, a hospice for Muslim pilgrims, which was the first Mamluk construction outside the walls of the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem.[110]

It was not long before Kalavun was tested politically, however. In April 1280 the emir Sunqur al-Ashqar, Kalavun's main rival for power, proclaimed himself sultan in Damascus. To meet this challenge, Kalavun marched into Syria with a considerable army, which engaged Sunqur and his supporters in battle at Jasura, south of Damascus, on 21 June 1280.[111] Sunqur was routed and fled to the north; in desperation he sought aid from the Mongols. Kalavun announced his victory in Damascus and granted amnesty to its citizens as a means of consolidating his rule. Meanwhile Sunqur took refuge in the castle of Saone, a major fortress that the Crusaders had lost to Saladin in 1188. Kalavun marched northward toward Shaizar on the Orontes, which he besieged in October 1280 and successfully forced its surrender.[112]

Meanwhile, the Mongols, responding to Sunqur's appeal for help and following their own interests in attacking the Mamluks, organized an army that marched into northern Syria. By mid-October the Mongols arrived at Aleppo, but found the city empty; the citizens had fled south. At the same time Kalavun had made contact with Sunqur, "who was entreated to join in the defense of Islam." As Northrup says, "He could not but consent." Sunqur was reconciled to the new sultan and Kalavun sent military contingents after the Mongols, who now retreated precipitously to the north. After this successful foray, Kalavun returned to Cairo in November/December 1280, but he knew the Mongols would return.[113]

Why the Mongols had not pressed their attack in 1280 before Kalavun had fully established his rule in Syria is not clear. However, perhaps sensing a lost opportunity could still be made good, the Il-Khan, Abaga, attempted once again to create a Crusader–Mongol alliance against the Mamluks. A Mongol ambassador had been sent to the Crusaders in Acre in the fall of 1280, proposing that they join with the forces of the Il-Khan in a massive attack Abaga was planning in the spring of 1281. Nevertheless, when Kalavun returned to Syria in March/April 1281, Crusader envoys approached him there, seeking to renew the ten-year truce they had signed with Baybars, and wishing to negotiate security for the Castle of Margat. Kalavun therefore realized that the Crusaders were opting out of the Mongol alliance for the present, so he proceeded to conclude a treaty with the Hospitallers of Acre, which included Margat, on 2 May 1281, and similarly he concluded a truce with Bohemond VII for Lattakia and 'Arqa on 5 July.[114] These treaties largely secured his western flank and enabled Kalavun to focus on the coming Mongol attack from the north.

It was also during these negotiations that Kalavun learned of a serious plot to assassinate him initiated by one Sayf al-Din Kunduk, an official whom Kalavun had demoted when he came to power. The sultan acted decisively when, amazingly, "he received a letter from the Franks in Acre informing him that Kunduk had advised them not to negociate peace with the sultan in view of his imminent assassination and the benefits to them of postponing negotiations." The conspirators were summarily executed, a unique instance in his reign when rivals were put to death, but it was an effective signal that Kalavun was fully in control.[115]

The Mongols reentered Syria from two directions.[116] One army came from Anatolia, led by the brother of the Il-Khan, Manku Timur; the other led by Abaga himself, crossed the Euphrates. A captured Mongol informant estimated their strength at eighty thousand men. They were joined by Armenian troops under Leo III, and with him a contingent of Hospitallers from Margat.[117] Kalavun organized his army at Damascus and then marched north to Homs.[118] Sunqur joined them from Saone, now apparently fully reconciled with the sultan. The battle was joined on 29 October 1281. The Mamluks stood their ground in the center and, when Manku Timur was wounded, chased the Mongols in retreat. Meanwhile their right wing dealt a heavy blow to the Mongols as well. On the other side, the Mongols overpowered the Mamluk left wing, but in the confusion of the battle became disorganized, and when they were informed of Mongol defeat on their other wing, they failed to attack a second time and beat a hasty retreat. Kalavun sealed the victory by sending a Mamluk force after them.[119] When the battle was over, Roger of San Severino is reported by one Muslim source to have come to his camp to congratulate Kalavun in person.[120]

The battle of Homs in 1281 was the third great victory by the Mamluks over the Mongols, following Ain Jalud in 1260 and Albistan in 1277. It was also the first great military victory for Kalavun, who personally led his troops into battle, enhancing his reputation as a warrior and further strengthening his consolidation of power.[121] Homs was a major turning point for the Mamluks in Syria because, although they did not realize it at the time, it would be the last major battle Kalavun would fight against the Mongols. The sultan and his army withdrew back to Egypt. The Mongols recrossed the Euphrates. "The great river remained the frontier between the two Empires."[122]

From the time of Baybars's death to the aftermath of the Sicilian Vespers, it was mainly business as usual for the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli. Although the Franks rejoiced when Baybars died, if they understood how preoccupied Charles was with his plan to attack Byzantium, and the Mamluks were with the transfer of power and with their Mongol enemy, they were not able to respond to and capitalize on this respite.

In Acre, Charles of Anjou ordered Roger of San Severino to maintain an alliance with the Venetians and the Templars and a truce with the Mamluks. Thus, when the Mongol Il-Khan proposed an alliance in 1280 he was met with indifference, except on the part of the Hospitallers. Meanwhile the poisonous political squabbling continued, partly because the feudal lords were unhappy with Roger as the *bailli*. However, when Hugh III came to Tyre in 1279 hoping to assert his authority and oust Roger with the help of the barons, only John of Montfort openly supported him. In Acre the Templars stood fast with Roger and no one else was willing to oppose him. After four months, when his knights completed their mandatory service and returned to Cyprus, Hugh was forced to follow, having accomplished nothing.[123]

Having failed in 1279, Hugh III made another attempt in 1283. In the wake of the Sicilian Vespers and the recall of Roger of San Severino, he hoped to win new support. Arriving in Beirut with 250 knights at the beginning of August, he proceeded by ship to Tyre, while his army marched down the coast to join him. Although he arrived safely, his army was attacked by Muslims en route, the targets of an ambush instigated by Templars at Sidon, so Hugh believed. When he entered the city, the Templar of Tyre reported two disturbing events:

> The day he arrived in Tyre, his personal banner with the Lusignan arms fell into the sea. As he landed at the entrance to the town, the Jewish Torah was carried out to meet them, as is the custom which they perform for the king. As a Jew named Samuel the Doctor was following the Torah, he collided with the cleric who was carrying the cross before the procession, so that the cross, which was so high fell onto this Jew, and broke his head.[124]

On top of this no one from Acre came to welcome him. Eudes Poilechien the *bailli* had just concluded a truce with the Mamluks in June, and he was staunchly supported by the Templars, as they had supported Roger of San Severino before him. Edbury proposes that Hugh did not try to impose his authority by force because he feared possible Mamluk intervention, not to mention the fact he no doubt did not want to risk open warfare with the Templars. When his knights returned to Cyprus after their time of service expired, Hugh stayed on in Tyre, but to no avail. Less than a year later, on 4 March 1284, he died there still hoping to find a way to retake power. His eldest son became king as John II, crowned in Nicosia in May 1284, but he never left Cyprus to come to the Holy Land.[125]

Farther north, in Tripoli between 1277 and 1282, the internecine conflict was even worse.[126] Bohemond was quarrelling with Guy II Embriaco of Gibelet over arrangements for the marriage of a local heiress. Guy sought the protection of the Templars. So violent did this dispute become that Bohemond and the Templars came to open warfare. Bohemond attacked Templar property in Tripoli, and the Templars retaliated by burning the castle of Botron. Bohemond tried to attack Gibelet, but a battle ensued near Botron with massive casualties. The count was defeated and his cousin, Balian of Sidon, who was also Guy's brother-in-law, was killed. Following this there was a year's truce, but then hostilities broke out again. Bohemond was defeated in another battle. Guy now wanted to exact full revenge by taking Tripoli. In January 1282, he entered the city in secret with his men, but when plans fell apart he was discovered and captured by Bohemond. Bohemond blinded his men, and then Guy and his close relatives were taken to Nephin just south of the city, buried in the dirt up to their necks, and left to starve. This story is shocking in many ways. Not only does it indicate what appalling violence was being resorted to among the Franks, and their willingness to indulge in outright civil war further fragmenting the body politic, but also it demonstrates how oblivious the Franks all seemed to be to the danger without. The Crusaders truly seem to have grown accustomed to a kind of coexistence with their enemies associated with a false sense of security.[127]

It is not surprising in circumstances like these that the Crusaders were not receptive to overtures from the Mongol Il-Khan for an alliance against Kalavun and the Mamluks in the fall of 1280. It is also not surprising that in the spring of 1281 Roger and Bohemond sought to renew their truces with the Mamluks and even warned Kalavun of a conspiracy against his life in the process, as we have mentioned. It is perhaps surprising that the Crusaders, in the persons of the Hospitallers at Margat, were willing in the fall of 1280 to risk the fragile peace and their own security by conducting isolated raids against the Mamluks. It is perhaps surprising that we should be surprised, however, because these Hospitallers seemed to be the only Crusaders who, not only still clearly identified the Muslims as their enemies, but also acted accordingly with military action. Nonetheless, these Hospitallers would pay for their truculence and independence.

The Fall of Margat Castle

It is clear that the Hospitallers in the north, with their headquarters at Margat, acted much more aggressively during the thirteenth century.[128] Now, late in the century, however, their actions were framed by the ten-year truce of 1271, agreed on after the fall of Crac des Chevaliers.[129] They clearly broke this truce in 1280 when they conducted a raid into the Buqaia Valley nearly to the walls of Crac des Chevaliers just when the Mongols had occupied Aleppo. When Kalavun sent a Mamluk contingent against them, the Hospitallers were able to drive them off south of Margat near Maraclea. Kalavun was focused on the Mongols at this point, however, and so was content simply to renew his truce with the Hospitallers, including those at Margat, on 12 May 1281.[130] Meanwhile, the Hospitallers continued to break the truce when some of their men fought with Leo III and the Mongols at Homs in October 1281. Again when Kalavun sent Mamluk troops from Crac des Chevaliers to punish them in the winter of 1282, they were driven back in a snowstorm. "The unrepentant Hospitallers continued to raid the surrounding country."[131] Kalavun took notice.

When news of the Sicilian Vespers arrived in the Near East, the Mamluks were relieved. Now, other than possibly Edward I of England, there was no Western figure they feared might have the power and the wherewithal to mount another Crusade to the Levant in the immediate future. On 3 June 1283 Kalavun concluded yet another truce with the Crusaders, dealing with Acre, 'Atlit, and Sidon. This time it was signed by the new *bailli*, Eudes Poilechien, who assumed the position when Roger of San Severino was recalled by Charles of Anjou; William of Beaujeu, the master of the Templars; Nicholas Lorgne, the new master of the Hospitallers; and marshal Brother Conrad, lieutenant master of the Teutonic Knights. Tyre, Beirut, and of course, Margat, were excluded. With this truce in place, Kalavun apparently had started contemplating a serious campaign against Margat.[132]

His attention was directed to Margat Castle, not only because it remained as a conspicuous thorn in his side, but also especially because of developments with the Mongols. The Il-Khan, Abaga, had died in April 1282, and was succeeded by his brother, Tegüder. Though born a Nestorian, he embraced Islam after taking the throne, styling himself Ahmad Takudar and calling himself sultan. His reign was short-lived, however, because he was murdered in a court conspiracy in August 1284, and Abaga's son, Arghun, became the new Il-Khan immediately. Arghun was a much more able and formidable leader than Tegüder, and he wished to revive Abaga's ideas of constructing a Mongol–Christian alliance against the Mamluks. Kalavun could see that to deal with the new threat, he needed to eliminate the Hospitallers at Margat, who had so brazenly joined forces with the Mongols against him in the past.[133]

In late February or early March 1285, Kalavun left Cairo en route to Damascus, where he directed military operations all during March. Weapons and equipment along with siege engines were stockpiled in Hama. Army groups were organized and dispatched without anyone knowing where they were headed. By this means Kalavun, like Baybars had done before him, was able to use the element of surprise. He suddenly appeared before the walls of Margat on 17 April 1285.

The Castle of Margat presented a formidable challenge not only because of its large size and impressive walls, but also because of the steep drop-off all along its more-or-less triangular-shaped perimeter.[134] The castle occupies a plateau on the pinnacle of a ridge line overlooking the Mediterranean, just south of Valenia, about thirty-two kilometers north of Tortosa on the coast. In 1212 Wilbrand von Oldenburg had visited the castle and commented:

> It is a huge and very strong castle, defended by a double wall and protected by several towers. . . . The Hospitallers provide for 1,000 people there apart from the garrison. . . . The provisions stored there are sufficient for five years.[135]

It was important because not only was it the most powerful Crusader castle along the coast between Tortosa and Lattakia, but also it was the place where the bishop of Valenia had located his see since the early part of the century. For the Hospitallers it served as their northern headquarters and its historic significance was that a great chapter had been held there in 1206, which had defined them as a military order.[136] No doubt it was well garrisoned in 1285, but we do not know exactly how many defenders there were.

The Hospitallers were well prepared for the assault, but Kalavun had assembled a powerful attack force with the largest number of siege machines yet seen in the Crusader East. The Templar of Tyre only tersely reports the fall of the castle, but a Muslim source gives a detailed account of what happened: "Immediately the catapults were brought up, carried on men's shoulders, and the fort was surrounded by a murderous circle of weapons. . . . These began a formidable, murderous assault with stones while excavations were started on each side to undermine the walls."[137]

The Hospitallers fought stalwartly. They used their own catapults to destroy many deployed by the Mamluks. For a month the Mamluk army maintained their siege and continued mining operations with little evident progress. It was not until 23 May that the main mine was fired and the enormous round tower at the south end of the castle collapsed. The Hospitallers drove back the invaders, but when they discovered the extent of Mamluk mining operations,

> they lost their courage and presence of mind and gave themselves up for lost. They thought that they were trapped, and asked that their lives should be spared in exchange for their surrender,. . . . They begged our Lord the Sultan to show mercy and pardon them.[138]

Kalavun accepted their surrender and agreed to spare the garrison. The twenty-five highest officers were granted horses, mules, and their equipment in exchange for a ransom payment. The rest of the men were given their lives, and they were all accorded safe-conduct to Tortosa, from which they went south to Tripoli. The sultan's banner was raised over the battlements on 25 May 1285. He took possession of the castle the next day. The decision was made to repair and garrison it "for the destruction of the infidels and the support of the neighbouring castles." Kalavun stationed 1,000 footsoldiers, 400 support troops, and 150 Mamluks there. The emir in command was given control over the entire area from Margat to Antioch.

With the fall of Margat, now called Marqab in Arabic, there was no major castle left in Hospitaller hands, and their main headquarters was now only in Acre. The Hospitallers at Margat had fought the Mamluks with vigor. Jonathan Riley-Smith summarizes their operations this way:

> [Indeed] the garrison of Margat continued to take the initiative right up to the fall of the castle in 1285. The Hospitallers "showed an incredible insolence. Their ravages and raids in the surrounding territories had spread such terror that the inhabitants of the neighbouring fortresses were shut up as if in prison or more as though in a tomb."[139]

The loss of this castle meant the loss of this territory and the loss of the Hospitaller presence in the north. It also raised in the minds of some Crusaders what Kalavun planned for the future.

Kalavun's plan began to unfold in the days immediately following the capture of Margat Castle. Kalavun precipitously attacked the island fortification of Maraclea, offshore opposite the town, about fourteen miles south of Marqab, and sixteen kilometers north of Tortosa. Our main Muslim source describes it as follows:

> This fort . . . faced Maraqiyya [Maraclea] from a position in the sea, two bow-shots or more from the shore. It was almost square in shape; each side was twenty-five and a half cubits long, with walls seven cubits thick. It had seven storeys and was built on ships loaded with stones and sunk in the sea. . . . It had a garrison of a hundred. Behind it and attached to it was a small second fort defended by three mounted catapults. The place was in effect unassailable by siege or blockade.[140]
>
> Kalavun had realized that he could not attack the castle in the conventional manner and "that the Muslims had no fleet strong enough to cut the supply-lines and prevent traffic reaching the fort . . . . and that wit and not force was the agent necessary to its conquest."[141]

Accordingly he sent the following threat to Count Bohemond VII of Tripoli:

> either you demolish it or we shall take so much of your territory in revenge that the Lord of Maraqiyya will be of no help to you.[142]

Bohemond, fearing for the safety of Tripoli and what remained of his county, chose to surrender the fort and demolish it:

> The Prince sent a certain number of Franks to help with the demolition, by which means the word of God was fulfilled: "They cast down their dwellings with their own hands, and with the hands of the believers". (Koran, lix, 2) . . . Stone by stone it came down.[143]

Kalavun had now driven a fatal wedge between Tartus and Lattakia. Some of the Franks who were forced to dismantle this fort may have shuddered to think of what lay ahead.

Meanwhile Kalavun also imposed a major treaty on Leo III farther north in Cilicia. Following the retreat of Armenian forces after the Mongol defeat at the battle of Homs, Kalavun had not attempted to pursue them personally. However, in 1283 and 1284 he had ordered one of his favored Mamluks, Qarasunqur al-Mansuri of Aleppo, to attack Cilician Armenia, not only to punish the Armenians, but also to gain access to the wealth of natural resources in Cilicia – wood and iron – and to gain control of the port of Ayas. Ayas had been rebuilt since it was devastated in 1266, and again in 1275. Marco Polo had passed through the city in 1271, commenting that it was "a city good and great and of great trade," and noting that "all the spicery and the cloths of silk and of gold and of wool from inland are carried to this town.... And the merchants from Venese, from Pise, and from Jene and from all inland parts come there and buy them and sell their own things, and keep their warehouses in that city."[144] It was also now a major venue for the slave trade with Turkestan that the Mamluks depended on. "Since the Mongols did not possess their own port on the Mediterranean, the Armenian port of Ayas was the most important outlet for the transmission of goods coming from the Mongol lands to Europe,"[145] not to mention Mamluk Alexandria.[146] By the usual ten-year truce concluded on 6 June 1285, Kalavun agreed to peace, but he exacted a heavy annual tribute and guarantees for secure passage through Cilicia for Mamluk commerce, including especially the slave trade from Turkestan in which the Genoese were also involved.[147]

The Fall of Tripoli

The year 1285 was a turning point for the fate of the Crusaders in the Holy Land. One factor was that there was a wholesale change in the *dramatis personae* who had wielded power up to this point. Charles of Anjou died in January and was succeeded by his son, Charles II. Pope Martin IV died in April and was succeeded by Honorius IV five days later. Philippe III of France and Peter of Aragon also died later that year. In the East, King John II of Cyprus, who had succeeded his father, Hugh III, died on 20 May. John's fourteen-year-old brother, Henry, succeeded him and was crowned in Nicosia in June 1285.

Changes in priorities, interests, and policies by the new leaders were another factor. It rapidly became evident that Angevin and papal interests would be focused entirely on the war in Sicily, where James the younger brother of Alfonso, who succeeded Peter of Aragon, was declared king of Sicily by the Sicilians, and immediately excommunicated by the new pope! Meanwhile the agenda of the new king of France, Philippe IV, crowned in October 1285, was also quickly identified. Although it has been said Philippe IV pulled out of Palestine completely, in fact what he did was to refuse the "custodia Terre Sanctae" offered to him by the pope.[148] Like Philippe II and Henry II before him, Philippe IV could not accept full responsibility for management of the Holy Land. He did, however, resume paying for the French regiment, commanded first by Eudes Poilechien and then by Jean de Grailly. In sum, although the problems of the Crusaders in the Holy Land were being pushed aside in some corridors of power in Europe, but not others, in the Crusader Levant itself these problems were top priority, and also in Cairo, where Kalavun was now fully in power.

In these circumstances, the new king of Cyprus, Henry II, sent his envoy to Acre, one Julian le Jaune, to open discussions with the lords and the Templars. His claim to be the new king of Jerusalem was supported by the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights. The demise of Charles of Anjou and the fall of Margat seemed to indicate that the Latin Kingdom needed a resident ruler. Not only was William of Beaujeu, master of the Templars, willing to change his political allegiance, but also the lords of Acre "acquiesced."[149] Only the *bailli*, Eudes Poilechien, refused to relinquish his position without instructions from his new king, Charles II, and he was supported in this by the French regiment, which was sponsored by the French king.[150] When his envoy reported on the situation, Henry II prepared to come to Acre to resolve it.

Henry II arrived in Acre on 4 June 1286, a year after he was crowned in Nicosia; the people of Acre welcomed him enthusiastically. Nothing like this had been seen since Louis IX sailed into the harbor at Acre in May 1250. The leaders of the three major military orders were conspicuously absent, however, maintaining public neutrality according to their religious vows, they said, but their good offices would be needed shortly. After officially being welcomed in state at the Church of the Holy Cross, Henry indicated he would lodge in the citadel as previous resident kings had done. When Eudes Poilechien and the French regiment refused to hand over the citadel, Henry blockaded them inside and there was an awkward standoff. On 27 June, as their food was running low, Henry sent the French regiment a message. Henry proposed that the regiment leave with no reprisals, but that if it became known that their sponsor, the king of France, explicitly wished them to occupy the citadel, they could return. Now the masters of the three military orders also stepped in. They persuaded Eudes Poilechien to leave, and gave it to Henry. He officially occupied the citadel on 29 June 1286.[151]

Despite, or maybe because of this contretemps, the coronation of Henry II was celebrated with extraordinary pomp and circumstance. It was a moment of high pageantry and rare unity for the Latin Kingdom. On the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, 15 August 1286, Henry II was crowned king of Jerusalem in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Cross at Tyre, by Bonacursus de Gloire O.P., archbishop of Tyre, acting in lieu of the patriarch, Elias, who was at this time in Rome.[152] It was the first royal coronation there since that of Hugh III in 1269, and before that, of John of Brienne in 1210 and Isabel of Brienne in 1225.[153]

After the ceremony was over in Tyre, the royal party moved back to Saint Jean d'Acre, where the new king was fêted with feasts and jousts and many entertainments. For fifteen days there was "la feste la plus belle que l'on sache. c. ans," the most wonderful celebration seen in a hundred years! The Templar of Tyre, who must have been present at the festivities, describes a variety of spectacles that took place in the great hall of the *Auberge* of the Hospital of the Knights of St. John. Tableaux were enacted by the knights of Acre from the story of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, with Lancelot, and Tristram and Palamedes, along with other knightly romances. There were scenes from "la raine de Femenie," that is, the Queen of the Amazons from the Romance of Troy, including "chevaliers vestus come dames & josteent ensemble; puis nounains quy estoient avé moines & bendoient les uns as autres." There were also many other "jeus biaus & delitables & plaissans."[154]

It was during these celebrations, as Hugo Buchthal argued in 1957, that a magnificent illustrated manuscript may have been presented to the new king, a present from the Crusader lords.[155] It was a *Histoire Universelle*, the text that combined biblical and secular literary stories in an attempt to give a continuous narration of world history from Creation to the time of Julius Caesar.[156] One of the features of this book is its stories of the Amazons, which became very popular in Acre in the 1270s and 1280s.[157] Taking into consideration the extraordinary features of this codex, with its remarkable frontispiece based on Arabic manuscripts of the school of Baghdad, with its wonderful illustrated stories of the great heroes and heroines of antiquity, such as Joseph, King Ninus, Heracles, Alexander, and the Amazons, and with the blending of French and Byzantine style by a group of at least six high-quality painters, this is clearly a commission of *grande luxe* unique to Acre. Buchthal brilliantly proposed that "it was presented to King Henry by the military aristocracy of Acre on the occasion of his coronation, and to commemorate the pageantry staged in his honour."[158]

The celebrations in honor of the boy-king, Henry II, briefly diverted everyone from the ominous clouds of danger on the horizon. No one in Acre at this time seemed to be concerned with Kalavun and the Mamluk threat; no one was thinking about, or possibly even yet knew about, the alliance the new ruler of the Mongols, Arghun, was attempting to construct by sending letters and enyoys to the leaders of western Europe.[159] No one could foresee that the youthful King Henry II would be stricken with epilepsy, the first Crusader ruler since Baldwin IV and his leprosy to be faced with debilitating disease.[160] Charles II, the new king of Sicily, would not be able to contest Henry II's right to be the new king of Jerusalem for the time being, but he and his descendants would not relinquish their claim to the crown. No one could imagine what a mockery this midsummer festival would seem to be in five years, or even three years hence. However, shortly after the celebrations were over, politics and business returned to normal – the new king on the advice of his uncles, Philip and Baldwin of Ibelin, left Acre and returned home to Cyprus. They understood that having a resident king was no longer popular. From hindsight, it seems to have been an omen for the future. Before his departure, Henry II appointed Baldwin of Ibelin to be his new *bailli*; the confrontation with Eudes Poilechien over the citadel was now forgotten.[161]

The fate of Acre, Tripoli, and the fragmentary remains of both the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli was seemingly now in the hands of larger more powerful forces in the East; Kalavun the Mamluk sultan on the one hand and Arghun, the Mongol Il-Khan, on the other. However, for the moment, the citizens of the Latin Kingdom could look to the future with positive and hopeful thoughts. Once again a Lusignan king was reigning in both the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem. Acre at least was in 1286, and had been since the truce of 1272, more or less at peace with the Mamluks.

Despite the vulnerable position of the Latin Kingdom along the coast with loss of all major inland castles, the County of Tripoli was in even more precarious circumstances. With Kalavun's attention recently drawn to the north because of the Mongols, the Armenians, and Mamluk commercial access to the Black Sea, the continued presence of Sunqur al-Ashqar at Saone castle, and the sultan's recent successes at Marqab and Maraclea, it is not surprising that he moved next against the Crusaders in the County of Tripoli.

To prepare the way, and before embarking on any larger objective, in the winter of 1286/7, the sultan decided that dissidents and rivals for power must be dealt with. In northern Syria this meant removing the unreliable Sunqur al-Ashqar from Saone. At the beginning of 1287, Kalavun sent another of his trusted Mamluks, Turuntay, to besiege the castle. Before beginning his assault, Turuntay proposed that Sunqur lay down his arms in return for receiving the sultan's pardon and reconciliation. When Sunqur initially refused, Turuntay ordered his troops to attack. Realizing quickly that despite the defensive strength of the castle, his troops were no match for his attackers and their equipment, Sunqur al-Ashqar agreed to surrender. In late April 1287 Sunqur turned over the castle, and so Saone fell a second time – in the first instance the Crusaders surrendered the castle to Saladin in 1188, in this instance a Mamluk emir surrendered it to a Mamluk representative of a Mamluk sultan in 1287.[162] In any case, true to his word, Kalavun treated Sunqur honorably when he returned to Cairo, and he became a counselor and companion of the sultan. The castle of Saone was thereby incorporated into the Mamluk province of Northern Syria.

It was during this period that Kalavun and the Mamluks were also the beneficiary of good fortune in their campaign to conquer the remaining Crusader holdings in Tripoli. On 22 March 1287, Lattakia had suffered a serious earthquake, which destroyed a significant part of the fortifications of the town. Seeing an opportunity here finally to seize control of this important port city that was now only an isolated Crusader enclave, Kalavun apparently claimed Lattakia, formerly part of the Principality of Antioch, was not effectively covered by his recent truce with Tripoli.[163] In fact, according to the text of the truce of 1281 Lattakia certainly was written explicitly into the treaty.[164] Whatever the sultan may have claimed, he understood how vulnerable the Crusaders there were after the earthquake and he ordered his emir, Turuntay, to attack the city. When the defenders fell back to a stronghold at the mouth of the port, the Mamluk emir widened the causeway to enable his army to fight more effectively. The Crusader garrison was forced to capitulate on 30 April 1287.[165]

Then a few months later, on 19 October 1287, Bohemond VII died at age twenty-six.[166] Although he had become count at the tender age of fourteen, he had grown into the position rapidly and Tripoli had had strong leadership by a resident ruler. Now that he had died without issue, the Lady Lucie, his younger sister, was the heir apparent.[167] She alas was living in Apulia, however, with her husband, Narjot of Toucy, who formerly had served Charles of Anjou as his admiral. Not attracted by the prospect of an absentee and essentially unknown relative, who moreover was married to an Angevin officer, assuming the rule, the Crusader lords turned, not to Bohemond's other sister, Marguerite of Antioch-Lusignan, the next in line, but to Bohemond's mother, Sibylle of Armenia, as had happened in 1275 when Bohemond VI died. Just as she had done then, Sibylle, the dowager countess, living in Tripoli, once again sought the consent of Bishop Bartholomew of Tortosa to act as her *bailli*. However, times had changed and Bartholomew was no longer in favor. When Sibylle's letters to Bishop Batholomew fell into their hands, the lords took action. Here begins another classic story of Crusader disorganization, fragmentation, and at times blind self-interest on the part of many factions, which is largely told by the Templar of Tyre. They (the lords) went to the countess and explained that the bishop was their enemy. Bishop Bartholomew was hated because he had been involved when Bohemond VII had killed Guy II Embriaco of Gibelet in 1282. Then, they consulted together and sent for Benedetto Zaccaria to come to Tripoli.[168]

Benedetto Zaccaria has been called "Genoa's most famous entrepreneur," "a naval commander," "merchant," indeed "a merchant pirate," and he was clearly a man of great stature, wealth, and experience.[169] When he arrived from Genoa early in 1288 he found not only that the Commune of Tripoli had come into being, elected their own mayor, Bartholomew Embriaco, and set aside the dynastic claims of Bohemond's family to rule, but also he found that Lucie had arrived at Tripoli to claim her inheritance and departed, while Sibylle discreetly had withdrawn to live with her brother in Cilician Armenia. Lucie had installed herself briefly in the little castle at Nephin with the support of the Hospitallers, where she issued her claim to rule Tripoli. The Commune in reply had denied her claim, going into detail over their grievances with regard to the ruling dynasty,[170] and put the city of Tripoli under the protection of the Genoese. She had then retreated to the city of Acre.[171]

The citizens of Tripoli watched as the struggle for power unfolded, a struggle with wider implications, not only for Tripoli but also all of the Latin East. Before Benedetto Zaccaria had arrived, the master of the Temple, the master of the Hospitallers, the master of the Teutonic Knights, and the *bailli* of the Venetians were attempting to effect a viable resolution to this situation. It was they

> quy estoient dehors les portes de Triple en tentes & pavelions herberges, & estoient venus por metre acort entre la seur dou prince, dame Lusie, & les gens de Triple.

However, when they saw the Genoese galleys approaching, they

> s'en vindrent à Acre sans rien faire.[172]

In this situation, Benedetto Zaccaria, remembering what bad relations the Genoese had had with the counts of Tripoli, especially Bohemond VII, seized the moment. He recognized the Commune of Tripoli, arranged a treaty giving Genoese merchants control of more streets in the city, and a podestà to govern their people in the city, as the Templar of Tyre reports.[173]

Meanwhile Bartholomew Embriaco had regained control of Gibelet through the marriage of his daughter Agnes, to the son, Peter, of Guy II Embriaco. In the wake of his becoming mayor of the Commune at Tripoli, and this marriage, he then began actively exploring the possibility of replacing the countess of Tripoli as ruler of the entire county.[174]

After these developments, Zaccaria went to Ayas to arrange a Genoese commercial agreement with the king of Armenia. It was clear that his goal was to strengthen the Genoese maritime trading empire by expanding their presence in the eastern Mediterranean. At this moment, Zaccaria seemed intent on making Tripoli the centerpiece of their holdings, instead of Tyre. By combining that with their privileges at Ayas, the Genoese could control the north–south coastal commerce in the eastern Mediterranean, especially the slave trade upon which the Mamluk sultanate relied.

In Tripoli the citizens watched with concern. They were faced with the claims of the Countess Lucie, the growing ambition of Bartholomew Embriaco, and the expanding power of the Genoese. The Commune apparently decided neither they nor Bartholomew could any longer control the situation themselves, so they opted to reopen negotiations with Lucie, without consulting the Genoese. When Lucie received their letter, she perceptively sized up the situation and decided to contact Benedetto Zaccaria in Ayas for consultation.[175] Zaccaria returned to Tripoli and went to Tyre, where he invited Lucie to come from Acre for discussions. Benedetto was not interested in the rule, and if she would agree to recognize the Genoese podestà in Tripoli and the Commune, and guarantee their rights and privileges, he would acknowledge her as the countess of Tripoli. Lady Lucie agreed to these terms, and accordingly she finally became the countess of Tripoli in 1288.

In Cairo Kalavun was watching these developments with great interest and with growing involvement. In the first instance, he had been contacted by Bartholomew Embriaco, to see whether the sultan would support his bid to become the new count of Tripoli. He had also been contacted by the Venetians, who, anxious to maintain their strong commercial position in Syria against the Genoese threat, sought an accord with the sultan, which was duly signed on 26 November 1288.[176] The Templar of Tyre also reports that two persons came from Alexandria to speak to the sultan.[177] These "two persons," who are not identified – Richard says they "may have been Genoese from the party of Bartholomew of Gibelet, or Pisans, or Venetians"[178] – warned Kalavun about the growing threat to Alexandria posed by the strengthening of Tripoli as a Genoese naval base.

In sum, this is a version of "the old familiar story of failure to unite and to bury mutual grievances in the face of an overwhelming danger, ... The Italians were no worse offenders in this respect than were the nobles of the crusading states or the members of the military Orders. In 1289 [sic], when Benedetto Zaccaria came with a Genoese fleet to the relief of Tripoli he became involved in the civil war going on between the commune of the city and the Countess Lucie which destroyed the unity of the defense and made the city an easy prey to Kelaoun."[179]

Elsewhere it was during 1287–8 that the Mongol Il-Khan, Arghun, who was known to Marco Polo, sent his special envoy, Rabban Sauma, to the West, someone Marco Polo apparently did not know. Rabban Sauma was an extraordinary man, a Nestorian Christian monk of Turkic stock from the region of Beijing, China, who had come to the Near East to visit Jerusalem but who had ended up working for the Nestorian patriarch of Baghdad, Mar Yahbhallaha. When the Il-Khan, Arghun, determined that letters were ineffective and that he must send an ambassador to seek help from the kings of Europe, he asked the patriarch to select someone willing and able to carry out this mission. Rabban Sauma was duly chosen and became Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Arghun Khan.[180]

The story of this amazing embassy has been told elsewhere and the full details need not be rehearsed here.[181] Suffice it to say that Rabban Sauma traveled westward starting early in 1287, sailing from Trebizond to Constantinople, then to Naples and Rome. Pope Honorius IV had died just before his arrival, so he moved on to Genoa, where his appeal was given careful attention. Then he went to France, where he was warmly welcomed, given a promise by King Philippe IV that he would take the Cross at some unspecified time and lead an army to retake Jerusalem, and a French ambassador was named, one Gobert de Helleville, to accompany him back to the Il-Khan. From Paris he visited Edward I in Bordeaux, and then went back to Rome via Genoa to meet the new pope, Nicholas IV, during Holy Week of 1288. The pope received him warmly as a Christian, invited Rabban Sauma to join him in the papal celebrations of Holy Week and Easter, showered him with relics and gifts, and had letters prepared for the Il-Khan and the Nestorian patriarch, among others. However, Nicholas gave no commitments with regard to a Crusade. Rabban Sauma's visit to Europe had been a personal triumph but a diplomatic failure. As he passed through Genoa on his return journey to Rome, he voiced his frustrations to the cardinal of Tusculum, "When I go back, what shall I say and what answer can I make to the Mongols on my return?"[182]

When Rabban Sauma did return later to the court of Arghun in Persia, the Il-Khan was amazed by the indifference – or was it suspicion – and lack of interest in the proposed alliance to liberate Jerusalem that his envoy had met with in the West. Nonetheless he was very grateful to Rabban Sauma for his good offices and appointed him as his Nestorian chaplain. Indeed, he said, "'we have made thee to suffer great fatigue, for thou art an old man. In future we shall not permit thee to leave us; nay, we will set up a church [a religious tent] at the Gate of our Kingdom [entrance to his royal tent], and thou shalt minister therein and recite prayers.'... And the king took care that reverend men, and holy Fathers [bishops], and priests, and deacons, and monks, should keep vigil in the church and recite the offices, and that the beater of the board [a semantron to call Christians to prayer] should never be idle in that church."[183]

The Il-Khan, Arghun, though disappointed, did not give up. In the spring of 1289, and then in the winter of 1290–1, he sent two further embassies with detailed letters, but it was all for naught. The leaders of western Europe were too preoccupied with the war in Sicily to commit themselves to another Crusade. However, this potential alliance, as it turned out, was the last great opportunity to save *Outremer*.

It is unlikely that the Crusaders in Tripoli or Acre knew about Rabban Sauma's embassy to western Europe in 1287–8 on behalf of Arghun, but it is quite possible and very probable that Kalavun was aware of it.[184] With regard to the relative threat to Mamluk interests, the developments that had put the Genoese in power in Tripoli and in Ayas and the potential for their cooperation with Arghun, along with his hope for a larger Christian alliance, were apparently now viewed in Cairo as too dangerous to ignore. Well informed on what had been going on in Tripoli, Kalavun began planning for his next major campaign.

The Mamluk army left Cairo for Damascus at the beginning of 1289. As he had done with the campaign against Margat, preparations had been made to assemble his troops in Damascus, and weapons and siege engines were stockpiled, all without disclosing his objective. Nonetheless, word of the new campaign leaked out to William of Beaujeu from an emir in the pay of the Templars. However, when William tried to warn the Countess Lucie, the barons, and the Genoese about the impending danger, no one paid him any serious attention. Then, at the end of March 1289, Kalavun's enormous army appeared before the city walls.

Crusader Tripoli was located on a promontory along the coast, known today as the coastal suburb, al-Mina. The walled city is approximately three miles from the inland castle, Mont Pelerin or Qal'at Sanjil, the latter in the hills above the city. Mont Pelerin is reported by Maqrizi to have been captured already by the Mamluks in 1267, during the time of Baybars.[185] It appears that Tripoli at the time of this attack found the castle occupied by the Muslims, hence its lack of mention in the accounts of the siege of the city,[186] whereas the fortified city, its off-shore islands and control of the sea were in the hands of the Crusaders. The Muslim sources refer to Tripoli as a wealthy city and well fortified.

Once the Crusaders realized how serious the situation was, all efforts were made to organize the defense of the city. Countess Lucie came from Nephin south of the city and assumed command with full authority as recognized by both the barons and the Commune. The Templar of Tyre gave a full report on who the defenders were.

> My lord Amaury of Lusignan (brother of king Henry II of Jerusalem and of Cyprus, who was called the Lord of Tyre and the constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem) came to Tripoli, bringing fine men-at-arms with him, knights and others. The Templar Marshal Geoffrey of Vendac also came there, as did Brother Peter of Moncada and Brother Reddecoeur, and many other Hospitaller brethren, and many knights and sergeants of the king of France. The Genoese had four galleys and the Venetian had two which arrived later. And the Pisans, who were enemies of the Genoese and of the men of Tripoli also came.[187]

The siege began about 17 March, according to the Templar of Tyre, or 25 March 1289, according to Abu l-Fida; in either case, right after the rainy season. Kalavun is reported to have used nineteen catapults. The Templar of Tyre says that the walls of the city were strong, and Maqrizi reports that "the thickness of the walls was such that three horsemen could ride their horses side by side along it."[188] The sultan, obviously acting on good intelligence reports, immediately targeted the Tower of the Bishop, which was the oldest and most vulnerable, and the Tower of the Hospital, which was newer and stronger, at the southeast end of the line of fortifications. The attack was relentless. As the battle went on certain noncombattants fled to Cyprus, the two Venetian galleys departed for Cilician Armenia, and then Benedetto Zaccaria and his Genoese ships also left. When the Mamluks saw that the defense was weakening, the sultan ordered his men to intensify their attack on 26 April.[189]

Forcing their way into the city, the Mamluk soldiers took the city by storm, after a siege of thirty-four days, on 27 April. The remaining citizens fled to the harbor, but only a few ships remained. Countess Lucie with Amaury of Lusignan, along with the marshal of the Templars, the commander of the Hospitallers, and John de Grailly, captain of the French regiment and seneschal of the Latin Kingdom, were able to sail to Cyprus.[190] Most other men died, and the women and children were captured for slaves. Some refugees who could not find a ship to board had managed to get in rowboats and make their way to one of the off-shore islands, where the Church of St. Thomas was located. The Mamluks relentlessly followed, swimming with their horses to the island. After the battle ended the author of one of the Muslim accounts, Abu l-Fida, said,

> I went by boat to this island, and found it heaped with putrefying corpses; it was impossible to land there because of the stench.[191]

Obviously Kalavun "did not show his usual mercy to the inhabitants."[192] Despite the horrendous killing, the Mamluks took many prisoners and because the city was prosperous – Maqrizi reports that the Mamluks found four thousand weaver's looms in the city – there was much booty.[193]

When the battle was over, the decision had to be made whether to spare the city. At Antioch, Baybars destroyed the city. In the cases of Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab, the castles were retained and repaired in order to be serviceable for Mamluk military use. At Lattakia the port was important to the Mamluks. Here at Tripoli, the Mamluks already held the inland castle. Kalavun did not apparently want to risk preserving the city and he was willing to sacrifice its port because, first, he wanted to do everything he could to cripple the naval power of the Crusaders militarily and commercially, and second, he did not want to give the Crusaders any incentive to attempt to return to this site. No contemporary source mentions it, but there was also the possible symbolic value here: The Mamluks had pushed the Crusaders into the sea and completely annihilated them. Abu l-Fida says, "the city, on the Sultan's orders, was demolished and razed to the ground."[194]

The Templar of Tyre concludes his account of this disaster as follows:

> And so this great calamity befell the city of Tripoli, as I have told you, and the sultan went out and devastated the whole area, so that you could not have found a single house standing. This is the reason why the Saracens built a place called Mont Pèlerin, which is less than a league from the sea above Tripoli. The town is called New Tripoli.[195]

The fall of Tripoli was a catastrophe for the Crusaders in the Holy Land on the same order of magnitude as the loss of Antioch in 1268. Not only did it signal the end of the County of Tripoli after 180 years of existence, and therefore was a major blow to the Crusader presence in the Levant, but it also showed that the Mamluks, with superior numbers of troops, powerful siege engines, and strong leadership, could bring down the most staunchly defended Crusader force, even without command of the sea. Naval power could not win these battles; in fact it could only provide safety for some of the refugees who could arrange to sail away.

Curiously, however, the fall of Tripoli caused hardly a ripple in the affairs of western Europe; relatively little notice was taken of it.[196] Only a few European writers bother to mention the capture of the city by the Mamluks. Among those that do, it is the loss of life that is deplored the most, with some estimates rising as high as forty thousand persons. Some chroniclers also mention the desecration of the churches and the destruction of relics. Tripoli for most of them was just another Crusader city in *Outremer*, and one without any notable Christian holy sites.[197]

The pope, Nicholas IV, took the fall of Tripoli more seriously of course, and he regarded a major Crusade as necessary to save the Latin Kingdom. However, in the circumstances, faced with the problem of the war in Sicily, he realized that a *passagium generale* was not possible, and that only a *passagium particulare*, which could be organized more rapidly, financed more easily, and accomplished with all deliberate speed, was practical. Somewhat surprisingly, the response even to this kind of appeal was disappointing, to say the least, and consisted mainly of Venetian and north Italian volunteers with commercial interests at stake. A fleet departed from Venice in the summer of 1290, and arrived at Acre in August, but it only consisted of thirteen galleys.[198]

Following the fall of Tripoli, Kalavun allowed the surviving Embriaco lord of Gibelet to remain in exchange for a large payment of tribute. However, he was forced to surrender all smaller fortresses in the area. The sultan also took Botron and other smaller forts not belonging to the lord of Gibelet. Before Kalavun left Tripoli, he negotiated with envoys from Cilician Armenia who sought assurance that he was not planning a new attack on them, despite the truce of 1285. Kalavun exacted more tribute from them. Then he went to Damascus in May 1289 and returned to Cairo.[199]

Perhaps the most curious reflection of the fall of Tripoli in Europe was a prophecy, which claimed to report a divine message seen in a vision experienced by a Cistercian monk.[200] This "vision" appeared first as a text as early as 1239 in Hungary, and Matthew Paris records it for that year. Here the text is generically and mysteriously, but unspecifically, prophetic. The first lines read:

> The high Cedar of Lebanon will be felled. Mars will prevail over Saturn and Jupiter.[201]

However, later, in a version written between 1289 and 1291, the text is revised in light of the disaster in the Levant and called the "Vision of Tripoli." It is characterized as a vision that occurred in the year 1287, and it is localized in the monastery of the Cistercians in the city of Tripoli.[202] It was there that a monk saying Mass saw a disembodied hand writing in gold letters on a white corporal on the altar the following words:

> The High Cedar of Lebanon will be felled [Psalm 29:5; Zachariah 11:1], and Tripoli will soon be destroyed. Mars will overcome Saturn, and Saturn will waylay Jupiter.[203]

No one had paid any attention to the peril of Tripoli and no serious effort was mounted to save the city before the Mamluk army was at the gates. Would the same fate befall Acre?

PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY LAND IN THE PERIOD 1268 TO 1289

Compared to the years before 1268, when we know that a certain number of pilgrimages were made to the Christian holy sites, but few detailed accounts remain, the situation is different after 1268. A variety of texts survive from between 1268 to 1289 that give us clear indication that pilgrimages to the Holy Land were still being undertaken and that visits to the traditional holy sites were being continued, but that certain new developments were occurring, which are reflected in and by the texts we have.

Of the four main texts we have chosen to consider, as the most important and/or the most representative of what there is, the first is written by the somewhat mysterious figure, Rusticien of Pisa.[204] Rusticien is of course the man whom Marco Polo credits with writing down his book, *The Description of the World,* while being in prison with him in Genoa in 1298.[205] As we have mentioned previously, Marco Polo was apparently in Acre at the time of Prince Edward's Crusade in 1271. It was during this visit that he seems to have made a few notes referring to the holy places for which we have a surviving account written by Rusticien.[206] We shall not go into the tangled thicket of scholarship pertaining to the critical edition of the text or the language in which the original book was written, but will accept here the French editions edited by Michelant and Raynaud, and the early English translations by Yule (1903)[207] and Moule and Pelliot (1938).[208]

The Polo brothers did not of course come to Acre primarily as pilgrims. They were merchants who had started as explorers and were then sent as envoys. Their mission in 1271 was to return to the Mongol Khan, Kubilai, with a message from the pope.[209] Acre was simply an early stop on their journey eastward, but part of their task for Kubilai was to bring him some holy oil from the Holy Sepulcher. The great Khan had requested this specifically, and the Polos arranged this with the papal legate in Acre.

> They ... asked his permission to go to Jerusalem to get some Oil from the Lamp on the Sepulchre, to carry with them to the Great Kaan, as he had enjoined. The Legate giving them leave, they went from Acre to Jerusalem and got some of the Oil, and then returned to Acre.[210]

Having obtained the oil, the Polos asked the legate for a message for the Great Khan, and then they set out. Shortly thereafter, when they reached Ayas in Cilician Armenia, they heard the news that the papal legate in Acre, Tebaldo Visconti, had been elected as the new pope, Gregory X, in September 1271. So they returned to Acre briefly to obtain new credentials, at which time two Dominican friars, William of Tripoli and Nicholas of Vicenza, were assigned to their party. They then all set off with the protection of the Grand Master of the Temple, Thomas Bérard.[211]

The significance of Marco Polo's book of travels only became evident much later than the dates of the adventures and the information it contains, in the fourteenth century and following, as awareness of it grew, but its importance for our discussion rests on the following points. First, it was possible for the Polos, as Christian travelers with the permission of the legate, to visit Jerusalem and obtain oil at the Holy Sepulcher in 1271, sometime between the spring when they arrived in Acre and the late summer when they apparently departed for the port of Ayas. Second, this spring and summer had been a very active one for Sultan Baybars, during which time he had campaigned successfully against Crac des Chevaliers and Montfort, among other Crusader possessions. Nonetheless, the Polos had gone safely to Jerusalem and returned, in effect as pilgrims, without apparent danger from the hostilities and with no mention of the Mamluk military campaigns by Marco Polo in his book. Third, the mission of the Polos to secure oil from the Holy Sepulcher demonstrates that pilgrimage to the major Christian holy sites, in territory under Mamluk control, was possible even during periods of dangerous military operations. It also shows that the Holy Sepulcher was able to operate to receive pilgrims during this period, indicating that at least a minimal number of Christian priests were on site to minister to the pilgrims. Even if the number of pilgrims may have dropped off between 1268 and 1289 compared to the years before 1244, or even from 1250 to 1268, a development not yet clearly documented, the holy sites of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the ruined Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth[212] were still in operation to receive however many pious and adventurous travelers were willing to risk life and limb to make the pilgrimage.

The *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*

The three other texts included here were written before Rusticien of Pisa recorded Marco Polo's story of his travels, but they date from *c.*1260 to the late 1280s as compared to when Marco Polo and his relatives passed through Acre and the Holy Land in 1271. The second text we have already encountered with regard to Acre. It is the *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre.*[213] This type of text appears in several versions. The Old French example we are considering here has been thought to date in the 1280s because of its content, which among other things, includes a remarkable list of the sanctuaries in Acre. Now, however, the argument has been advanced that the text was done much earlier, in the late 1250s or the early 1260s, on the basis of the mention, for example, of the Hospital of St. Martin des Bretons, which was founded on 29 August 1254, shortly after the departure of Louis IX.[214] Even though it may therefore date before the fall of Antioch, however, the pilgrimage route it describes was in full use during the years considered here, that is, 1268–89. In any case this text is of great interest for several reasons.

In the first place, it orients the reader to Acre, not Jerusalem, as its central point of reference, even though it includes a broad survey of pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. In its first section it starts with a summary of the accessible pilgrimage sites in the immediate environs of Acre, sites such as the cave of St. Elias at Mount Carmel and the relics of St. Eufemia at Chastel Pelerin. It continues with a sequence of sites from Caesarea to Jaffa, Ramla, Emmaus, and on to Montjoie at St. Samuel, and finally, to Jerusalem. In the Holy City, this text begins with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and presents an interesting selection of holy places therein. In the church itself the text mentions the "compas" or center of the world, the sepulcher meaning the aedicula, Mount Calvary, and the rock of Golgotha, and near there the text says, there was a tomb of stone for seven kings.[215] The sites in the church are completed with mention of the prison of Christ, the column of the flagellation, then down forty stairs to the Chapel of St. Helena where the True Cross was found, and finally down another forty stairs to the "chapel of the Greeks," where a venerated image of the Virgin is to be found.

This survey of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is interesting because of the unusual sequence of sites it contains, the lack of detailed commentary on the aedicula of the Holy Sepulcher itself or the shrine of the Crucifixion, and the reference to the tombs of the Crusader kings. This seems to be the first reference to these tombs since 1244, when the Khwarismian Turks were said to have destroyed these tombs. It is notable that the Old French in this text refers to "une tounbe" for the seven kings, which might suggest that following the destruction in

1244, a single tomb was perhaps temporarily erected in which the remains of all seven kings were laid. Later on the separate tombs were reinstated so far as we know.[216] The reference to the "chapel of the Greeks" in the depths of the grotto of the Cross is also notable as a new and different location for the image of the Virgin, which in the early twelfth-century text of Saewulf had been located in a chapel to the Virgin Mary on the west side of the rotonda. This was the miraculous image of the Virgin, which had spoken to St. Mary the Egyptian by the power of the Holy Spirit.[217]

The major sites of Jerusalem that follow are the *Templum Domini*, the Golden Gate, the *piscina probatica*, the Temple of Solomon, and the holy places of Mount Sion. We note that a variety of remarkable relics are associated with these places or are nearby, including relics of St. John the Baptist in a chapel in front of the Tower of David, and the head of St. James, and we observe that the sequence of the visit to these sites has become somewhat convoluted, perhaps from lack of access. Certainly, Christians were no longer welcome in the Haram al Sharif after 1187, and therefore knowledge of the *Templum Domini*, the Temple of Solomon, and the interior of the Golden Gate, which was walled up along the outside walls of the city, was strictly by hearsay. On Mount Sion, the site of the Last Supper and the Pentecost are of course mentioned, but from there to the east into the Valley of Jehosaphat, with Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives, there are relatively few sites mentioned pertaining to the Virgin Mary, and no mention of her tomb.[218]

The final section of part one deals with the holy sites east, south, and north of Jerusalem, starting with Bethany and Bethphagé down to the Jordan River, where St. John baptized Christ. Bethlehem is inserted at this point with emphasis on the "Three Kings" there, followed by the Church of St. Abraham at Hebron. From this point to the south, the author jumps to Nablus north of Jerusalem, with mention also of Mount Hermon and Mount Tabor. Arriving in Galilee the reader is directed to the Sea of Galilee and Magdala, where Mary Magdalene is said to have been born. From there one could go to Nazareth, where this text says the Virgin was born and the Incarnation took place.[219] Nearby is Cana, where St. Anne was said to be born. Surprisingly Tyre is identified as the place where Jesus was preaching the word of God, when he met the woman who said,

> "Benet seit le ventre qe vous porta e les mameles qe vous alettérent!" E Ihesu la respondy: "Benet soient que oyent la parole Dieu e que la garde bien!"[220]

This is surely the passage from Luke's Gospel, Chapter 11:

> "Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the breasts that nursed thee." But he said, "Rather, blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it."
>
> [Luke 11: 27–8]

However, it has nothing obvious to do with Tyre and is not associated with other texts linked there either. This site is followed by Sidon, where the Church of the Holy Saviour is cited, which was said to contain many relics. This text appears to be the only one that refers to these relics, so we do not know what they were, and the place of the church in the city has not yet been located archaeologically.[221] Sidon is also correctly referred to as the place where Jesus encountered the Canaanite woman, from Matthew 15: 21–8 and Mark 7: 24–30. Sidon is followed by Beirut, where the text mentions the story of the miraculous image of Christ referred to by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, among others, but not where the image was at this time, or what the name of the church was. By the Crusader period this miraculous image was thought to be in Italy, and today it is visible in the Chapel of St. Lawrence in the Lateran Palace in Rome.[222] In our text, however, it is notable primarily as a source of the Holy Blood, which now, *c.*1280, existed in many places, that is, in reliquaries in "Rome, France, England and other places."[223] The text concludes with the observations that there are other pilgrimages that could be made, but ones the author is not even going to name. In particular, pilgrimages to "Sardayne, de la Mont Synay e autres pelrynages" are mentioned but not discussed, because the travel was very difficult and very long, but the author does not elaborate further.[224]

In its second, rather brief but important section, the *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre* text contains a major list of sanctuaries and religious establishments in the city of Acre, for which indulgences (*Pardouns*) could be gained under the proper conditions. We have compared the sites to those mentioned in the inventories of Eudes de Nevers. It is interesting that those sites listed that provide the greatest indulgences are the following:

> "Seint Sepulchre, .vij. aunz, .iiij. karantaines,"
> "Seint Lazer de Bethayne, .viij. aunz, .iiij. karantaines,"
> "la Magdaleyne, .xj. aunz,"
> "Seinte Bryde, .viij. aunz,"
> "Seinte Thomas, .xv. aunz."

However, "Seinte Croy" was only ".iij. aunz,.xl. iours." Among the religious orders, the sites differed in value:

> "Alemayns, .iiij. auns,"
> "Temple, .viij. aunz,"
> "Hospital Seint Iohan, .viij. aunz,"
> "Fréres preschours, .iij. aunz, .xl. iours,"
> "Fréres desakés, .c. .xl. iours,"
> "Fréres menours, .ccc. iours."

Finally, we can compare the value of indulgences among the churches belonging to the Italian merchant communities:

> "Seint Marc de Venyse, .v. aunz,"
> "Seint Lorenz, .xl. iours,"
> "Seint Pére de Pyse, .v. aunz."

It is hardly surprising that the churches belonging to the Hospitallers and the Templars are so highly regarded, or similarly those of the Dominicans. However, we would like to know why the Church of St. Thomas was the most highly rated for these indulgences. Also whereas it is hardly surprising that the church of the Genoese is so lowly rated, it is very surprising that the Franciscan church was also very lowly rated.

The significance of this pilgrimage text resides first in the rich view of and the abundant light it sheds on Christian pilgrimage and spirituality in the very restricted conditions of the late-thirteenth-century Crusader States in Syria-Palestine. Second, it reflects Acre after the departure of Louis IX, when its economic decline had started due to the loss of Asiatic trade routes, but some years before the fall of the city. Third, it indicates that in the circumstances where the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, not to mention Saidnaya and Mount Sinai, was made much more difficult and possibly even curtailed for many pilgrims, a handbook to the sites in Acre for the religious visitor was desired. Whereas it could never be said that Acre in any way substituted for the major holy sites, the spiritual benefits available in Acre could nonetheless be made available to the pilgrim with a guidebook like this. This guidebook could serve Christian visitors, for one thing, as a work to use while awaiting travel to another major inland holy site, either one of the three major dominical sites or some other site such as Tortosa, or some other accessible place. For another thing, it could serve the devout Christian, pilgrim or resident, who was unable or uninterested to travel elsewhere, and wished simply to enrich his or her own spiritual life in Acre. Finally, the *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre* is notable as an indicator of the state of pilgrimage in the Holy Land in the last half of the thirteenth century. Pilgrimages to the main holy places were still possible, but more distant inland sites were now relatively inaccessible. Not only were the Crusaders now pinned along the coast, but also Christian pilgrims were becoming more restricted in what pilgrimage sites were open to them. In contrast to Jacques de Vitry, who decried Acre as an evil place, this text views Acre in a more positive light when now, as Jacoby characterizes it, "a substitute expiatory pilgrimage was established in Acre."[225]

Burchard of Mount Sion

The third text to be considered here is a more conventional – and therefore in this context very interesting and important for comparison – account of a description of the Holy Land made by Burchard of Mount Sion and written in the early 1280s, that is, in the years just before 1285.[226] Burchard was German like many other pilgrims we have considered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We do not know where he was born; scholars have claimed he might have been a native of perhaps Strassburg or Magdeburg, but all we can surely say is that at some point he was connected with the Dominican house at Magdeburg.[227] He was a Dominican friar who lived for ten years in the Latin Kingdom in both Acre and Jerusalem.[228] The date of his writings is determined partly from the fact that he records specific events up to 1274, the *terminus post quem*, but from before 1285 and 1291, the former being the *terminus ante quem*. Burchard was in the Holy Land during the reign of Kalavun, and he was writing before the fall of Acre in the time of Henry, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and during the ten-year truce that Kalavun made in the year 1282 with the Templars and the Hospitallers.

Even though Burchard is writing a detailed and systematic account of his visit to the Holy Land, his approach is radically different from earlier pilgrims in one respect. Despite the fact he may have been living in Jerusalem for part of his time, he is based in Acre and he orients his descriptive narrative with Acre as his center, not the Holy City. This very decidedly reflects the reality of the Crusader States in the late thirteenth century when he was writing. What other specific indications does he give us that can be directly tied to his context in the Holy Land in the early 1280s when he seems to have written his account? It is an account based on conditions between 1274 and 1285, along with whatever texts he was using to help inform his narrative description.

Burchard divides his text into four sections emanating from Acre. "Thence I have drawn four lines, corresponding to the four quarters of the world; and each quarter I have divided into three parts."[229] After an analysis of the four Syrias, the three Palestines, and the three Arabias, based as he says on the work of Jacques de Vitry, Burchard describes the Holy Land in four parts, starting with Acre:

> The city of Acre is fortified with walls, outworks, towers, ditches, and barbicans of very great strength, and is triangular in shape like a shield, whereof two sides look upon the Mediterranean Sea, and the third upon the plain round about it. This plain is more than two leagues wide...; it is very fertile,.... There are in the city many strong places, castles, and citadels belonging to the Knights of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Teutonic Order. This city belongs to the King of Jerusalem, and hath a good and roomy harbour on the south side wherein ships may be moored.[230]

To the north is Tyre, in which he says

> is an Archbishop's see.... In the sands, at a distance of two bow-shots, without its eastern gate, they show the place where Jesus Christ preached,.... They also show a great stone, whereon Jesus Christ was then standing. This place is never covered with sand,...; but this place, though in the midst of the sand, ever remaineth uncovered both in summer and in winter, as I have seen with my own eyes.[231]

Then he describes briefly Sidon, Beirut, the Castle of Nephin, "nearly the whole of which stands in the sea," and Tripoli. Tripoli is

> an exceeding noble city, standing almost entirely in the sea, like Tyre. It is full of people, for therein dwell Greeks and Latins, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, and many others. Much work is done there in silk. I have heard for certain that therein there are weavers of silk and camlet and other like stuffs.

North of Tripoli is Antaradus, known as Tortosa.

> St. Peter preached for a long time at Antaradus, when he was on his way to Antioch,.... Here also St. Peter built the first church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, which church exists at this day. I have celebrated Mass therein, for I abode there for six days.
>
> Seven leagues from Antaradus is the Castle of Margat, belonging to the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John. It stands above the city of Valania, one league from the sea, and is strongly fortified and set upon an exceeding high mountain....
>
> The city of Valania and the river of the same name, which runs past it, are the boundaries of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Here likewise begins the principality of Antioch, and here ends the county of Tripoli. This place is seven days' journey distant from the city of Acre, and it is four days' journey from it to Antioch. Now, albeit I have travelled beyond this place and viewed the country, yet I write nothing thereof, because I do not intend to write about any land save the Holy Land.[232]

This section covers essentially what was left of the Crusader States of the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli north of Acre. Crac des Chevaliers had fallen but Tripoli and Margat were still in Crusader hands, so the text dates after 1271 and before 1286 on this evidence.

The second and third divisions of the Holy Land are northeast and east of Acre. The second division includes Montfort and Toron and extends to the source of the Jordan River at what he calls "Belinas," or Baniyas. Montfort, Burchard says, "once belonged to the Teutonic Hospital, but now is utterly ruined." It fell to Baybars, as we have seen, just shortly after Crac des Chevaliers in 1271. The third division includes the castles of Judin and Saphet, or Safed. Burchard calls Saphet "the fairest and strongest, to my mind, of all the castles I have ever seen, set upon an exceeding lofty rock. It used to belong to the Knights Templars, but was betrayed and taken in shameful sort, to the injury of the whole of Christendom."[233] Beyond Safed to the southeast is the Sea of Galilee with its many sites related to Christ, including the Mount of the Beatitudes and Capernaum. As with all of the divisions whether along the coast or inland, Burchard discusses the sites with their the biblical associations from ancient as well as Christian and Crusader times.[234]

The fourth division east and southeast of Acre is split into three parts. The first part covers the territory south of Safed across the Sea of Galilee into trans-Jordan beyond. The second part includes Cana of Galilee and Nazareth. At Cana, Burchard makes his perceptive archaeological observations:

> Now, these places, like almost all the other places wherein the Lord wrought any work, are underground, and one goes down to them by many steps into a crypt. So it is in the place of the Annunciation, the Nativity, in this Cana of Galilee, and in many other places which are shown underground. The only reason that I can find for this is that owing to the frequent destruction of the churches built over these places, the ruins raised the soil above them, and then, after they had been levelled carelessly, other buildings were built upon them. Christians therefore who were zealous to visit these places, and wished to get to the very spot where the thing was done, had to clear out the places and make steps leading down to them. Wherefore almost all these places seem to be in crypts.

In light of these remarkable comments, it seems odd that Burchard did not have more to say about the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth. In Nazareth "the place still remains where the angel Gabriel brought the tidings of salvation to the Blessed Virgin, ... I have said many Masses at that place, and even on the day itself – I mean the day of the holy Annunciation [25 March]."[235]

"There are three altars in the chapel, which is hewn out of the living rock, even as is the place of the Nativity, the Passion, and the Resurrection, and of old a great part of Nazareth was hewn out of the rock, as may be seen at this day." Certainly the shrine of the Annunciation was in place, if undecorated, but Baybars had destroyed the church around it in 1263.[236] Burchard takes no notice.

The third part of the eastern division stretches from Mount Carmel past Megiddo southeast to Sebaste, Nablus, Jericho, and the Dead Sea, reaching right up to the Mount of Olives outside of Jerusalem. This is a very large section in his account, partly because of the many biblical sites, which he includes, partly because of the interesting things he has to say about Sebaste, for example, among other important places. Burchard clearly knew Sebaste well; here "there are two churches built in honour of St. John the Baptist. Howbeit, the Saracens have made one of these into a mosque, namely, that which was the chief one and was once the Bishop's cathedral; more especially have they so done with the sepulchre of the same St. John the Baptist, which was all of marble, like the Lord's sepulchre, where the prophet lay buried between Elisha and Obadiah." So the impressive early Gothic Crusader church on the site had now become a mosque.[237]

At this point, Burchard comments on the reverence that the Muslims have for St. John, and he makes some very precise observations on their beliefs relative to the Christian religion. "They [the Muslims] truly declare that Christ is the Word of God, but they say that He is not God. They say that the Blessed Virgin conceived of the Holy Ghost, bore Him as a virgin, and remained a virgin. They say that John was a great and exceeding holy prophet. They say that Mahomet was God's messenger, and was sent by Him to themselves alone. This I have read in the Alcoran [al-Koran], which is the book of their law." Few pilgrims demonstrate the knowledge of the Muslim religion Burchard reveals here, and none of the other pilgrims in this period claims to have read the Koran as he did. Burchard is truly unusually detailed about the sites he visited, unusually perceptive about the history of these places, and unusually sensitive to the cultural and religious context of Christian and Muslim in the Holy Land at this time.

He goes on to describe the other church at Sebaste in this manner. It "stands on the brow of the hill, where the King's palace once stood. Therein dwell Greek monks, Christians, who received me kindly and gave me food. In that church these same Greeks show the place where they say that John was imprisoned and beheaded by Herod." Burchard knows from his history, however, that John was not recorded as being beheaded here; he explains that after John was beheaded at "Macherunta" [Machaerus in trans-Jordan], "his body was buried in Samaria by his disciples between the aforesaid prophets, but his head was buried in Jerusalem." Burchard pays no attention to the handsome frescoes in the Greek Church of St. John, but he also sets the record straight as he knows it, even while he exclaims, "I have nowhere in the Holy Land seen such great ruins as at Samaria, and yet I have seen great ones."[238]

When Burchard comes to Jericho, he continues his discussion of sites related to St. John the Baptist. "Two leagues from Jericho, beside Jordan, is a chapel built in honour of St. John the Baptist, on a spot where the Lord is believed to have been baptized." However, surprisingly, he then comments, "what came to pass in Jericho is well known, and therefore I forbear to write it down." We are left to wonder about this curious and conspicuous omission.

Burchard concludes this part with the approach to Jerusalem, by way of Bethany, the Mount of Olives, and Bethphage. It is here that Burchard expresses the religious spirit and fervor of the pilgrim that he obviously felt as he approached the Holy City. "We come now to the going down the Mount of Olives" – which Burchard must have done frequently while he lived in Jerusalem on Mount Sion – "where He saw the city and wept bitterly over it, while crowds went before and after Him, shouting 'Hosanna to the Son of David!' and rejoicing at his blessed coming. Let us go on, pass over the brook Cedron between the place of His prayer when in an agony and His capture in Gethsemane, and follow Him, if happily we may be suffered to come to Golgotha, where His feet stayed nailed to the cross, and running with blood; let us die there with Christ, that together with Him we may rise again." Clearly Burchard was eloquently and impressively proclaiming the intense identification of the

Christian pilgrim with the experiences of Christ at the entrance to Jerusalem.[239]

Burchard discusses the history of the Holy City at some length and argues that it is currently on the same site it occupied in the time of Jesus. Not surprisingly his point of reference is Mount Sion, since this is where he may have lived. However, he observes that since antiquity, the city "has spread itself out, in width, though not in length, and the whole of the ancient city, together with Mount Sion, is now within the walls, and is inhabited; but at this day there are very few inhabitants for so great a city, because the people thereof dwell in continual terror."[240]

Burchard proceeds to describe the holy places around the walls of the city before going inside. In doing so he proposes an explanation for why the place of the Crucifixion was inside the walls of the city *c.*1280, and why the Tomb of the Virgin looked the way he saw it. In the case of the former, his ideas are correct in theory but inaccurate in historical specifics and lacking any archaeological evidence; in the case of the latter, his idea is completely speculative. He thought that at the time the Virgin's sepulcher was built it was at the foot of the Mount of Olives, and then it was covered over, so that to reach it then [in 1280 or today] one descends sixty steps from the chapel building at the entrance on the surface. He certainly knows the site well, but he knew nothing about the archaeology of the site.

When Burchard enters the city, he goes first to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. He describes the Anastasis rotunda and the shrine on Golgotha in some detail, but he says nothing about any damage that was done to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by the Muslim sheikh Khadir b. Abi Bakr in the time of Baybars's reign. The Holy Sepulcher itself is covered with "gray-coloured marble"; the chapel of Calvary "is entirely paved with marble, and its walls are covered with marble and adorned with mosaic work of the purest gold." He also chooses to mention specifically the altar of the column of the flagellation, and the Chapel of St. Helena, forty-eight steps below the level of the ambulatory.[241]

When he leaves the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, he goes south to Mount Sion, which he knows well. However, although he mentions the major holy events here with regard to Christ, the Virgin, and St. James, he does not describe the sites or give any details on the current state of the buildings. Then after describing the size of Jerusalem, he discusses the major gates to the city. The major gate on the west side of the city he gives several names: David's Gate, the Fish Gate, the Gate of the Merchants. He duly enumerates the major gates, moving clockwise around the walls, but even though he names them all, for example, St. Stephen's Gate (now the Damascus Gate), the Sheep Gate or the Valley Gate (now the Lion Gate), and the Golden Gate, he surprisingly says nothing about their use by Christian pilgrims. This seems to be explained by his sources, one of which he mentions from time to time being Jacques de Vitry. After a description of the mountains around Jerusalem, he then discusses a number of holy sites in the environs of Jerusalem, including especially Bethlehem.

The passage on Bethlehem is puzzling because although it is long and detailed, Burchard does not add any specific information to the basic account given in most pilgrimage texts. Here is what he says about the grotto of the Nativity:

> One goes from the church into the place of the most sweet Nativity down the steps, ... This chapel is all lined with mosaic work, paved with marble, and most sumptuously built. Over the place where the Blessed Virgin was delivered, Mass can be said on a marble slab which is laid there. One also sees a piece of the bare stone whereon Christ was born. In like manner a part of the manger wherein Christ lay is left uncovered. These places are kissed with the greatest devotion by the faithful. I passed one night in these two places, kissing now one and now the other.

Burchard also was very impressed with the main basilica:

> I have never seen or heard anyone say that he had seen a holier church anywhere in the world. Therein are four rows of pillars, admirable not only for their number, but for their wondrous size. Moreover, all the nave of the church above the pillars, even to the roof, is of most beauteous and noble mosaic work [wherein is set forth all history from the creation of the world to the coming of the Lord to Judgment]. Likewise the whole church is paved with marble of divers colours,.... The Saracens honour all churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, but this one above all.

Burchard clearly knows about the Church of the Nativity and has visited it himself. It is, however, disappointing that he does not mention the paintings on the columns, or "pillars" as he calls them, and that he does not really understand the program of conciliar texts on the nave wall, which addresses not so much the history of the world in general as early Church history.[242]

Following a brief survey of other sites around and south of Bethlehem, including especially Hebron, Burchard turns to the final part of his text that deals with the southern quarter of the Holy Land. The first division begins with Haifa and then Pilgrims' Castle and Caesarea. He calls the Templar castle at 'Atlit "the most strongly fortified of all the places ever held by the Christians." Caesarea, he says, "has a strong position, but at this day is completely ruined." Baybars had of course destroyed it in 1265. His comments on places reach as far south as Ascalon, Gaza, and Beersheba. This, and a report on "The Fruits and Beasts of the Holy Land," completes his account of the Holy Land. It starts at the foot of Mount Lebanon and reaches to Beersheba, a distance of not more than ninety leagues north to south, and it is by his reckoning forty leagues in breadth, between Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea.[243]

Burchardus concludes his account with a very interesting discussion of "The Various Religions of the Holy Land." Other pilgrims like John of Würzburg had also commented on the multicultural and multireligious people of the Levant, but Burchard's discussion is long and quite substantial. He is quite scathing about the Latins. "To tell the truth," he says, "our own people, the Latins, are worse than all the other people of the land." He explains this as the result of who these people are, all manner of malefactors who have fled Europe as penitents or refugees: murderers, robbers, thieves, adulterers, and the like, "from Germany, Italy, France, England, Spain, Hungary, and all other parts of the world."[244]

Other peoples found in the Levant are the Saracens, who follow the religion of Islam. There are also the Syrians, who are Christians, but dwell with the Saracens. The Greeks are also Christians, but schismatics, except "that a great part of them returned to obedience to the Church at a General Council [of Lyon in 1274] held by our Lord Gregory X." Whereas Burchard admires the Greek churchmen, because "all the prelates are monks, and are men of exceeding austerity of life and wondrous virtue," he dislikes the Syrians, because they are "stingy, giving no alms," "they are clothed most wretchedly," but most of all because unlike the Greeks, they "keep no faith with the Latins."[245]

Burchardus continues his discussion by mentioning the array of other Christians found in the East. He cites the Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Nubians, Jacobites, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians. He also refers to the Bedouins, whom he calls also Midianites or Turcomans.[246] He does not assign a religion to them, but he understands how numerous they are, how "all Syria is full of them," the fact that they are nomads and live in their tents, and how brave they are in war. His comments are quite remarkable and demonstrate that he has observed much during his residency in the Holy Land, some that others failed to see or to describe. Finally, he discusses the Assassins, whom he identifies as Muslims but as originally coming from Persia. Burchard seems not to know that the Assassins were subjected to the depredations of the Mamluks in a series of campaigns by Baybars, in 1270, 1271, and 1273.[247]

At the end of his account Burchard includes a large section discussing the issue of Christians in the Near East, as compared to Muslims. Amazingly, he says that, except for Egypt and Arabia where Muslims chiefly live, everywhere else

> you will find thirty Christians and more for one Saracen. But the truth is that all the Christians beyond sea are Easterns by nation, and albeit they are Christians, yet as they are not much practised in the use of arms, when they are assailed by the Saracens, Turks, or any other people soever, yield to them and buy peace and quiet by paying tribute, and the Saracens, or other lords of the land, place their bailiffs and tax-gatherers therein. Hence it arises that their kingdom is said to belong to the Saracens, whereas, as a matter of fact, all the people are Christians . . . , as I have seen with my own eyes in Cilicia and Lesser Armenia, which is subject to the rule of the Tartars.

This is followed by a remarkably detailed description of the Armenians and the Armenian Orthodox religious practices, with which he is very favorably impressed. It must be said, however, that, whereas on the one hand, Burchard's interest in the many Christian sects is quite remarkable and even sympathetic, on the other, it seems odd that, writing in the early 1280s, he would claim in effect that there was a plurality of Christians over Muslims throughout much of the Near East. He of course was mainly focusing on the religion of these peoples, but his seeming lack of appreciation of the danger that the Mamluks posed to the Latin Christians appears to be another reflection of the extent to which the Crusaders failed to understand their peril in the 1280s.[248]

Finally, Burchard summarizes his travels "over the whole of this land." However, what he thinks of this way is really mainly only the coastal ports from Cilicia, along Syria, to Tyre and the Latin Kingdom. Then he sailed farther south to "Caesarea, Antipatris, Joppa, Iamnia, Ekron, Ashdod, Ascalon, Gaza, and the whole sandy desert even to the mouths of the river Nile," including Damietta, territory all controlled by the Mamluks in the early 1280s. He had also traveled to the main holy sites of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, where, as we know, he lived in the Holy City for a time and where Christian pilgrims were still allowed to visit by special arrangement. Also everything south of Chastel Pelerin was, of course, in Muslim hands by 1280, so he did travel extensively. However, what is conspicuously different for Burchard, compared to the earlier thirteenth-century German pilgrims we discussed, both Wilbrand von Oldenburg and Magister Thietmar, is the fact that basically he does not go anywhere east of the Jordan River. He does not visit Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Qara, or Saidnaya, and most importantly, he never journeys southward to the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.[249]

Burchard is one of the last pilgrims to travel to the Holy Land and write a full report before the fall of the Latin Kingdom in 1291. His account is important not only because of its systematic and yet selective content, but also because of the extent of the *actualia* included in his discussion. Whereas his basic text seems as usual to be based on earlier sources,[250] he does include a number of up-to-date observations that clearly enable us to date his account to the early 1280s. Furthermore, he discusses his material selectively and critically to a remarkable degree, and his organization is distinctively late thirteenth century, taking the city of Acre as his point of reference. However, whereas Burchard is openly and even harshly critical of the Latins in the Holy Land, he does not tell us much about those more virtuous Franks who were also there. Also even though Acre is the geographical pivot in the organization of his account, unfortunately he does not describe the Crusader capital in that much detail. In the end, however, we can agree with Grabois that this is yet another example in a "long series of *itineraria* written by generations of pilgrims. . . . By its critical methods and the author's need to find reasonable answers to the questions he posed, it opens a new way leading to a systematic exploration of the Holy Land. This kind of exploration is based on the confrontation of the normative texts with the observations of the traveller who was an eye-witness, and who wished, . . . to express the truth as he himself had experienced it."[251]

The Pilgrim Philippus

The fourth and last pilgrim worth mentioning here, Philippus, is much less well-known than Burchard, and about whom we know very little. W. Neumann, the editor of his text, argues that Philippus wrote between 1285 and 1291.[252] We do not know for sure whether Philippus was also German, but Neumann concludes that he had nothing whatsoever to do with the Dominicans, unlike Burchard. The account of Philippus is organized into ten chapters, as follows:

Ch. 1. Nazareth,
Ch. 2. Jerusalem,
Ch. 3. Mount Sion,
Ch. 4. Mount Sion to the Mount of Olives,
Ch. 5. The Mount of Olives,
Ch. 6. The Templum Domini,
Ch. 7. Bethlehem and Hebron,
Ch. 8. Bethany, the River Jordan, and sites south of Nazareth,
Ch. 9. Tiberias and sites north of Nazareth,
Ch. 10. Damascus and Syria.

Clearly this account is much more traditional in its focus on Jerusalem and the major holy sites and thus has relatively little to say about the substantial changes in pilgrimage since Jerusalem was definitively lost in 1244. Yet despite its preoccupation with the Holy City and the holy sites, Philippus does make several interesting references to various important holy places.

In Chapter 1, he has nothing to say about the destruction of the Church of the Incarnation in Nazareth, but, for example, he affirms the identification of Sepphoris as the place of origin of Anna, mother of the Virgin Mary. In Chapter 2, he starts in the traditional way at the Holy Sepulcher and rehearses the more or less standard identifications of events and places. In this way he completes his circuit through Jerusalem in Chapters 3–6, returning inside the city walls from the Valley of Jehosaphat and coming to the Church of St. Anne. As in the twelfth century this site is identified as the birthplace of the Virgin Mary, which was formerly the house of Joachim and Anna, her parents.[253] The holy sites pertaining to the Virgin Mary are clearly affirmed.

From Jerusalem, Philippus moves south to Bethlehem in Chapter 7. Here as in Jerusalem, the standard identifications are made, excluding the *actualia* that was such an interesting part of the account of Burchard. In the expansive Chapter 8 he moves east from Bethany to Jericho and the Jordan, where he passes the house of Zacchaeus the publican who stood in the sycamore tree to see Jesus. Moving north and south from the Jordan River, he then turns to the coast, from Gaza northward to Ascalon and Jaffa as if current political and military control by the Muslims made no difference. Heading northward, he passes the Pilgrims' Castle at 'Atlit, where the relics of St. Eufemia are found,[254] before arriving at Acre, about which he has virtually nothing to say. In Chapter 9 he refers to the sites around Lake Galilee and in Chapter 10, he comments on sites to the east in Syria, the same places that early-thirteenth-century German pilgrims had visited, such as Damascus and Saidnaya, where, in the latter place, as he points out, the famous icon of the Virgin Mary exudes holy oil "day and night."[255] He ends his account somewhat unexpectedly at Tortosa, where he dutifully reports the significance of the shrine to the Virgin. It is in Tortosa, he says, that a chapel exists inside the great church, which was established by Sts. Peter and John in honor of the blessed Virgin Mary that has been held in great veneration up to the present day.[256]

Philippus then concludes his account by saying he has written about the things he has seen to honor the omnipotent Lord and for the use of pilgrims to the Holy Land.[257] Philippus is clearly writing an old-style pilgrim's guide, which very much focuses on locating the events of the New Testament with their sites in the Holy Land. It is a perhaps surprising document to come from the Crusader Holy Land in the last years of its existence, but it demonstrates perhaps that there was normal pilgrimage here even as the plight of the Crusader States grew more and more precarious.

THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS, 1268–1289

> O homines qui transitis per viam, in caritate rogo vos orare pro anima mei, megistri Ebuli Fazle, hujus ecclesie edificatoris.
>
> Those who pass this way, I ask that in charity you pray for my soul, master Ebu'l-Fazl, founder of this church.
>
> Master Abu'l-Fadl
> Maronite scribe in Acre

Viewed from the historical vantage point of 1291 and later, when the Crusaders were effectively eliminated from the Holy Land after the conquest of Acre, the prospect of Crusader fortunes between 1268, when Antioch fell to the Mamluks, and 1289, when Tripoli also fell, seems gloomy and hopeless. Part of the problem, however, is the fact that this period is one of the most neglected of all in the study of Crusader history.[258] Furthermore, certain historical studies that have addressed developments in this period see the decline of the Crusades from the viewpoint of an increasingly activated public opinion in Europe, some of which was hostile.[259] Accordingly, the idea that there was a thriving artistic production in this period seems incongruous and difficult to understand. However, if we consider the Crusader States in these years, not from the historical hindsight of 1291, nor from the vantage point of western Europe, but rather looking forward from 1268, and approach the situation year by year, the view from the Latin Kingdom is very different indeed. It is evident that the situation, as seen by the Crusaders in the Holy Land, presented much to hope for and the potential for major positive changes continued to lie ahead.

Consider the facts that despite the threat of Baybars and the Mamluks after 1268, there are the Crusades launched in response to the fall of Antioch: the Crusade of James I (1269), the Crusade of Louis IX (1270), and the Crusade of Prince Edward (1271–2). When those expeditions fail and Baybars even succeeds in taking Crac des Chevaliers (April 1271), hope is nonetheless rekindled with the election of Gregory X (September 1271). The new pope proclaims the most ambitious plans for a crusading expedition yet imagined, even as truces are signed with the Mamluks in the Latin East. From the point of view of those in Acre the situation is reasonably stable through the 1270s and 1280s, because, with the help of these truces, no further Frankish territory is lost in the Latin Kingdom.[260] The same cannot be said of course for the County of Tripoli. Pursuing hopes of an international alliance with the object once again of making Christianity the dominant world religion, the pope proceeds to attempt to achieve a reunification with the Greek Orthodox Church by means of the Council of Lyon in 1274. Although it is a great blow to the Crusader cause when Pope Gregory dies in 1276, the death of Baybars one year later allows the Crusader States a respite from the relentless attacks by this ferocious Mamluk leader. Meanwhile, Crusader hope is again rekindled when the brother of Louis IX, Charles of Anjou, becomes king of Jerusalem, never mind that he acquires the crown by purchase in 1277. When the power of Charles is undermined by the "Sicilian Vespers" in 1282, Crusader leadership falters with the inability of the local king, Hugh of Cyprus, or his *baillis* to assume power. It is only when Henry II becomes the new king of Cyprus (1285) and is crowned the new king of Jerusalem at Tyre (1286) that Crusader hopes rise again with the conviction that a strong leader can once again unify the Crusader Kingdom against the common enemy. Less than three years later, however, the Mamluks under Kalavun take Tripoli. Hope does not die, however, because when Nicholas IV becomes pope in 1288 – the first Fransciscan to become pope – he renews the Crusade policy of Gregory X for the first time since Gregory's death in 1276.

It is evident that during these years – 1268–89 – the Crusaders can continue to view their situation in a positive light, despite their lack of unity and despite the serious threat that looms along their southern and eastern borders from the Mamluks. The economic situation at Acre is also declining with the loss of Asiatic trade routes, but perhaps this decline is masked by subsidies coming from the West. In any case, although the difficult political situation is thus viewed positively and the economic deterioration has begun to set in, the Crusaders can maintain the status quo in terms of seemingly normal religious, normal pilgrimage, and indeed normal artistic activities. It is even true that despite the existence of the truces signed repeatedly in the second half of the century, the Crusaders can, just as the Mamluks also do, continue "normal" military activities when the opportunity arises. On the Crusader side some seem to understand fully the dire threat that the two dedicated Mamluk sultans, Baybars and then Kalavun, present to the Crusader States, but there is little they can do to eliminate the danger. In these circumstances, the art of the Crusaders can potentially continue to flourish. We shall see to what extent this is the case, and what changes, if any, the difficult and variable political developments cause in relation to the characteristics and productivity of artistic output.

PATRONAGE IN THE CRUSADER STATES

One of the most important considerations for the evaluation of the art of the Crusaders is that of patronage: understanding who commissioned the work of art and, if possible, for what purpose(s). What patrons were there and what evidence do we have about them? In the case of the Latin Kingdom in the period from the 1260s onward, we can see certain changes in the political functioning of members of various segments of society that could potentially have a notable impact on art patronage. At the very highest level we can consider the king and the patriarch, two figures who were active as important artistic patrons previously in the Crusader States.

In an excellent study, Sylvia Schein quotes Jean d'Ibelin, writing in the mid-1260s, as follows:

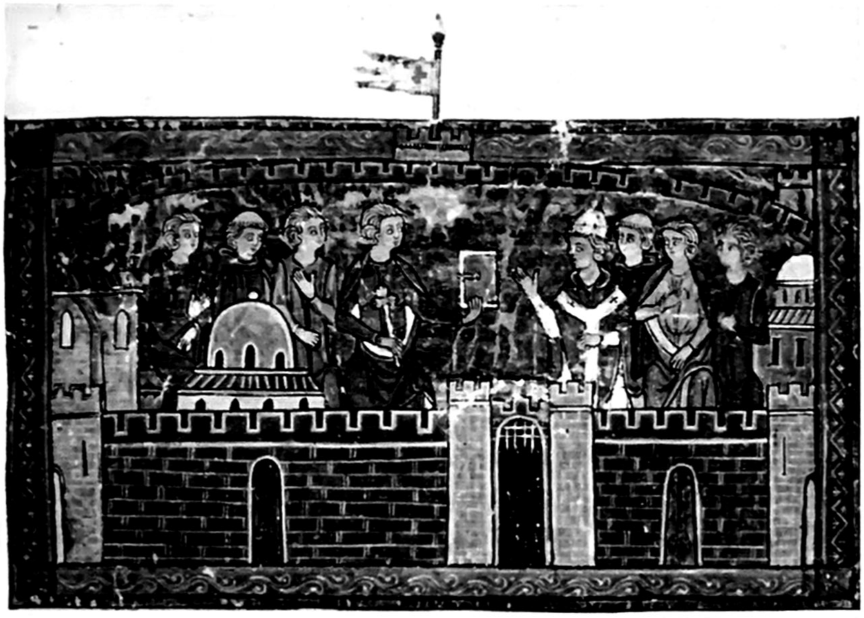
> There are in the kingdom of Jerusalem two chief lords, one spiritual and one temporal. The patriarch of Jerusalem is the spiritual lord and the king of the kingdom of Jerusalem is the temporal lord.[261]

The issue of what role the king and the patriarch played in theory as reflected in this statement and the practical realities of the situation toward the end of the thirteenth century in the Latin Kingdom are spelled out by Schein in terms of several new developments. She points out in particular that the statement of Jean d'Ibelin in 1265 "was perhaps deliberately concealing the fact that the patriarch was increasingly taking upon himself the function of... temporal lord as well."[262]

The specific steps that demonstrate this policy can be listed as follows:

1. Gradually the king's role in the process of making ecclesiastical appointments had waned, and in particular the appointment of the patriarch of Jerusalem was now almost wholly the prerogative of the pope.
2. The patriarch of Jerusalem was now given enhanced power in the Latin Kingdom for two reasons. On the one hand the office of papal legate, formerly separate and distinct, was now officially, since 1220, subsumed into the position of the patriarch of Jerusalem; on the other, the position of bishop of Acre was merged with that of the patriarch of Jerusalem between 1261 and 1263.
3. The patriarch took over many duties heretofore exercised by the king of Jerusalem or his *bailli*, including control over troops and funds sent by the pope to aid the Holy Land. In this role the patriarch was made to become in effect a military commander. The fact of continuous absentee kings for the Latin Kingdom was a major cause of this development.
4. It was further the case that whereas in the past the pope depended on regular reports on the condition of the Holy Land from the patriarch and the masters of Hospitallers and the Templars, popes from the time of Alexander IV (1252–61) increasing relied on the patriarch alone. Instead of depending on the Orders for information, the popes admonished them to cease their feuding and to obey the commands of the patriarch.

Schein concludes that "the power of the patriarch in the kingdom reached its peak by the end of the 1280's."[263] We can conclude that although the king and/or queen may have been a significant presence as an art patron in the past, especially in the twelfth century, he or she is not likely to have been as



234. Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre des Assises*, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS fr. app. 20 (=265), fol. 1r, The *Haute Cour* of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem. (photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice)

important a patron in the period 1268–89. Only Louis IX had had a major role as patron during the time of his residency as a Crusader visitor to the Holy Land between 1250 and 1254. It will remain to be seen what evidence there may be about the mainly absentee kings of the Latin Kingdom and the newly powerful patriarchs of Jerusalem in this period.

In view of the above discussion, it is interesting to consider an unusual miniature from the 1280s. It can come as no surprise that when a headpiece miniature was commissioned for a compendium of legal texts from the Latin Kingdom, written in Old French in Acre in the late 1280s, the representation of the *haute cour* in session features the image of the patriarch of Jerusalem in a newly prominent role (Fig. 234, CD 204).[264] It was, of course, the king who presided at the high court, which was the vehicle by which "the crown exercised its competence as the official head of the feudal pyramid."[265] Accordingly, the king is shown here more or less in the central position holding the law book, under the tower with the Crusader banner above, but the patriarch is given special importance. He is paired with the king as an equal in effect, as his gesture and position indicates. He is furthermore represented as the sole figure fully vested in his official robes, wearing his pallium and miter. Even the king bears no standard insignia of rank, that is, no crown or cloak; rather he holds only a special and unusual scepter. It is noteworthy that when this artist, whom we have heretofore called the Hospitaller Master, but now refer to as the Paris–Acre Master, depicted joint councils of kings and patriarchs or bishops elsewhere in manuscripts illustrated in Acre during the 1280s, he regularly represents the kings with crowns, and the bishops only with miters – none with the pallium.[266] It is most unfortunate that we cannot as yet identify a patron for this legal manuscript in light of the extremely unusual feature that this codex has an illustrated headpiece. The likelihood is, however, that whoever it was done for in Acre, whether among the secular nobility or the high clergy, they would have readily recognized the significance of the patriarch's remarkably important position in this miniature.

Among the nobles, knights of the military orders, soldiers, and other high clergy as potential patrons we note the more or less continuous arrival of new manpower from the West along with the long-term residents of the kingdom. Among the high clergy, the patriarchs of Jerusalem tended to be French-born in the latter part of the thirteenth century, perhaps with the sole exception of Thomas of Lentino. Some were outstanding prelates, such as William II of Agen (1262–70) and Nicholas de Hanapes O.P. (1288–91), but unfortunately there were often difficulties filling this important post, resulting in extended vacancies between 1270 and 1272, and again from 1277 to 1279. Also there is the case of Elias of Périgueux (1279–88), about whom Hamilton says, "no patriarch since the death of Amalric of Nesle a century before made so little impression on the church and state of Jerusalem as Elias." Thus patriarchal leadership was erratic. Partly as the result of this bishoprics were often left vacant, and when they were filled the men appointed were often from the West, a sign of increased papal intervention – as seen elsewhere in the European world as well – as Hamilton points out.[267] Examples include Italians, such as Hugh of Troja at Bethlehem (1279–98), and French, for example, Godfrey, O.P., at Hebron (1268–86). However, some were also men born in the Holy Land, such as Bonacoursus de Gloire, O.P., archbishop of Tyre (1272–95).[268]

Among the nobility, there is perhaps no one so well-documented between 1268 and 1289 as Eudes, comte de Nevers, who arrived in Acre in 1265. Eudes of course never intended to stay, but he unexpectedly died there less than a year later. Nonetheless, the presence of the French regiment founded by Louis IX brought new recruits to the Latin Kingdom on a more or less continual basis. These French mercenary troops had been sponsored in the first instance by Louis IX, but at his death in 1270 there was an interruption in their presence. These troops returned to Acre in 1273, led by Oliver of Termes and paid for by Philippe III of France. When Oliver died in 1274, a new commander arrived in the person of William of Roussillon by 1275 or 1276, leading hundred mounted knights and four hundred crossbowmen. When he died in 1277, Miles of Haifa briefly took command. When, however, Charles of Anjou purchased the crown of Jerusalem from Maria of Antioch in 1277, the presence of these soldiers sponsored by the French king in the Latin Kingdom disappeared. Presumably they were then entailed to the command of Charles of Anjou by the pope in 1277. Eventually they returned to Acre sponsored by the French king after 1286, briefly under the command of Eudes Poilechien, and then following him, under John of Grailly.[269]

It is noteworthy that a year after the death of Charles of Anjou, in 1286 when Henry II of Cyprus came to Acre to become king, the men of the French regiment initially sided with Eudes Poilechien, the *bailli* and their countryman, in refusing to recognize Henry's claim to the crown of the Latin Kingdom. As we have noted earlier, in the previous subchapter, it was only when the leaders of the major military orders switched their allegiance and persuaded Eudes and his followers to accept the new ruler that peace and unity was achieved. Forthwith, however, a new leader for the French regiment was sent to the Holy Land, someone who had the confidence of the new king, Henry, namely, John of Grailly. John had worked to block the purchase of the crown of the kingdom by Charles of Anjou at the time of the council of Lyon, and was appointed seneschal by King Henry on his arrival. John and his troops, supported by the French king, resumed the protection of the Latin Kingdom as the French regiment had done at the time of Louis IX.[270]

The French contribution to the support of the Latin Kingdom was not only rendered by the king of France through the French regiment, however. There was also the Master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu, who led the Order from 1273 to 1291.[271] William was from a distinguished Burgundian family with a long Crusading tradition; moreover, the family was related to the French royal dynasty by marriage. William supported the policies of Charles of Anjou particularly against King Hugh of Cyprus, but his first loyalty was to the Capetian king of France, as Jonathan Riley-Smith has pointed out. With regard to the Hospitallers, although they did not have a master with the same noble status as William of Beaujeu, they did have a series of outstanding and experienced leaders in the persons of, especially, Hugh Revel (1258–77), and also Nicholas Lorgne (1277–84) and Jean de Villiers (1285–93).[272]

In discussing the personages and groups of people just mentioned, it should be clear that they constitute examples of potential patrons, not figures for whom we have documented evidence for their actual commissions. In the latter category there are, however, a few examples. In mid-June 1287, we know that Alice of Brittany, comtesse of Blois, arrived in Acre with a large contingent of soldiers. She had taken a vow as a Crusader in 1267, and eventually set out to fulfill her vow as a widow. In 1288 she contributed a substantial sum to pay for strengthening the walls of Acre with a tower, along with a chapel inside the city, in which she installed a priest to say Mass every day, before she died there in August of the same year.[273] Jeanne de Chatillon also came to Acre in 1287 on pilgrimage, but we know nothing about her interest in patronizing the arts.[274] Alice of Brittany was, however, not the only noble woman known to have come to Acre who sponsored works of art or architecture. In 1271 Eleanor of Castile, wife of Prince Edward of England and future queen of England, came to Acre with her husband on Crusade. While she was there she commissioned a translation of the *De re militari* by Vegetius, from Latin into French. This manuscript, which she also apparently had illustrated, she gave to him as a gift. The colophon of this codex mentions "master Richard" who seems to have been the scribe, but also may have been the translator. Whether or not Richard did it, the translation appears to have been done in Acre by an Englishman for the lady, Eleanor.[275] It would be interesting to investigate more widely what other noble women came East to aid the Holy Land at this time, where they may also have commissioned works of art or architecture!

Among the knights and soldiers who commissioned works of art, few are known to us by name during this period. The most prominent figure is, however, William of St. Stephen, who was a distinguished Hospitaller jurist and historian. Jonathan Riley-Smith gives the following biographical details about him:

> William of S. Stefano was probably an Italian. In 1282 he was in Acre, where he commissioned a priest called Master John of Antioch, who was perhaps a brother of the Order and may have been a native Syrian, to translate from Latin into French two treatises, the *De inventione* of Cicero and the *Rhetorica ad Herenium*, which at that time was ascribed to the same author. A little later he returned to Europe and sojourned in the Priory of Lombardy. There, between 1287 and 1290, he compiled the first collection of documents, statutes, *esgarts and usances*, using materials sent to him by Bernard de Chemin, the Treasurer of the Hospital. He returned to the East, where he held the important preceptorate of Cyprus from 1296 until 1303. He was therefore a capitular bailiff at the time of the great dispute of the Convent with William of Villaret, the materials for which he collected in his greatest work.... William's thought was not particularly original. He had however, real merits as a commentator upon the laws of the Hospital and must rank with William of Tyre as one of the great historians of Latin Syria.[276]

What is of the greatest interest for us about William of St. Stephen's commission, however, is the nature of the artist who illuminated his book. The fact is that when the presentation copy of John of Antioch's translated text was prepared for William of St. Stephen, it was illustrated with four panel miniatures, four illuminated initials, one historiated initial, two illuminated schemata, and various marginal drolleries, all executed in a Parisian Gothic style! This means that William chose not to commission a Crusader artist to illustrate his book, but rather a recently arrived French Gothic artist painting in a very up-to-date Parisian style. His commission therefore takes on special significance for our understanding of the nature and development of Crusader art in Acre, not only in the period 1268–89, but also since the time of Louis IX, and all through the thirteenth century. His commission is of the greatest interest since the artist of this book is the same artist who illustrated the *Livre des Assises* of Jean d'Ibelin mentioned earlier, a man we are calling the Paris–Acre Master.

Many other commissions were rendered for books decorated in this French Gothic style, along with a number of works in the more familiar and more complex Crusader style. Unfortunately we do not, however, know the names or identity of any of the other patrons who were involved in projects from this period, with perhaps two exceptions, the second a very special case.

When this French Gothic painter arrived in Acre, the Paris–Acre Master, one of his first works was a cycle of images for a book of Old Testament Bible selections, a codex now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, MS. nouv. acq. fr. 1404, done about 1280. Although we do not know the specific patron for this manuscript, the text of the Book of Judges contains a very interesting prologue that names two Templars in England in the twelfth century for whom this translation was done.[277] It is very likely, given the fact that this manuscript is one of the only Old French bible texts preserving this special prologue, that the patron here in Acre was also a Templar or connected to the Templar order in some way.

The second book is an even more remarkable commission. In 1957 Hugo Buchthal proposed to attribute a magnificent illustrated manuscript of the *Histoire Universelle*, a codex now in London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, as follows:

> The British Museum manuscript is probably a royal dedication copy which may have been produced to celebrate a special event...; it is perhaps not too bold to argue that it was presented to King Henry by the military aristocracy of Acre on the occasion of his coronation, and to commemorate the pageantry staged in his honor.[278]

By proposing to see this codex as a gift to the new king, Henry I of Jerusalem, from the corporate lords of the kingdom, on the occasion of his coronation in August 1286, Buchthal is interpreting this book as a diplomatic gift of the first rank. It is also a work of the highest importance for understanding the self-image of these lords at Acre and their Crusader artistic tradition. We shall discuss this issue and the richly multicultural content of this manuscript later. Suffice it to say here that in the absence of documented artistic gifts exchanged between the Crusaders and Mamluks, Mongols, Armenians, or Byzantines at this time, this is potentially the most important Crusader diplomatic gift we can identify, if this interpretation continues to be accepted.[279] It is also another possible, indeed probable, example of a collective commission comparable to the kind we consider later that may have been made by the various confraternities.

In the area of commerce, Acre was very important all through the thirteenth century, but especially so as the Latin Kingdom shrank in size after 1244. The complexity of the economy of Acre has recently been given some enlightening discussion demonstrating that its maritime commerce was lively and complex, operating on a three-tier basis. It was important for banking activity as well, and it also had important involvement in land trade and in relations with the rural hinterland.[280] One of the important aspects of this new understanding of the Acre economy is its wider scope and greater complexity compared to the views expressed in older studies. Acre traded not only with western Europe on one level, but its merchants were also involved with trade between Constantinople and Egypt – Alexandria and Damietta – at a second level. Thirdly, Acre also participated in a trading system up and down the coast of the eastern Mediterranean, from Ayas or Laiazzo to Lattakia, Beirut, and Tyre, and, before their fall, to Antioch and Tripoli as well. Trade between Acre and the other port cities and major inland Muslim centers such as Damascus and Mosul was also carried on as part of this regional network. This activity was, however, obviously dependent on the military and political state of affairs between the Crusaders and the Muslim powers, which changed frequently in the thirteenth century. As far as banking was concerned, the role of the military orders as bankers continued in the second half of the century.[281] However, this situation had changed somewhat with the arrival of Louis IX on Crusade in 1248, when new sources of loans were needed for the massive work undertaken by the French king in the Holy Land. This need was met partly by a consortium of Italian bankers from Piacenza, Genoa, Siena, and Florence in the late 1240s.[282] The issue of land trade and relations with the rural hinterland pertains to the agricultural and pastoral products produced by peasants on their land for supply of Acre's needs and sale in Acre's markets, and it pertains to the goods that the merchants of Acre sold to those in the rural hinterland, both products acquired from elsewhere and those manufactured inside the city limits.[283]

Among the merchants in the Latin Kingdom it was the Venetians who had assumed the position of commercial predominance following the War of St. Sabas in Acre after 1258. Venice achieved this when they successfully defeated a Genoese fleet in a sea battle off the coast of Acre in that year. With regard to Acre this meant not only commercial primacy in the trading and exchange of goods, but also the transport of pilgrims. Acre was the primary port for pilgrimage to the Holy Land during this period.

Even though Pisa maintained its quarter in Acre, and Genoa and Pisa maintained a presence in other important Crusader ports such as Tyre, Beirut, and Tripoli, they were increasingly marginalized by the Venetians. Genoa held on in the face of Venetian competition by means of their Black Sea routes and importance in the silk trade, but the Pisans, following their naval defeat in 1284 at the hands of the Genoese, played a shrinking role in the commerce of the Latin East after that point.[284] We know of no individual merchants, Venetian or otherwise, who specifically commissioned works of art at this time, but the strong presence of the Venetians in Acre along with evidence for Veneto-Byzantine Crusader works before 1268 make them prime potential patrons in this period. Jacoby points out in addition that many educated Venetians knew Old French, giving as examples the fact that Marsilio Zorzi had borrowed a copy of the *History of Outremer* in order to use parts for his work, and in 1294 a Venetian from Acre had had his will drafted in French. It is evident that Italian merchants, and especially Venetians, are likely patrons in Acre.[285]

One subject of importance for the consideration of patronage by nonecclesiastical residents and visitors in Acre in particular is the existence of confraternities as part of the social, religious, and political structure of society in the Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century. Jonathan Riley-Smith has identified the presence of the confraternities in the political life of the city of Acre in documents of 1269 and 1276.[286] Other scholars have also contributed to the study of these organizations.[287] He has described their role, "not as eleemosinary but as crusading institutions, committed to the defence of the Holy Land.... [They were] sworn associations of laymen devoted to works of piety."[288] We know about these organizations only fragmentarily, especially in the last third of the thirteenth century. In 1276 there is evidence for the confraternity of St. George of Lydda and Bethlehem, members of which were Greek Orthodox Melkites. In 1271 a confraternity dedicated to Edward the Confessor for Englishmen had been established by Prince Edward of England while he was in Acre. One confraternity was for Italian pilgrims, named in honor of the Holy Spirit. Another, the confraternity of St. Andrew, was open to anyone, which was quite exceptional. For the most part these organizations were for specific people, either persons who came from a certain place or people of a certain religion. Unfortunately the evidence for these confraternities is slight and so far we know relatively little about them; we do not even know whether there was one specifically for the Venetians in Acre, although it is likely there was.

The lack of evidence about these confraternities is a pity because, as we have already remarked in an earlier chapter, similar organizations were known to be playing an important role as patrons for painting in Italy in the Dugento. Italian confraternities were important furthermore as collective patrons for the newly configured painted panels that began to be installed as altarpieces in various churches.[289] One of the important features of these Italian confraternities that so far has no explicit documented parallel in the East is their liturgical perfomances. Indeed, certain types of confraternities, the "*compagnie delle laude*," were groups of laymen (and sometimes laywomen) organized primarily under the auspices of the Dominican, Franciscan, and other mendicant orders to receive religious instruction, provide charitable services for the poor, and above all to conduct their own liturgical services that featured the devotional activity of *lauda*-singing. It is here, as the lyrical core of a lay, vernacular liturgy, that the *lauda* arose in the thirteenth century, ... and became the dominant insignia of the lay religious activism fostered by the mendicant orders."[290] The devotional focus of the *Laudesi* was on the cult of the Virgin, and we can recall once more that it was the confraternity of the *Laudesi* in Florence that commissioned the *Rucellai Madonna* in 1285 by Duccio.[291] Although it remains to be seen whether there exist in the Latin Kingdom confraternities that are parallel to the *Laudesi* in Tuscany in purpose and activity, Jonathan Riley-Smith concludes his discussion of these Crusader confraternities by noting an intriguing point. Given the fact that we have "the appearance of two Eastern Christian confraternities linked to the crusading orders, ... there is the fascinating possibility that in the thirteenth century there may have been Greek Orthodox and Nestorian Crusaders."[292] The potential significance of such confraternities and such Crusaders for shedding light on artistic patronage involving icons done by Crusader artists for particular functions not now clearly understood is evident. More research is needed here and constitutes a major *desideratum*.

Another major category of important potential patrons is clearly the pilgrims to the Holy Land, as noted earlier.[293] Pilgrims came to the Holy Land to visit the holy places, but the accessibility of these places varied according to circumstances. Quite possibly those with sufficient means would wish to donate works of art to these sites, or commission works to carry with them as devotional objects, or acquire works to take with them – manuscripts, paintings, relics – as records of their pilgrimage, as works to inspire their family and friends back home. We know of several important pilgrims to and pilgrim's accounts of the Holy Land during this period, which we commented on earlier. There is the shadowy Rusticien de Pise, who later wrote the celebrated account of Marco Polo, who had passed through Acre in 1271. There is the anonymous compiler of the *Pelrinages et Pardouns d'Acre*, who wrote probably in the early 1260s, not the 1280s as has previously been thought. There is the account of the German pilgrim, Burchard of Mount Sion, written about 1283.[294] There is the little-known pilgrim from 1285–91 identified as Philippus Brusserius Savonensis, who must have seen the same things Burchard saw shortly before the fall of Acre to the Mamluks, and whose account was written shortly after that of Burchard.[295] Finally, there is also the celebrated account of Ricoldus de Monte Crucis O.P., who reports that he saw more than ten-thousand pilgrims along the Jordan River in January of 1289.[296] It should be noted also that these pilgrims could be either western European or Byzantine pilgrims, as Jacoby has pointed out.

These are the main texts that relate to pilgrimage at this time, demonstrating that pilgrimage continued even though what the pilgrims were able to do and see, and how they did it, had changed compared to what we know about the earlier years of the thirteenth century. There are other pilgrims as well, such as Eleanor of Castile, mentioned earlier, who came with her husband, Prince Edward of England, on Crusade. We know about a certain William of Valence, who traveled to the Holy Land in 1273. In 1376 Mary, countess of Pembroke, left to Westminster Abbey "a cross with a foot of gold and emeralds" that her long-dead father-in-law, William of Valence (+1296), had acquired and carried home with him from Acre.[297]

In sum, the pilgrims constitute an important class of potential artistic patrons. However, very little direct evidence can be associated with them. It is odd, for example, that given the comparatively large number of German pilgrims in the overall crusader period of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, very little in the way of Crusader art with any German affiliations can be identified! Despite the prolific writings by German pilgrims, we have almost nothing in the way of works of art – with the exception of the Freiburg Leaf from the late 1190s – that we can associate with them. Despite detailed historical discussions of pilgrims in general and German pilgrims in particular, very little can be said from direct evidence about their interest in, and specifically their patronage of, Crusader art.[298]

One final category of potential patrons is the Eastern Christians. Their numbers grew in Acre during the thirteenth century, where they were located mainly in the suburb of Montmusard. An increase in their numbers is indicated especially from the 1260s onward, following the Mongol invasion of Syria.[299] They are of considerable interest and clearly need more study as potential patrons of certain works of art, like icons, on the one hand, and as participants in the Christian culture of the Latin Kingdom on the other, interacting with the Latins and perhaps supplying some of the manpower for the production of works of art for Crusader patrons.

ACRE AS AN INTELLECTUAL CENTER

In light of this very fragmentary evidence for the artistic patronage in the Latin Kingdom, and especially at Acre in the years 1268–89, what estimate can we make of Acre as an artistic and intellectual center in the Latin East? There can be no doubt that Acre was primarily a city of commerce, a port city that became the capital of the Latin Kingdom by necessity when Jerusalem was removed from Crusader control at the time of Saladin in 1187. By virtue of being the capital city, it also became a center of religious administration as most of the major religious organizations that had had their location in Jerusalem migrated to Acre. Only very gradually did Acre become a religious center as well. Whereas Acre had no holy sites as such, later in the thirteenth century, as David Jacoby has argued, it developed its own organized pilgrimage to religious houses for which indulgences were assigned. Jacoby and Grabois note that Burchard of Mount Sion, who visited Acre in 1280, still did not consider Acre part of the Holy Land, that is, it had no major holy sites. However, in fact the development of Acre as a kind of sacred space had emerged after Louis IX left the Latin Kingdom in 1254. In lieu of the main holy places that were increasingly difficult and dangerous to visit, "a substitute expiatory pilgrimage" was organized in Acre, which was documented in the *Pelrinages et Pardouns d'Acre*, compiled between 1258 and 1264.[300] It is no doubt at this time, in the later thirteenth century, that Acre began to assume the identity that caused it to be known as Saint Jean d'Acre in the last decades of its Crusader existence; this new name seems to have arisen partly from the new religious role of the city, partly from the prominence of the Hospitallers there, the Knights of St. John.

With this in mind, and to begin our discussion of Acre as a cultural and intellectual center for the Crusaders, let us return to the description that Archbishop William of Tyre gives the city in the 1170s, and comment on how it had changed by the late thirteenth century. William of Tyre says:

> Acre is a city on the seacoast in the province of Phoenicia, one of the suffragan cities which is under the metropolis of Tyre.

In the thirteenth century, Acre was no longer a suffragan city, but was the place where the patriarch had his cathedra. Not only had Acre become the residence of the patriarch of Jerusalem, but also, in the second half of the century, the office of bishop of Acre had been combined with his position as patriarch just as the office of papal legate had been merged with his patriarchal powers in the first half of the century. Tyre was no longer the metropolitan city over Acre; Acre was the patriarchal city over Tyre. Tyre was now the place for the coronation of the Latin kings of Jerusalem, but Acre was of course the political capital of the kingdom since 1191 and the residence of the king or his *bailli*. William continues:

> Its double harbor, lying both inside and outside the walls, offers a safe and tranquil anchorage to ships. It is well located between the mountains and the sea and possesses wide domains with rich and fertile fields. The river Belus flows past the city.

As we have seen the city had expanded enormously in the thirteenth century, with the major addition being the suburb of Montmusard, north of the old city. It is not clear, however, whether the harbor, which in the thirteenth century only grew busier than in the twelfth century, had also expanded. Already in the late twelfth century Ibn-Jubayr called Acre's port "second only to Constantinople," and Benvenisti points out it was the single most important harbor on the eastern Mediterranean coast during this period.[301] Certainly Acre became even more important as the leading port in the Latin Kingdom during the thirteenth century, and provided port facilities to handle repeated Crusade expeditions, regular pilgrimage traffic especially in the spring and fall, and intensive commercial activity. One wonders whether when the second line of city walls had been built in the thirteenth century there had also been any enlargement of the quays or the arsenal, where barges brought goods from ships anchored out in the bay, or ships could be repaired and built, respectively. One wonders whether later on, the Venetians in particular had taken advantage of their new position of commercial dominance after the War of St. Sabas to expand their port facilities for handling commerce. Outside the city, the rich and fertile fields were no doubt still there, but they had sometimes become a bivouac area for various armies, the site of pitched battles, and even the object of wanton destruction by Baybars and his troops from time to time, as graphically described by the Templar of Tyre. Therefore, what their condition may have been by 1268 is a bit unclear. William's description then addresses the name of the city:

> According to the story generally received, it was founded by two brothers, Ptolemais and Acco. They fortified it with walls of solid masonry and divided it into two sections, which were called from their names. Hence, even today it is known indifferently as Ptolemais or Acre, as is the case with most of the cities of Syria, each of which has, as a rule, two or even three names.[302]

The understanding of the name of the city in the thirteenth century seems to change slightly. Ptolemais is identified as the old name and Acre is the contemporary name, according to Matthew Paris.[303] Both Marino Sanudo and Paulinus of Pozzuoli say the city known as "Acon" or "Ptolemais" is commonly called "Acri" or Acre.[304] The current understanding is that toward the end of the thirteenth century the city began to be called St. Jean d'Acre, because of the evolution of pilgrimage there as indicated by the *Pelrinages et Pardouns d'Acre*, and because of the prominence of the Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem there. It remains to be seen, however, what attested use of this name can be found in the writings of this period, before 1289 or before 1291.[305]

In this setting the reality of Acre as an intellectual center has received differing evaluations. Some historians have seen this role of the city in a positive light;[306] others have been more matter-of-factly sceptical. Runciman expressed serious doubts, presented in terms of an estimate of the "Intellectual Life in Outremer."[307] He argued that intellectual life in Outremer compared unfavorably with that in Sicily or Spain at the time. Fundamentally he perceived society in the Crusader East as largely composed of soldiers and merchants, and that they had very limited contact with the local indigenous population. It "was, in fact, that of a Frankish colony. . . . On the whole Frankish culture in Outremer remained an occidental importation, with very little contact with native culture, except in the arts."[308] The real measure, as Runciman sees it, was the lack of centers of learning in the Latin East. "It was the absence of these centres that made the cultural contribution of the Crusades to western Europe so disappointingly small."[309] The only positive aspect Runciman could see was in the arts. He writes, "in some of the arts . . . their achievements . . . were remarkable; for the colonists were not numerous and only few of them can have been artists."[310]

This rather dismal overall view is now almost fifty years old, and our understanding of Acre has changed in the interim. Whereas some might say this assessment is more accurate than not for the Crusader States in general, referring to the period 1098 to 1291, it does not apply wholly to the urban culture of Acre in 1268–89 in several ways. First, it is misleading to see Acre as a colonial society, when it was clearly quite multicultural during most of its Crusader history.[311] It is only in the later thirteenth century, following the residency of King Louis IX, when the accumulation of soldiers from Crusade expeditions and the extended appearance of the French regiment gives Acre a more colonial aspect perhaps. Second, whereas many important crusader cities in thirteenth-century Syria-Palestine may have been constituted mainly of soldiers and merchants, Acre by contrast also had a substantial religious presence among its people, mostly Latin Christians among the Frankish residents, but also composed of Eastern Christians among the indigenous population. Furthermore, the merchants who traded here were quite diverse and included besides those from Italy and France, Muslims from northern Africa, Damascus, Baghdad, and Yemen, Armenians, Jews, and even Nestorians from Mossul. With these "natives" the Frankish merchants certainly did have contact in their business dealings. Also despite great differences of opinion over the years about the extent to which Frankish settlers in the Latin Kingdom learned Arabic and interacted in the local languages, a recent study argues that "knowledge of Arabic among the Franks seems to have been more extensive than hitherto thought."[312] Third, because of the presence of the religious communities in Acre, there were centers of learning in Acre, albeit not of university stature, and the richness and significance of cultural interchange was perhaps greater than Runciman was willing to admit. A brief discussion can bring these points into clearer focus.

Because of the presence of the numerous religious houses in Acre, there were Christian schools in Acre. Theology was taught here since 1218. Besides the likelihood of a school connected with the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, the Franciscans and the Dominicans must have had *studia* in Acre. William of Rubruck had been assigned to the Franciscan convent (established *c.*1219) as *lector* in 1255, and the Dominicans with their emphasis on study, preaching, and missionary work surely had a similar *studium* in their establishment (founded *c.*1229). Certainly both the Franciscans and the Dominicans were actively involved in the study of oriental languages, including Arabic and Armenian, for their missionary activities.[313] These three places would have been centers of study in Acre, each with some kind of library.[314] Other major orders were present in the city as well, such as the Carmelites, the Benedictines, and the Cistercians, but we know very little about their intellectual activities there.[315]

There had been a certain level of literary activity in Acre throughout the thirteenth century, connected, for example, with the names of Jacques de Vitry, Thibaut de Champagne, and William of Rubruck, and we can see evidence for this continuing after 1268.[316] William of Tripoli, O.P., wrote his work *De statu saracenorum et de Mahomete pseudopropheta et eorum lege et fide*... in Acre in the early 1270s.[317] A Dominican friar named Yves, who may or may not be the same person as Yves le Breton, O.P., who acted as an interpreter for Louis IX, is known to have been in Acre in 1279 before he became archbishop of Nazareth in 1290. Yves le Breton himself is known to have been a very learned Frenchman, and K. Ciggaars speculates that he could have been sufficiently well-versed in Arabic to make translations of texts pertaining to the Miracles of the Virgin from Latin and Old French.[318] Burchard of Mount Sion, O.P., the pilgrim, wrote part of his account while in Acre in the early 1280s.[319] The last patriarch of Jerusalem, Nicholas de Hanape, O.P., was also a man of letters who had written a well-known treatise in Paris before coming East.[320]

We also have evidence of translators and scribes working in Acre at this time. In 1282 John of Antioch translated classical texts from Latin into French for the Hospitaller, William of St. Stephen,[321] while ten years earlier, in 1271–2, a Master Richard apparently translated the military treatise of Vegetius, also from Latin into French. An eight-line verse that accompanies the translated text of Vegetius includes the following reference:

> Mastre Richard, vostre clerc, que vostre livere escrit En la vile d'Acre sans nul contredit.[322]

In 1270 a scribe wrote a verse colophon in a manuscript of the *Image du Monde*. He called himself "Jaquemin d'Acre."[323] In the 1270s a scribe's name appeared in the colophon of a *Histoire Universelle* manuscript: "c'est livre escrist Bernart dacre."[324] The fact that both Jaquemin and Bernard sign themselves in this manner suggests that the book may have been intended for someone outside of Acre, and that inclusion of this formulation as being from Acre would enhance, certainly not diminish, the prestige of his work. Indeed having these men sign their works this way suggests that they were working in a city, which by the later thirteenth century had something of a reputation for manuscript production.

These are admittedly only fragmentary glimpses into the literary world that existed in Acre at this time, but when put together with other evidence, they help us understand that there was a thriving cultural life in Acre. Acre was after all a very large and important city, and the diverse multicultural population and the resources available to support book production and the arts were substantial. However, besides this admittedly fragmentary evidence for Christian Acre, we also know that the Jewish community had become very important in the city during the thirteenth century as more and more Jews came to the Holy Land. Prawer pointed out that a Talmudic academy existed for Jews of French origin, along with Rabbi Salomon Petit, who expounded the Kabbala for those from Spanish lands. These Jews mixed and debated with others from the Near East. The Jewish community flourished in Acre in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but was destroyed during the Mamluk conquest in 1291. We would also like to know about centers of learning and literary activity for the Muslims and Eastern Christians in Acre as well.[325]

Another approach to the study of Acre as a cultural center is through the consideration of what written works would have appeared in the libraries of an educated noble or soldier of means at this time, and what libraries there may have been in Acre. Even though we do not as yet have any specific archaeological evidence for the existence of such libraries in Acre, by their putative books we shall endeavor to know them. By considering the books that were produced in Acre, or texts known to have been written there, at least a partial profile of the intellectual interests of the educated class can be sketched out.[326] Grabois identifies the following categories and examples of manuscripts known to have been done in Acre for secular patrons; we will focus on what we know about these categories and examples in the period 1268–89:

1. Religious books;
2. Translations of the Greek and Roman classics;
3. Legal texts;
4. Historical works; and
5. *Chansons de Geste* and *Romans*.

In the first category, religious books, the remarkable fact is that the main extant works are Bibles and psalters. The psalters are written in Latin, manuscripts such as the Book of Psalms and Prophets now in Padua and the Riccardiana Psalter. By contrast the Bibles are early translations of the Latin into Old French and date to the second half of the thirteenth century. We have already discussed the Arsenal Bible in Chapter 6 as a work of 1250, and the second Bible codex is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. Acq. Fr. 1404, to be dated *c.*1280. All four of these manuscripts are illustrated, and although two of the first three are royal commissions, the last one is very possibly connected to an educated knight, perhaps a member of the Templar Order. What is also remarkable is that despite the continuous production of liturgical service books for Crusader use up to this point, none is extant from the period after 1268. The interest in the narrative books of the Bible in MS nouv. Acq. Fr. 1404 corresponds with the interest shown by the nobility in linking their presence and their activities with the biblical and historical past in the Holy Land. We can also see this interest manifested in the commissions of illustrated books of the *Histoire Universelle*, which contained translated paraphrases or independent versions of Biblical history along with other texts of historical content.

There are relatively few individual examples in the second category of classical texts, but the main book that survives, an Old French translation of Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly and dated 1282, served as a basic schoolbook in the Middle Ages. It has to be thought of in the category of classical works for basic and practical studies. It remains to be seen why a Hospitaller jurist of the stature of William of St. Stephen would want such a fundamental text for his personal collection, and why moreover he would want it to be translated and illuminated. Again in this category there are composite books, which contain material pertaining to the history of Greece and Rome, and the chief example here again is the *Histoire Universelle*.

When it comes to legal texts, this was a field in which the Crusaders excelled. As Joshua Prawer observes, "in no contemporary Christian nobility was knowledge of customary law and procedure and mastery over the intricacies of constitutional law so cultivated and cherished as in the Latin Kingdom.... All its intellectual energies appear to have been concentrated in the study of law."[327] Furthermore, whereas it is hardly surprising to find manuscripts of law books written in the Crusader East, and clearly many of them must have been written in the Latin Kingdom, either in Acre or Tripoli, until very recently most extant codices had been thought to come from Cyprus at a later time, after 1291. Thus it was quite remarkable when Peter Edbury identified two very early manuscripts of the *Livre des Assises* of Jean d'Ibelin as coming from Acre, instead of Cyprus as previously thought.[328] Jean had completed his treatise in 1265–6, and these two manuscripts should be dated in the later 1280s or 1290.[329] It was even more remarkable to discover that one of these codices was illustrated, with a miniature we have discussed briefly (Fig. 234, CD 204). We shall discuss the artist, the Paris–Acre Master, and the place of this miniature in his oeuvre in Chapter 8.

Among the extant manuscripts, it is the historical works that constitute the most substantial corpus so far identified from Acre. Many of these works deal with ancient history, such as parts of the *Histoire Universelle* and the *Livre de César*, but the most popular work was the *History of Outremer*, written by William II, archbishop of Tyre. It was translated from Latin into Old French and continued in texts of varying lengths down to 1231, 1248, 1261, 1264, and 1275. At the moment we have eight manuscripts executed in Acre surviving that contain the *History of Outremer*, six of which are illustrated. Remarkably, five of these were produced in Acre in the period from 1268 to 1291. The second most popular work, based on the number of extant copies, was the *Histoire Universelle.* There are three extant manuscripts from Acre in this period, all of which are illustrated. Only one manuscript of Roman history survives from Acre, and it too is illustrated.

Finally, we can consider the fifth category, literary works. In many ways this is the most puzzling category, because we have references to many works of literature in various written sources known in the Latin East, but no manuscript – illustrated or unillustrated – has yet been identified from the Latin Kingdom or any other major center in the Latin East.[330] These works are quite diverse and include poems such as the first part of the epic cycle of the Crusades. This part

> was apparently begun toward the end of the twelfth century by a versifier named Graindor of Douai, who rewrote and amalgamated three previously independent poems, *La Chanson d'Antioche*, *Les Chétifs* (the Captives), and *La Conquête de Jérusalem*, which dealt with the First Crusade. Graindor's compilation was later prefaced with an account of the fictitious youthful exploits of Godfrey of Bouillon and the story of his mythical grandfather, the swan-knight; at a later date (the middle of the thirteenth century) a sequel was added which carried the narrative from the end of the First Crusade down to the emergence of Saladin.[331]

We can also think of other works in Old French literature, which refer to Western captives, such as the epic *Huon de Bordeaux*.[332]

Among works not linked to the Crusades, the most popular in Acre were the legends of Alexander the Great, the *Roman de Troie*, and *La Chanson de Thèbes*.[333] We also know that the Arthurian stories enjoyed great popularity in the Latin Kingdom.[334] With regard to this last group of works, it is perhaps surprising that we do not have any extant manuscripts of these texts that we can, as yet, identify as having come from Acre apart from excerpts from some of these texts found in the *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts. Another aspect of these *Histoire Universelle* texts is their stories of the Amazons, which are also mentioned by the Templar of Tyre when he discusses the celebrations following the coronation of the new king, Henry II, in Acre.[335]

There is another, sixth, category of books, hagiography and miracles of saints, that might also be added to this discussion. Although some might include these works under the literary rubric, I prefer to see them as a separate category, which emphasizes their special character. We do not have any manuscripts of the *Miracles of the Virgin* that are known to have been done in the Holy Land, but certainly some circulated out there, and some very likely were also made there. Krinije Ciggaars points to the possibility that someone like Jacques de Vitry must have had such a manuscript in his trunk when traveling to the Latin Kingdom.[336] With regard to saints' lives, one relevant example might be the *Vita* of Jordan of Saxony, O.P., Master General of the Dominican Order. Jordan of Saxony visited the Dominican convent in Acre in the winter of 1236–7, and when he set sail to return to Europe his ship sank and he drowned on 13 February 1237. His body was buried in the Dominican house in Acre and his tomb became a place of veneration. His *Vita* included the account of a miracle in which Jordan saved a woman from a poisonous spider, a miracle that found its way into other compilations and was circulated in the East.[337]

Finally we might add a seventh category of books to include in these libraries, encyclopedias and books of general knowledge. Encyclopedias were obviously extremely popular in the thirteenth century, but the specific example that can be cited with reference to Acre is the *Image du Monde*. This text is a reworking in Old French by Gossuin de Metz of an older Latin work, which was widely known in Europe. A manuscript of the *Image du Monde* was apparently made in Acre with a colophon in verse.[338]

In contrast to these books for which documentation of their existence in Acre can be located one way or another, there are also the books in a different general category, for example, those that would have belonged to a *studium* in a religious house, for which perhaps our best evidence survives in the much earlier twelfth-century list of a library for what appears to be a religious house in Nazareth.[339] This kind of library has a completely different focus as selections from its list of standard classical and ecclesiastical authors indicates:

"Hii sunt libri conventus Nazarene ecclesie.
[Religious texts:]
Ieronimus super psalterium,
Anbrosius (sic) super Lucam,
Matheus; textus Marci evangeliste; Iohannes; apocalysis Iohannis,
Textus iiii evangeliorum,
Gregorius super ii libros Ezechielis,
Gregorius super cantica canticorum,
Gregorius super moralia Iob,
Epistole Ieronimi et Augustini,
XV libri beati Augustini,
Augustinus de Trinitate,
Augustinus super Iohannem,
Epistole Pauli glosate,
Liber Ieronimi questionum Hebraicarum,
Isidorus de summo bono,
Gesta pontificum,
Registrum Leonis pape,
Duo libri dialogorum Gregorii,
[Classical texts:]
X libri de phisica,
Duo libri de luna,
Arimethica (sic),
Alius de construcione,
Magnus Pricianus,
Iii Boetii cum glosulis,
Ii Oracii cum glosulis,
Ii Salustii,
Eneis Virgilii,
Lucanus cum glosulis,
Iuvenalis duplex,
Tullis de amicicia,
Iii Prucencii,
Commenta Boetii,
Duo Ovidii epistolarum,
Ovidius de amatoria arte,
Ovidius de Ponto,
Ii O. de remedio amoris"

These are fundamental and important religious and classical texts for study. We note that all the texts are in Latin, and that certain authors are emphasized, namely, the Evangelists, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Virgil, Cicero, Ovid, and Boethius. There is no indication that any of these books would have been decorated or illustrated.

In perhaps a third general category would be the books held in the chapel libraries of the religious orders, such as the Templars and the Hospitallers. Occasional references to such holdings can be found in the archives of these orders. The *Règle* and the *Retraits* of the Templars mention a variety of books, for example, gospels and psalters, with emphasis on works for the recitation of the hours and on prayers in the missal.[340] Every Templar convent would have had a chapel for services. Even though we do not have an inventory from the Latin East, a listing of holdings from a suppressed Templar establishment in Picardy provides a partial idea of what standard ecclesiastical books would be available. The Picard list includes a breviary in two volumes, a gradual, two large books "deu temporal," a book of epistles, a *prosarium*, a life of the Fathers, and an Office of the Dead.[341] Bearing in mind how large and important were the Templar establishments in Acre and at 'Atlit, we can imagine a much larger and important collection in each place.

There is also a subcategory of books that might be mentioned here, the official books of the Templars, in the form of the *Règle* and the *Retraits*, as well as Bernard of Clairvaux's defense of the Order, the *De laude novae militae*. Riley-Smith points out the masters and grand commanders followed a policy that no ordinary brother of the Order was allowed to have a copy of the Rule or the *Retraits*, and the Templar brother knight Géraud de Gaûche had even had to give up his copy of Bernard's *De laude novae militiae*. Later on it was returned to him. Géraud was a knight who served a long time in the East, and we might wonder whether his copy of Bernard's text might not have been written and even conceivably decorated in Acre, or 'Atlit, as well. If so, Géraud must have brought it back with him when he returned to the West, where by 1307 we find him serving as a commander at Le Bastit near Cahors.[342]

The documents of the Knights of St. John of the Hospital also provide certain references to books held by their men. The *Usances* of the Hospitallers, besides mentioning breviaries, psalters, and missals, that is, the usual prayer and service books, also refers several times to romans and chronicles, which in the Latin is rendered "romanciis seu cronicis," in the possession of the officers of the Order.[343] This clearly indicates that the personal allowance of educated members of the Hospital not infrequently was used to acquire manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts were also illustrated and even illuminated.

Finally, the important fact here is that aside from fragmentary survivals and occasional references in the documents, the only other indication we have of the existence of manuscripts of these texts from Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century is in the reports of the dispersal and destruction at the time of the fall of Acre in 1291. For example, we find reference to books in the letters of Ricold of Monte Croce, O.P., where he cites books of the prophets, gospelbooks, breviaries, missals, and books of the *Moralia in Job*.[344] These are exactly the kinds of books mentioned in the larger and more specific selection in the Nazareth list. We do not know whether these religious books were produced in Acre or when they were produced, of course; however, whether they were produced in Acre at this time, there is no extant example for us to study so far.

When we consider the libraries that these books may have belonged to, this provides additional information about the intellectual interests of the educated Frankish population. We know something about what could be found in the library of a religious house in the late twelfth–early thirteenth century, from the surviving inventory of the library of Nazareth mentioned earlier.[345] We also know that a well-established religious house would have had a full complement of liturgical service books. However, we should recall from the inventories of Eudes de Nevers that his personal library in his possession at the time of his death contained both service books for his personal *cappella* – a sanctorale, a missal, and a breviary[346] – and works of literature – a *romanz de loheranz*, a *romanz de la terre d'outremer*, and *li chançoners*.[347] What the article of Grabois describes is the wider holdings of an aristocratic library, and there are one or two points of interest to note about the manuscript evidence we have for the works he cites. In the first place we have six examples of one of the texts, the *History of Outremer*, done in Acre.[348] As we shall see two of these manuscripts were illustrated by a Crusader artist in the multicultural Crusader style of the 1270s, and portions of two other manuscripts were illustrated by Crusader artists of the 1280s. The remaining two manuscripts were done by the recently arrived French Gothic artist, the Paris–Acre Master, who also did most of a third work, completing a codex started by some of the Crusader artists.

If we assume that all of these manuscripts remained in Acre for a time, before they were carried away before or during May of 1291, it is evident that there were six separate libraries to which these manuscripts belonged. We say this because we assume no library had duplicate copies of this work, and all of these manuscripts contain continuations of different lengths, with the exception of the two earliest ones. Furthermore, in the case of Paris, B.N., MS fr. 2628, this codex clearly was done in Acre and then remained there, where the owner was able to have his text updated with additional text and a later miniature. This indicates that these books were being read, that the libraries were being maintained, and that the resources in terms of scriptoria, that is, parchemeniers to provide new materials, scribes, and the books they would copy from, and painters with model books or even other manuscripts they could use for their miniature cycles were available to receive commissions throughout this period, for this one type of book. It must have been possible for other texts as well.

Given the type of book here, it is likely these manuscripts were destined for private libraries of educated artistocrats, knights, soldiers, or perhaps less likely, merchants. It is not that the merchants would necessarily be less educated here, but the content of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* with its continuations focuses on the political and military history of the Latin Kingdom, with its kings and ruling nobility, not as much on the economic history and activity of the maritime powers. It can also be noted that these manuscripts are painted in two very different styles of miniatures. There is either the established Crusader style as seen from the time of the Arsenal Bible in Acre with Louis IX or the new French Gothic style of the 1270s, which arrived with a new painter, the Paris–Acre Master, and dominated the extant commissions in the 1280s. What criteria governed the choice of one of these styles on the part of these patrons? Why did one of these patrons decide to have both styles represented in his book? Why was the French Gothic style so popular in Acre in the 1280s?

A similar analysis can be given to the extant codices of the *Histoire Universelle*, as well as the manuscript of the *Faits des Romains*.[349] What is particularly interesting is that of the four relevant codices extant with these texts, the decoration of two are done in the established Crusader style and two are executed in the French Gothic style, one by the main master and one by a competent assistant. What is very striking, however, is that when a decision had to be made about the commission in 1285/6 for the *Histoire Universelle* manuscript that was apparently to be given to the new king, Henry I, of Jerusalem, the program of decoration was done in the established Crusader style. Furthermore, it was done by a team with a minimum of at least six artists, in a rich and varied manifestation of the Crusader style incorporating Byzantine, French, Italian, and even Muslim aspects. This choice was made even though the French Gothic artist and his assistant were present and would presumably have been available to work on this highly important project had they been asked. We shall consider what the implications of this choice may have been at the time, in our discussion later.[350]

We can observe that similar to the manuscripts of the *History of Outremer*, these codices were very likely destined for similar types of libraries, not, that is to say, a library in a religious house. It is again likely that it would be educated members of the nobility, the knightly class, the soldiers of means more than the merchants, who would have been most interested in these books. We know, however, that one of the codices, the Brussels MS 10175 manuscript, was inscribed as having been written by "Bernard d'Acre," so the idea is that this book was perhaps meant to go to a library someplace other than Acre, perhaps to Tyre or, even more likely, a city on Cyprus. Furthermore, the fact that some of the same artists worked on the royal gift, the *Histoire Universelle*, MS Add. 15268, and the first five miniatures of MS fr. 9084, a *History of Outremer*, at least raises the question of what patron the latter codex was commissioned for. Most likely it was not for the king, or the lords who may have commissioned the *Histoire Universelle*, but who would have been interested in a manuscript decorated in these two very different styles, and why?

Ultimately the question must be asked, why were all of these works produced in Acre between 1268 and 1291, indicating by what is nonetheless a fragmentary and partial documentation that the most flourishing production of illustrated manuscripts occurred in the last twenty-five years of the existence of Acre as a Crusader city? Furthermore, if the extant manuscripts are indeed representative of developments in Acre in the 1280s, why should a French Gothic style supercede the established multicultural Crusader style that had existed and developed in the Latin Kingdom since the 1130s, and had flourished in Acre since its virtual rebirth as sponsored by King Louis IX? We shall attempt to address these questions in our discussion of painting in the Latin Kingdom later. However, to begin our examination of extant Crusader works in this period, we turn first to the question of the architecture.

ARCHITECTURE

One major aspect of the story of Crusader architecture in the years between 1268 and 1289 pertains to major losses. Baybars succeeded in capturing some of the strongest and most powerful Crusader fortresses including not only the major fortified city of Antioch (1268) in the northern Crusader States, but also a series of important castles including Beaufort (1268), Gaston (Baghras) (1268) near Antioch, Montfort (1271), Chastel Blanc (1271), and Crac des Chevaliers (1271), along with a number of smaller fortifications in the County of Tripoli and the Latin Kingdom. His successor, Kalavun, then continued the Mamluk assault with major victories at Margat (1285) and, of course, at Tripoli (1289).[351]

These losses meant that the Crusaders were left in control of a small series of fortified cities and castles along the coast. In the Latin Kingdom the major holdings were Acre and Chastel Pelerin in the south and the cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut. In the County of Tripoli there only remained Gibelet, and farther north the city of Tortosa still in Templar control, which had belonged to the Principality of Antioch but was now associated with what remained of the County of Tripoli. This means that another important part of the architectural story in this period pertains to the upkeep and maintenance, the rebuilding and strengthening, and perhaps occasionally the new building of fortifications for these sites. The difficulty is that it is so hard to document this work either archaeologically or with the help of other documentation such as historical texts. It is also true that we know very little about any new churches or other ecclesiastical architecture being built, rebuilt, added onto, or repaired at this time.[352]

Partly this situation exists because so much was destroyed as the result of the Mamluk invasions in the years from 1268 to the mid-1270s led by Baybars and then again in the later 1280s led by Kalavun. Partly this situation exists because when things were captured they were sometime repaired and rebuilt by the Mamluks, as at Crac des Chevaliers. However, it is a pity that we cannot know more about what new building went on in any of the major Crusader cities, such as Acre, where new construction was going forward – we know Alice of Blois sponsored new strengthening of the city walls in 1287, for example – both on the defenses and no doubt also on the fabric of the city inside the walls. Because of this lack of access, unfortunately we cannot assess what impact the new Gothic style had on Crusader architecture in the late thirteenth century on the mainland, and we have to look to Cyprus to see current developments as a result. In light of the meticulous work of R. D. Pringle on church architecture and secular buildings in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, we await the publication of volume 3 of his corpus of churches, which will deal with Acre and Tyre, for more information on developments, and possibly Gothic developments in those cities in the late thirteenth century. We also look forward to more published results from the ongoing archaeological work being carried forward at Akko under the direction of E. Stern.

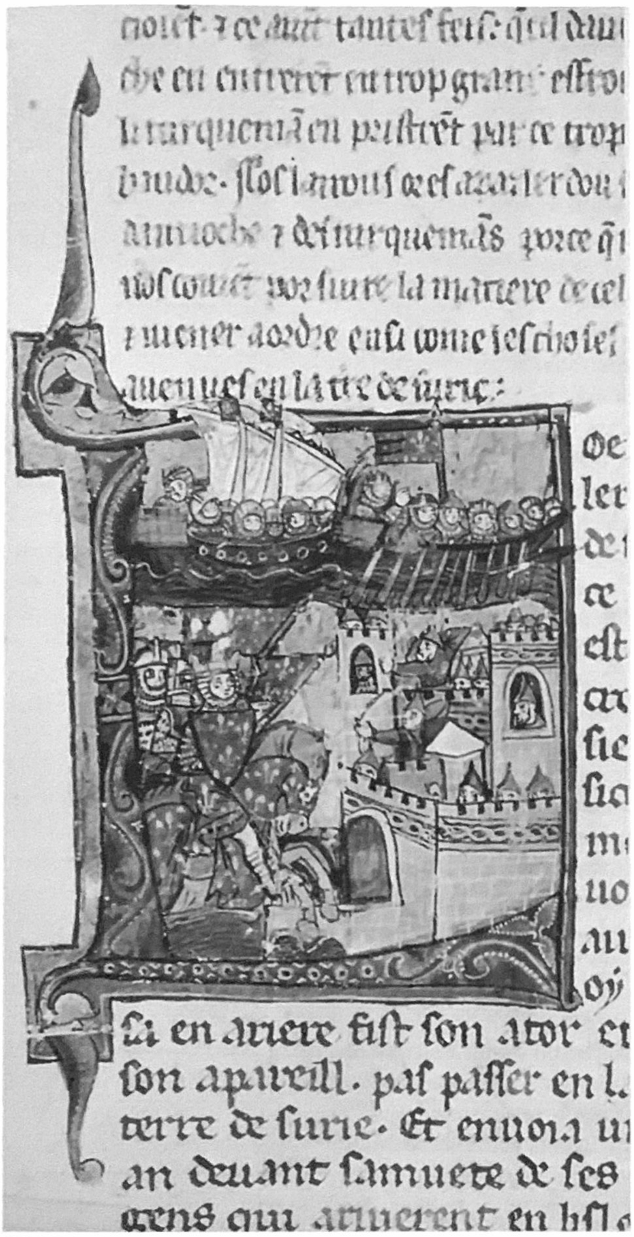
RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION IN ACRE

Compared to the architecture, the situation in manuscript illumination is completely different. Where we find very little we can discuss about the architecture in the years between 1268 and 1289 in terms of specific examples, in book painting this is one of the most flourishing periods during the entire era of the Latin Kingdom in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The output is not evenly distributed over these years with regard to the extant codices, however, as Buchthal originally pointed out, even though now we can identify almost double the number of codices compared to what he knew.[353] Whereas there are only three important cycles surviving from the 1270s, that is, the time immediately after the fall of Antioch, in the decade of the 1280s we have fully nine manuscripts with miniature cycles, and another one with a single introductory headpiece. Is this a representative distribution? How do we explain the disparity of output in these periods?

The Lyon and St. Petersburg *History of Outremer* Manuscripts

Sometime shortly after 1277, the owner of Paris, B.N., MS fr. 2628 decided to update his copy of the *History of Outremer.*[354] First he had additional chapters added to his continuation, to bring the story of the Crusader States up to 1277, and second, he had one new miniature added to the cycle of twenty-six historiated initials that been done in the 1260s for this book. Although the artist who executed this last historiated initial was not the same as the earlier painter, he worked in a very similar style. It is a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of modest quality that illustrates a very important event for the Latin Kingdom, namely the Crusade of King Louis IX in 1248.

On fol. 328v, the historiated initial "L," which begins book 34, has a double-decker image (Fig. 235, CD 132). At the top, two ships in the fleet of Louis IX are sailing toward Egypt with the soldiers ready for battle, and at the bottom, there is the siege of Damietta, which was the one glorious victory achieved by the Crusaders during this campaign in Egypt. Although the diminutive figures are quite simply drawn and painted, and they are quite large in size compared to their boats or the architecture of Damietta they are attacking, nonetheless, this is effective narrative imagery. Furthermore, it gives the artist the opportunity to celebrate the most recent major Crusade success on the battlefield, although by this time it had been about

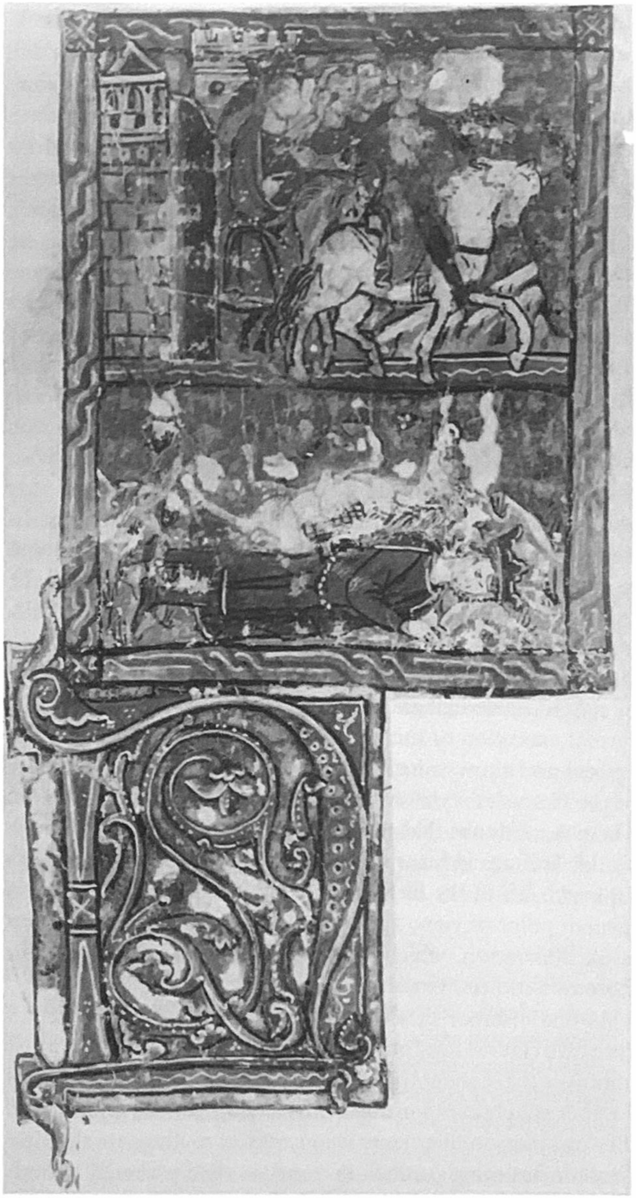


235. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 2628: fol. 328v, book 34, (L)oeis le roi . . . , (historiated initial), The Crusade of Louis IX in 1248–50: The siege of Damietta. (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

thirty years earlier! The painter could also lavish attention on the person of King Louis IX, no doubt as directed by his patron. We note his prominent position and large size in the composition, his crown and the royal arms, azur fleurs de lys or semés, which he carries on his shield, his tunic, his standard, and the caparison of his horse. It would not be difficult to imagine that the patron/owner of this codex was a resident of Acre of French heritage whose decision to commission the additions to this codex was stimulated by the rise to power of Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, as king of Jerusalem in 1277.

Shortly after the additions to Paris MS fr. 2628 were done, two new commissions were made to produce *History of Outremer* manuscripts, apparently from the same workshop, but not necessarily by the same artists who painted MS 2628. Lyon MS 828[355] and St. Petersburg MS fr. fol. v.IV.5[356] were most likely done in the late 1270s, probably shortly after the miniature was completed in Paris MS 2628. Although they do not contain exactly the same text, they are quite closely related.[357] Moreover their miniature cycles are very similar, and, as we shall see, their cycles are partly based on MS 2628.

The St. Petersburg *History of Outremer* seems to have preceded the Lyon *History of Outremer* in sequence of production, but both appear to have been done by the same artist. In MS fr. fol. v.IV.5 we find sixteen extant miniature panels with five missing, each with a two-tiered arrangement, and three historiated initials, two of which only have one scene (Fig. 236, CD 205–24). In the Lyon cycle there are twenty-three panel



236. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, St. Petersburg, The National Library of Russia (formerly the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library),
MS fr. fol. v. IV.5: volume I: fol. 143v, Book 16, (N)e demora puis guaires . . . (panel: 8.6 × 7.2 cm)
1. King Fulk and Queen Melisende ride out from Acre.
2. King Fulk is thrown from his horse and lies fatally injured.
(photo by courtesy of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg)

miniatures, most but not all with a double-decker configuration (Fig. 237, CD 225–247). Because of the mixed format in the former codex and the fact that formally the admittedly very mediocre artist seems to have mastered his style a bit more fully in the latter codex, it appears the St. Petersburg codex came before the Lyon manuscript in terms of workshop production. Because of the differences in the texts and the variations in the miniature cycles, it is likely that the two books were executed for different patrons.

Even though five miniatures are missing from the St. Petersburg codex, the images for Books 1, 2, 8, 9, and 10, we can reasonably imagine they were quite similar in their iconography to the corresponding pictures in Lyon MS 828, but it is impossible to know about their format. The scenes are mostly presented in panel miniatures with two registers in these two codices, but the St. Petersburg cycle is not completely regularized and unexpectedly includes at least one double-decker historiated initial. It may also have had one or two others among its lost miniatures. What is significant about both cycles as we have them is that they depend heavily on the cycle of Paris MS 2628 for about half of their miniatures, and for the other half the artist has revised the imagery or invented new scenes based on other sources, perhaps in response to the desires of his patron. An important aspect here is that in both cases the artist appears to be using Eastern sources; he is not drawing on Western cycles of the *History of Outremer*.[358]

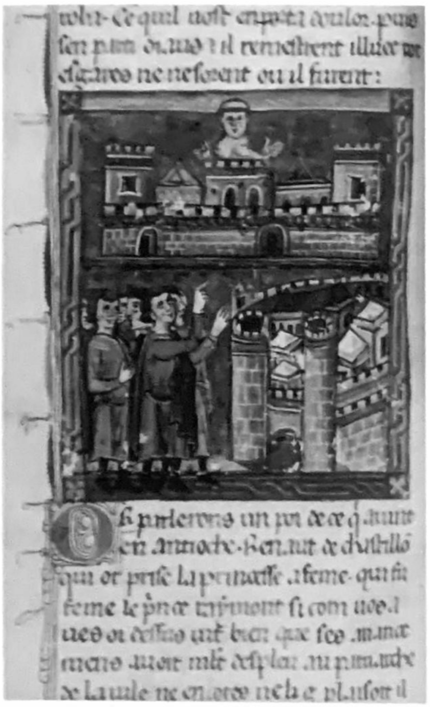
In the cases where the St. Petersburg and the Lyon cycles follow MS 2628 closely, they are also quite close to each other, with, for example, images of the deathbed–coronation sequence at Books 12, 14, 19, and 21. It is, however, when there are revisions or innovations to the MS 2628 cycle that we find interesting contrasts. Iconographically the St. Petersburg miniatures are a bit higher quality in these cases, that is, more clear, more specific in their imagery, but overall the execution of Lyon MS 828 is better in terms of stylistic quality. Even though the level of decoration in MS fr. fol. iv.V.5 is slightly higher, with the inclusion of illuminated initials instead of red and blue calligraphic initials in the Lyon MS 828, the formal execution of the miniatures in the latter is slightly improved and shows more maturity with regard to the mastery of the Crusader style of the workshop he seems to be part of. There is no doubt that this Crusader artist has strong French Gothic heritage in his training, but he seems to be very conversant with life in the Near East. He thinks pictorially from an Eastern point of view, and even seems to know some Muslim book illustration, which he appears to have incorporated in these two codices. Consider the following examples.

As one instance of an important revision of the MS 2628 cycle, we can see how at Book 6 the St. Petersburg–Lyon artist improves the iconographic clarity of these scenes. In MS 2628 a rather simple composition of the city of Antioch above, with the Crusaders in their tents below, meant to illustrate the First Crusade besieging Antioch in 1098, is vividly altered in both the St. Petersburg and Lyon presentations. In the lower register, the men of the First Crusade enter the city gate and put the defenders to the sword. We also notice, however, that the scene in MS fr. fol. v.IV.5 is clear and direct with the Antiochenes indicated wearing turbans and oriental dress, whereas in the Lyon miniature they look essentially the same as the attacking Crusaders. The same distinction can be seen in the image of the citadel of Antioch above as well, where the defenders wear turbans or conical caps to indicate their Eastern derivation in the St. Petersburg miniature, whereas in the Lyon miniature the pointed caps remain, but the turbans are gone. This apparently shows what kind of iconographical clarity this artist could provide when the patron wanted it. Evidently, in the Lyon MS the patron wanted well-painted miniatures, but his interest in how accurately they reflected the Eastern context of the story was not as important as it was when the St. Petersburg MS was painted.

This does not mean that the Lyon MS 828 cycle was less innovative than what we find in MS fr. fol. v.IV.5; it seems to indicate that our artist provided what was needed, and always from an Eastern, Crusader point of view. For example, at Book 1 the image of Peter the Hermit praying at the Holy Sepulcher and then leading other pilgrims to the Holy Land, which is extant in Lyon MS 828 but missing in the St. Petersburg manuscript, is quite possibly an invention of our artist. No earlier Crusader codex has it, Western miniatures are quite different even when dealing with the same subject, and as we shall see this imagery was very popular later on in Acre.[359]

Another important example of significant innovation occurs at the miniature for Book 15. In MS 2628 we find a familiar deathbed–coronation pairing, which is meant to represent the death of the Byzantine emperor John and the coronation of his successor, Manuel Comnenus, the only event of this type to appear in the text of Book 15. However, the artist of Paris MS 2628 has used the standard Crusader imagery for this imagery, with no attempt to indicate the difference between a Crusader and a Byzantine coronation. In the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycle, however, a new image appears, the depiction of the attack on Shayzar by the Byzantine army, and the chess-playing Crusader leaders: the count of Edessa and the prince of Antioch. There can be no doubt that the Shayzar campaign is the standard choice for contemporary Western cycles, which the MS 2628 artist chose not to follow. However, there is no reason to think the St. Petersburg–Lyon Master[360] was drawing on them either, as certain significant aspects of these miniatures will demonstrate. In the first place, the Shayzar campaign is the major event in the first part of the text of Book 15, so it is the scene of choice – East or West – for these cycles. Secondly, despite the fact that images of this scene appear in Western miniatures at this time,[361] the imagery of the St. Petersburg–Lyon Master makes it clear the artist has drawn on an Eastern source for his iconography.

With regard to the siege scene in the upper register, it is an Eastern choice to show the cavalry attack with saracens in turbans, rather than siege ladders with infantry and defenders in generic Western costume. Also the chess game below very likely indicates the direct knowledge of Arab painting by the St. Petersburg–Lyon artist. Although a chess game was painted in Western Europe before 1250 in, for example, the *Carmina Burana* manuscript now in Munich,[362] and the chess game does appear in Book 15 of the *History of Outremer* now in Bern, MS 112, done *c.*1270 in France, certain details make it clear these Western versions are not the source here. In the West gaming scenes of this kind regularly depict the players as seated on benches, and for Bern MS 112, this is true even though the benches have been forgotten, with the somewhat comical result that the players are literally sitting on air. In the St. Petersburg



237. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Lyon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 828: fol. 205v, Book 18, (O)r parlerons... (panel: 8.0 × 7.4 cm) 1. The patriarch of Antioch is abused by Renauld de Chatillon. (photo by courtesy of the Bibliotheque municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole)

and Lyon miniatures, however, the players sit comfortably on the floor of their tent in oriental fashion just as many of them do in the illustrations of the *Libro de Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas* ordered by King Alfonso el Sabio and dated 1283.[363] Even though Alfonso's manuscript is a bit late to be relevant to our case here, nonetheless we can reasonably imagine that the artist of our codices, as well those for Alfonso's manuscript, was using earlier Arabic and/or Persian books with such illustrations as their models. Carl Nordenfalk long ago argued that the *Libro de Ajedrez* illustrations were derived from an earlier Persian type.[364] Although we cannot offer other evidence besides that adduced by Nordenfalk,[365] the existence of Arabic and other illustrated MSS in oriental languages cannot come as any surprise in Frankish Outremer. For one thing, the crusaders acquired a large library when they first conquered Tripoli in 1109. Ibn all-Qalanisi, writing about 1160, says:

> They [The Crusaders] seized an immense quantity of loot and treasure as well as the contents of the city library, works of art and heirlooms belonging to the local notables.[366]

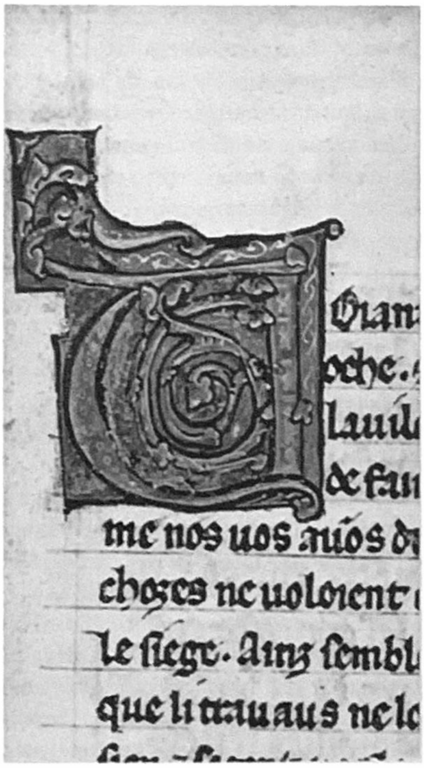
Furthermore, we know that a very large library of manuscripts came into the possession of King Baldwin III at Acre in 1154 as spoils from the shipwrecked transport carrying the library of Usama Ibn-Munquidh. William of Tyre no doubt used Arabic and possibly Persian books in the royal and perhaps also in the patriarchal library in Jerusalem to write his lost *Gesta orientalium principum*.[367] We may also speculate that at least some of the Eastern manuscripts in the royal library may have been illustrated and some of them may well have made their way to Acre or Tyre in the wake of the fall of Jerusalem. Finally, it is likely that along with the later spoils of battle, diplomatic gift exchanges, commerce on the trade routes especially after the Mongol invasions and the fall of Baghdad in 1258, Arab manuscripts and perhaps even Arab painters may have been dispersed westward along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean. We might even point to generic formal comparisons found in Arab painting, such as the *De materica medica* of 1229, or *The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings* of the first half of the thirteenth century, as compared to the less accomplished miniatures of the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycles, in terms of the "spectacled eyes" or the generous turbans of the Acre School Franco-Byzantine Crusader style from 1250 onward.[368]

In sum, this evidence, complex though it is, seems to enable us to conclude that the St. Petersburg–Lyon Master shows the direct influence of Arab painting for his models, even if we cannot adduce the actual manuscripts he may have used. Moreover, this example helps us to argue the point that this Crusader painter was working independent of the knowledge or influence of Western cycles of the *History of Outremer*. Besides the resources of the local scriptoria and other Crusader painters and their manuscripts, especially works like Paris MS fr. 2628 and the Dijon MS 562 *Histoire Universelle*, he was able to draw on Arab illustrated manuscripts and the Eastern ambiente of Acre that he observed, as indicated. *Mutatis mutandis*, I would propose that this artist and certain others working in the Franco-Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine Crusader style in manuscript illumination were engaging in the Eastern version of Gothic naturalism seen in the West with, for example, Villard de Honnecourt.[369] Here in the East, we can call it "Crusader naturalism," a development parallel to what we find in the West, and not necessarily wholly unrelated, but essentially a separate and equal development.

There is a third codex, now in Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9085,[370] that also belongs to this workshop, which would tell us more about the St. Petersburg–Lyon Master if it had survived whole. It is apparent from the evidence that survives that originally this manuscript was also given a cycle of panel miniatures and illuminated initials (Fig. 238, CD 248). At a later date, however, all of its illustrations were systematically removed before the book received its present nineteenth-century binding. The first leaf of each book with its illustration was removed, and in its place a blank paper sheet was inserted.

The evidence for attributing this codex to an Acre scriptorium where the St. Petersburg–Lyon Master worked is primarily the materials and workshop techniques found in this manuscript, which are entirely comparable to MS fr. fol. v.IV.5 and Lyon MS 828. I cite my own description here for convenience:

> We note the mediocre preparation of the vellum, which tends to be a grayish, off-white color and is uneven in texture, that is irregularly soft and slippery, especially on the hair side which, often not rubbed enough, also has the minute stumps of bristles to grain the surface. Moreover, the leaves are rather thick and crackly when bent, rather than white, thin, suedey, and pliable as in good French manuscripts of the second half of the 13th century. The rulings of the vellum, brownish in color and usually lightly traced, along with the layout of the page, are quite similar to the [St. Petersburg] and Lyon codices. The very dark brown ink characteristically is flaked in a way distinctive of virtually all Acre School manuscripts. Finally, the scribal hand, essentially a *littera textualis* written just above the rulings and showing a slight vertical elongation, is comparable to that found in the other Acre codices without necessarily being by the same scribe.[371]



238. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9085, fol. 47r, Initial "V." (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

We only know for certain that this codex was illustrated by a fortunate chance. There are no take-offs of the miniatures on the facing leaves, but on fol. 47r, at the start of Book 5, we find an illuminated initial, "V," that survives in situ. It is completely comparable to the extant "V" in St. Petersburg MS fr. fol. v.IV.5 at fol. 1, for the start of Book 2.[372]

By reconstructing an imaginary replacement leaf with the text at the end of Book 4 in MS fr. 9085 we find that a space of approximately sixteen or seventeen lines is left, just the right size for a miniature panel as we find in the MS fr. fol. v.IV.5 and Lyon MS 828.

Because MS fr. 9085 is so badly mutilated in terms of loss of miniatures and loss of text at the beginning of each book and at the end of the manuscript, we cannot go beyond this attribution. We cannot know, for example, what the miniatures in the cycle may have looked like, or how long the continuation text was intended to be. What evidence we do have, however, makes it clear that this codex is closer to the St. Petersburg MS in all aspects, and therefore should be dated about the same time. We will discuss the dating of these manscripts later.

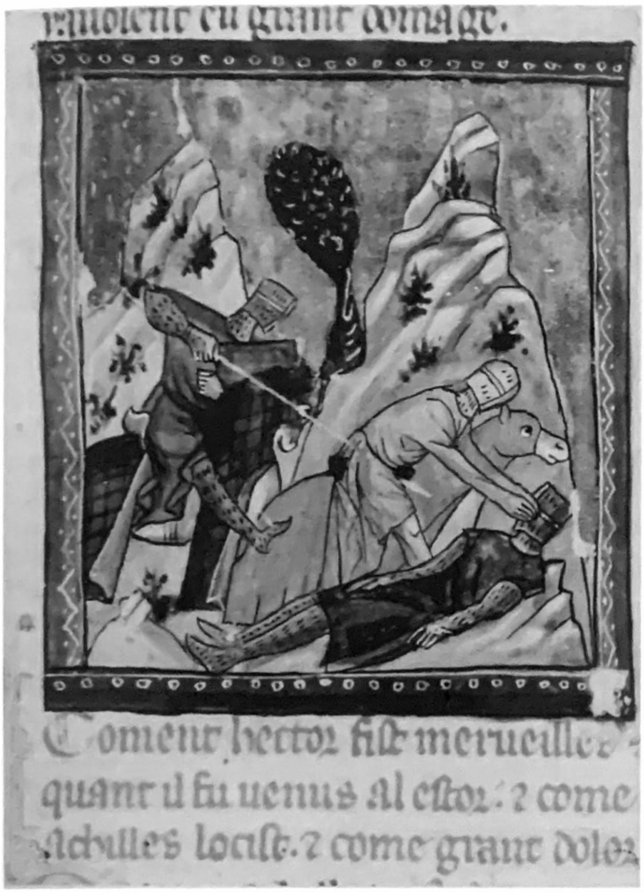
There is, however, one additional codex to discuss, also now in Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9086.[373] This codex has no miniatures and none was ever planned for it. Its only decoration is red and blue calligraphic book and chapter initials. It is attributed to Acre on the basis of its workshop and scribal characteristics as compared to the manuscripts discussed previously, St. Petersburg MS fr. fol. v.IV.5, Lyon MS 828, and Paris MS fr. 9085. Although it is much more difficult to date very precisely – it is proposed in Chapter 6 to date it to the third quarter of the thirteenth century – it is important here nonetheless. It is worth reiterating that it apparently demonstrates how the Acre scriptoria, where these books were made, offered various levels of production according to the desires and means of the patron. This seems to indicate that some scriptoria in Acre operated on a commercial basis much the same as what we are familiar with now in Paris, as the result of the research of M. and R. Rouse.[374] The overall production level in Acre was no doubt much smaller than that in Paris. However, it appears very likely that the means of production, the existence of religious and commercial workshops producing manuscripts, the presence of religious and commercial scribes and illuminators, all of this in Acre, was very similar to that in Paris, but on a smaller scale.

The Vegetius Codex, Marlay Additional MS I, and the *Histoire Universelle* Codex, Bib. Roy., MS 10175

Two other illustrated manuscripts can be attributed to Acre in the 1270s. In one case, a Vegetius codex now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, Marlay Additional MS I,[375] the manuscript itself was no doubt done in England in the late thirteenth century. However, the miniature on fol. 86r,[376] which depicts warfare at sea, is pasted in, obviously done elsewhere and inserted in this book at a later date. The possibility exists that this miniature was done in Acre in 1271, conceivably for Prince Edward's Vegetius codex,[377] or one like it, and eventually found its way into the book now in Cambridge. Certainly the style of the miniature on fol. 86r is very different from that on fol. 2v.[378] Whereas the image of Edward before Vegetius on fol. 2v is parallel to the Huth Psalter in style,[379] the sea battle on fol. 86r is clearly related to the Acre school miniatures we have been looking at in the early *History of Outremer* and *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts discussed previously. It is of course impossible to prove that the sea battle miniature was done in Acre, or alternatively, that it was done in England under Crusader influence. We can only propose that Cambridge, Marlay Additional MS I "is a later copy of Edward I's Vegetius prepared at Acre and that the miniature for fol. 86r came from an earlier copy possibly done in Acre or executed in England under Acre influence."[380]

The other codex from this phase of development in manuscript illumination at Acre is a *Histoire Universelle* in Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 10175 (Fig. 239, CD 249–85).[381] Even though MS 10175 is not done by the same artist who worked on Dijon MS 562, they are closely related. Indeed Buchthal's perceptive comments can serve to introduce our discussion of the Brussels codex here.

> The Histoire Universelle manuscripts in Dijon and Brussels represent the next stage in the activities of the Acre scriptorium. They were produced for "connoisseurs" who belonged to the native nobility, and the character of their illustrations is in keeping with the small literary merits of the text: it reflects the crude taste and the mediocre education of the military caste for which this unpretentious compilation was intended. Works of no more than local importance were entrusted to second-hand local craftsmen; they lacked the cosmopolitan training and outlook of the great master of the Arsenal Bible, and their achievements were at best no more than prosaic. Yet... these two manuscripts are in fact far more interesting than the provincial quality of their miniatures seems to suggest: they reproduce the original French cycle more reliably than any surviving western manuscript, ... Even more



239. *Histoire Universelle*, Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10175: fol. 130r, rubrics: Coment hector fist merveilles quant il fu venus al estor, et come achille locist. Et come grant dolor fu demenee (panel: 7.9 × 7.8 cm), Achilles kills Hector by spearing him from behind.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels)

> remarkable is the intrusion into their set of Genesis illustrations of some Byzantine formulas which have no parallels at all in western illumination, and which were clearly straight from Greek prototypes.... That several Byzantine manuscripts of very recent date were present in the scriptorium of Acre, at a time when the supply of contemporary French models had already completely dried up, is perhaps the most unexpected conclusion to be drawn from these otherwise so inconspicuous miniatures.[382]

Buchthal's views are extremely important even though we must revise his understanding of the "Acre scriptorium" to something more complex and multifaceted as we have discussed this issue in Chapter 6 and in this chapter. We can also challenge his idea of the crude taste and mediocre education of the military caste for which he assumes these books were done. The fact that we do not know precisely who commissioned these codices aside, these newly popular illustrated secular books were a modest yet relevant contribution to the encyclopedic interests of the educated aristocracy East and West. Finally his rather low estimate of the literary value of the text overlooks the fact that the text has been comparatively little studied by literary scholars. A recent writer makes the following comment:

> L'ouvrage a une double polarité. Il est d'une part une illustration des *Gesta Dei per homines*, mais en même temps il veut transettre un message séculier, celui de la précellence d'un peuple.... C'est ce system d'oppositions, de dynamisme narratif, qui donne à ce texte singulier que sont les *Estoires* son caractère littéraire. Que l'auteur ait su remodeler la matière pour en faire un ouvrage aussi intéressant, témoigne de son talent.[383]

Nonetheless, Buchthal's unerring sense of artistic quality will not let us forget that the miniatures found in these *Histoire Universelle* – and in the *History of Outremer* – manuscripts are modest works by second-rate painters, artists with – in his view – comparatively little training.

Unlike the *History of Outremer* manuscripts discussed earlier, the text for which was after all written in the Crusader States, the text of the *Histoire Universelle* was written in the West and the cycle of miniatures developed for it appears to have appeared first in western Europe. They then traveled, text and miniatures together, to the Latin East in the second half of the century.[384] Substantial evidence for this can also be found in a later *Histoire Universelle* codex done in Acre, but based almost entirely on Western sources, Paris, B.N., MS fr. 20125, which we shall discuss later in terms of works produced in the decade of the 1280s.

Buchthal's analysis of Dijon 562, the earlier codex written and illustrated in the 1260s, and Brussels MS 10175 done shortly thereafter in the later 1270s addresses three issues pertaining to the sources and character of the Crusader miniature cycle. First, there is the problem of how this cycle manifests characteristics of the local Acre workshop tradition, and of course, how the Brussels cycle relates to that of Dijon MS 562. Second, there is the problem of the impact of Byzantine models on these miniatures. Third, there is the problem of the relationship between the cycle of MS 10175 and its Western models.[385] Because in his discussion of these manuscripts, Buchthal chose to emphasize Dijon MS 562, which interested him more,[386] I have placed my focus on Brussels MS 10175, which has its own character and special features.

It is immediately evident that to some extent the miniatures of MS 10175 follow those of Dijon MS 562 closely, but ones the Brussels codex was executed at a slightly lesser level of decoration, and indeed, of quality. Not only are there fewer miniatures in the Brussels codex, thirty-six[387] as compared with fifty in the Dijon book, but also the narrative fullness and complexity of the Dijon miniatures is reduced. In some cases the number of scenes for an episode is diminished, as with the story of Cain and Abel (MS 10175, fol. 22v, compared to MS 562, fol. 3v).[388] In other cases the same scene is represented, but the number of figures is reduced, as in the first Amazon combat (MS 10175, fol. 117v, compared to MS 562, fol. 86v).[389] Only very rarely does the Brussels miniature of a specific scene preserve a more complete and/or "correct" version of the scene than what is found in the Dijon codex. For example, there is the very peculiar example cited by Buchthal.[390] For the triumph of Joseph in Egypt, the Brussels miniature (fol. 73r) has him depicted seated in a chariot, a good medieval adaptation of the Roman triumphal idea. In the Dijon example (fol. 51r), however, Joseph is seated on a horse, which is then placed in a triumphal chariot, clearly an impossible combination of two models. This example raises two points: first, that neither the Brussels nor the Dijon cycle was totally dependent on the other, but both were drawing selectively on an earlier common model; second, that that model may have been the common model for yet another cycle as well, in Paris, B.N., MS fr. 20125, done in the later 1280s.[391] What is certainly sure is that neither the Brussels nor the Dijon cycle is as close to MS fr. 20125 as they are to each other.[392]

With regard to Byzantine sources, Buchthal points out the remarkable fact that in certain cases both MS 10175 and MS 562 refer not to Western, but to Byzantine models.[393] Furthermore, in two cases, the images of Abraham's Hospitality and the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Byzantine models used by the two artists were different. Buchthal traces the source of the Brussels MS 10175 image of Abraham's Hospitality (fol. 40r) ultimately to the Byzantine Octateuch tradition, whereas for the Dijon MS 562 source (fol. 21v) he identifies more contemporary Byzantine parallels partly found in Sicilian mosaics. In yet another case, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Brussels miniature (fol. 45r) derives ultimately from the Paris Gregory and the Octateuch tradition, whereas for the Dijon miniature (fol. 26r), the source goes back to Byzantine marginal psalters and the images in codices with the Cosmas Indicopleustes text.

With these and other examples in mind, Buchthal concludes that for these scenes in Genesis, where Byzantine models played a key role, the artists of these two manuscripts show "a procedure comparable to that employed by the master of the Arsenal Bible, who worked in the same scriptorium only a few years earlier, and who modified his Byzantine model by adding a certain number of western types and scenes. The common workshop tradition is made equally obvious by the introduction into the cycle of some characteristic details which were not taken from any pictorial model. For example, the miniature of Jacob on his way to Egypt in [Dijon MS 562] contains a magnificent camel which is clearly a study from nature."[394]

These examples and passages from Buchthal's text are worth reconsidering partly because they provide such excellent analyses, and partly because they raise important questions. On the one hand it is impressive that such rich sources were available for the artists of the Dijon MS 562 and the Brussels MS 10175 miniatures. On the other hand, the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of the Arsenal Bible master and the painters who did these two *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts are quite distinct, and are certainly very different in levels of quality. This of course no doubt had to do with the patronage involved: where the king himself, Louis IX, was apparently the sponsor for the Arsenal Bible, men of lesser means obviously made the commissions for the Dijon and Brussels codices. Also the number of, for example, Byzantine sources identified raises the question of workshop resources and procedures. Taken together this all suggests a very different idea of the scriptorium than what Buchthal had in mind.

Buchthal is of course referring to the "Acre scriptorium" as a kind of collective, nonspecific notion commonly cited in the 1950s to the 1970s. However, when we attempt to be more specific about this issue, in the first place there is no reason to think that if the Arsenal Bible was done in the scriptorium of the Dominican House, as we have suggested earlier, these two *Histoire Universelles* were done there, too. As secular codices they may well have been done in some commercial shop, perhaps one specializing in this type of illustrated codex. As to where resources of this richness could have been found, it is not unlikely that the resources could have been found in Acre. By this time Acre had enjoyed a development of nearly three decades of newly revitalized illuminated manuscript production, even if the extant products are very erratically preserved. However, the kind of resources identified here is the kind of imagery that we must imagine was partly, perhaps substantially, provided by model books. The fact that different imagery is found for the same scenes in the Brussels and the Dijon books at least suggests that the artists were using different model books, and may in fact have been in different shops, very possibly closely related – maybe right next door – but different.

Further consideration of the imagery in the Brussels MS 10175 cycle can provide additional evidence for the idea of separate workshops and better understanding of the challenges the artist faced in illustrating a new text. When the painter turns from the illustration of biblical history to ancient history, that is, to the stories taken from classical mythology, he was left to his own devices. The gods and heroes of antiquity were accordingly configured into images of medieval chivalry set in French feudal society and governed by courtly ceremony.[395] These illustrations furthermore were largely invented in the second half of the thirteenth century when these manuscripts were being painted, but long after the text had come into being. At this time, Paris was becoming the center of book illumination in the medieval world, and the whole enterprise of secular manuscript illumination was a new initiative there, becoming an important feature of Crusader manuscript illumination in Acre shortly thereafter. In both places it emerged during the time of the reign of King Louis IX, that is, before 1270, but in neither place do we have any books of this kind ascribed to his personal patronage, unlike certain religious books such as the St. Louis Psalter. It is therefore undoubtedly correct to see these books as being ordered by the military aristocracy in Acre and nearby, and there must have been several workshops in Acre to satisfy the demand.

In the case of Brussels MS 10175 a few examples of these mythological and historical stories from antiquity will help us to understand that they reflect the same inventive spirit seen in the *History of Outremer* cycles, and that they are clearly a new and independent venture. In the Oedipus story taken from the *Roman de Thèbes*, the representation of the finding of Oedipus hanging from a tree (fol. 90r) characteristically reflects French courtly imagery. Laius and Jocaste are depicted as French royal figures and Oedipus is discovered by a royal hunting party. In the section on the Trojan wars taken from the *Roman de Troie*, the death of Hector (MS 10175, fol. 130r) is similarly construed as occurring in the context of a medieval cavalry battle carried on by knights in armor. While Hector attempts to remove the armor of Patroclus, Achilles attacks from behind and spears him in the back. As Buchthal points out, "the insistence upon this cowardly deed, which is illustrated in every manuscript of the Histoire Universelle, is a forceful reminder of the transformation of Homer's epic in the Middle Ages: it was no longer taken as a panegyric of the Greeks, but had become a glorification of the Trojans, the people of Aeneas, Rome's national hero, and of their magnificent resistance against Greek aggression."[396] This is central to one of the key themes of this book, the Trojan origin of the Franks.[397]

Another interesting feature of this cycle is the introduction of the Amazons into the story. In the case of the Brussels MS 10175, there are three scenes, compared to five in Dijon MS

562, but the presence of these episodes is an interesting reflection of the importance of women in Frankish society if nothing else, and their value here as part of the heroic tradition. The scenes are quite simple and even repetitious, confrontations of mounted women in battle with men: Merpesia and Lampetho wreaking revenge for the killing of their men (fol. 117v), Penthesilea fighting with Pyrrhus son of Achilles (fol. 138r), and Queen Camilla's battle with Aeneas (fol. 165v).

Nonetheless, it is remarkable that in the Brussels miniatures alone the Amazons are consistently armed with bows and arrows – not spears, shields, and heavy weapons. They are representations, as it were, of mythological female *turcopoles*, in this case a paradoxical reflection of the Near Eastern Frankish world where some men, the *turcopoles*, fought with bows and arrows in the Crusader armies.

The rest of the text is occupied with the story of Alexander the Great, taken from the *Roman d'Alexandre*, one of the most popular medieval *romans*, and stories from Roman history. The pictures of Alexander's army in foreign lands no doubt had a special poignancy for the Crusaders, as they reflected on their own circumstances. It is not surprising, therefore, that even the Brussels MS 10175 painter with his limited talents makes an effort to represent the exotic character of the Indian troops with elephants, and different weapons, shields, and costumes (fol. 219v). Otherwise his images of the strange creatures and monstrous beasts that Alexander was said to have encountered are every bit as vivid as those of the other artists of these codices (fols. 222r and 224v).

In the realm of Roman history, the story of Aeneas and Dido from the *Roman d'Enéas* is featured in all of these cycles. The sorrowful Dido, standing on the ramparts of Carthage, plunges a sword into her body as Aeneas sails away (fol. 151v), a story that echoes the sorrow felt by many wives of Crusaders, who watched helplessly as their husbands left for the East, many never to return home. It is notable that here again is an important female participant in these stories, who is joined later on in the cycle by the heroic Judith, who meets with Holofernes in his tent. In the Brussels MS 10175 (fol. 195v) it is a particularly fancy tent with special tent poles. Inside this tent, the courtly encounter of the remarkably well-groomed seated Assyrian general and the beautiful standing Hebrew widow inspires one to think of chivalric manners, and not so much of Judith's heroic act to save her people yet to come.

Finally, in Rome itself Buchthal discusses at length the imagery of the Temple of Janus, partly driven by his interest in the Warburgian investigation of the survival of the classical tradition in Europe. The miniature in the Brussels MS 10175 cycle (fol. 254v) is particularly evocative of how these Crusader artists improvised by transforming the classical subject matter into contemporary imagery. Between groups of men who go to the temple to obtain or to deposit arms, a fully two-headed idol of Janus stands on a remarkable structure. The structure is in fact an elaborate altar, which includes the altar table or block set in a round-backed frame with scalloped side pieces. It is particularly unusual that the frame, which looks variously like a throne with the altar, or an altarpiece set behind the altar, has also been endowed with a set of globular crockets or finials in good Gothic fashion.[398]

Overall Buchthal rates the artist of the Brussels MS 10175 cycle as "below average" in artistic quality, and draws a parallel between this codex and the Dijon MS 562 manuscript and two earlier books: the missal now in Perugia and the Old Testament selections in Padua.[399] One might claim a more positive estimate for the quality of all four manuscripts, but we should note that even in the least of the four, the Brussels MS 10175 miniatures have their own originality and reflect a Frankish culture in the Latin Kingdom that can be seen to be quite lively even in the most mediocre of its artistic productions.

In studying these two *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts, along with the exemplars of the *History of Outremer* discussed earlier, we find that following the departure of King Louis IX in 1254 and after the fall of Antioch in 1268, there was a kind of revival of manuscript production in the 1270s. One of the striking features of this revival is that in miniature painting it stimulates a new, second phase of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, the first phase of which reached such splendid heights in the Arsenal Bible in 1250. Second, we see workshops and painters in Acre responding to commissions for illustrations in a new genre of secular books. The artists who did the work combined Byzantine and French imagery and style with their own talents as shaped by the Crusader workshops in which they plied their trade. Theirs was an exciting, innovative venture, and the result is a series of works done by different artists. There is the painter of the Vegetius miniature about 1271; there is the second artist of the *History of Outremer* in Paris MS fr. 2628 who, after the bulk of the Book had been done in the later 1250s, executed its final miniature probably in the late 1270s. There is the Dijon MS 562 artist who may have worked in the decade of the 1260s followed by the painter of Brussels MS 10175 later in the 1270s. Also there was the St. Petersburg–Lyon Master who executed MS fr. fol. v.IV.5, MS 828, and Paris MS fr. 9085 in the late 1270s as we have discussed previously. There is no reason to think these artists all worked in one scriptorium. The lack of dependency of the *History of Outremer* imagery on the *Histoire Universelle* conventions, the different stylistic characteristics of the artistic hands, the freedom each artist had to improvise, and the different resources that each type of text required for doing the miniatures in each case would seem to suggest separate working circumstances that may, nonetheless, have all been located along a common street in Acre. However, there is certainly no reason to think that the new secular books were done in the period from the 1260s to the late 1270s in the same shops that the Bible texts and service books had been produced in the 1250s.

The remarkable irony for these developments is that just at a point in the late 1270s, around 1280, when Buchthal saw the supply of contemporary Western, especially French, sources for the production of illustrated manuscripts in Acre "dry up" as he says, a French Gothic painter straight from Paris arrives on the scene. Although we have heretofore called him the "Hospitaller Master," it will be more accurate and more sensible to call him the Paris–Acre Master from this point onward. As we shall see, he works for many different patrons and he certainly does not favor the Hospitallers with his work. There is only one codex executed by him that can be directly and clearly linked to a Hospitaller patron, and there is only one other codex that has indirect ties with another order, in this case the Templars. His main characteristic is surely not that he worked for the Hospitallers or any other identifiable patron in Acre or Paris, but rather that he came from Paris to Acre about 1280. When he came, he brought with him his mature Parisian Gothic painting style of the 1270s to reinvigorate the production of secular and religious book illumination in the Crusader capital during the 1280s.

The Paris–Acre Master

The Chantilly Cicero Manuscript, MS 433(590), and the Paris Book of Bible Selections, MS nouv. acq. Fr. 1404: The two earliest manuscripts painted by the Paris–Acre Master in Acre consist of a codex of Old Testament Bible selections, Paris, B.N., MS nouv. Acq. Fr. 1404, and a book now in Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 433(590), containing Cicero's "De inventione" and the "Rhetorica ad Herennium," a text believed also to be by Cicero at the time. We will discuss MS 433(590) first because of its crucial documentation.

The texts of the *rhetorica prima* and the *rhetorica secunda*, as they were known in the Middle Ages, which form the content of Chantilly MS 433(590), were the result of a specific commission (Fig. 240, CD 286–294).[400] John of Antioch translated these treatises for William of St. Stephen, an important jurist and knight of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Acre in 1282. This information is contained in a detailed passage that serves as a kind of colophon, and appears on folio 12v at the end of the prologue to the text.

> La qle art Je johan dantioche, q len apele de hares, ai tnslatee dou latin e fraceis & vulgalizee a lonor & a la reqste del honest home & relegious fre Guillaume de sait estiene frere de la saite maison de lospital de sait John de Jhl'm. Ce fu fait e acre lan de lincarnacio nre seign Jh'u c'st. m.cc.lxxii. [sic]. . . . [401]
>
> This art [of rhetoric] I, John of Antioch, who is called of Harim, have translated from Latin into French, rendered into the vernacular to the honor and at the request of the honest man and religious brother, William of St. Stephen, brother of the holy house of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. This was done in Acre in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. m.cc.lxxii. [sic]. . . .

This passage is actually written as part of the text concluding the prologue, but other references to this information occur in the rubrics on the early folios of the manuscript. Rubrics referring to this commission with the name of John of Antioch appear on fols. 1r, 6v, and 13r, and with the name of William of St. Stephen on fols. 1r and 13r.

Compared to the careful recording of the names of the translator and the patron, however, the handling of the date and place is not so meticulously done. The name of the place where this work was performed only appears once, in the text on fol. 12v, as quoted. The date appears three times, and each time it is different! What is the correct reading? The dates given are as follows: 1382 on fol. 1r, 1272 on fol. 12v just cited, and 1282 on fol. 13r. The explanation for the variable dates appears to be the use of Roman numerals, which are easily susceptible to error. The scribe appears to have rather mechanically copied in the date in these passages, twice making a mistake. The year 1382 is clearly impossible on the basis of historical, codicological, archeological, and artistic considerations, and 1272 is equally unlikely because William of St. Stephen is not known to have been in the Latin East until the 1280s. In 1287 he returned to Lombardy from Acre, then came back to the Near East in 1296 as Hospitaller preceptor on Cyprus.[402] The year 1282 is surely correct, based on historical considerations, and as we shall see, based on art historical considerations pertaining to the artist responsible for painting this manuscript.

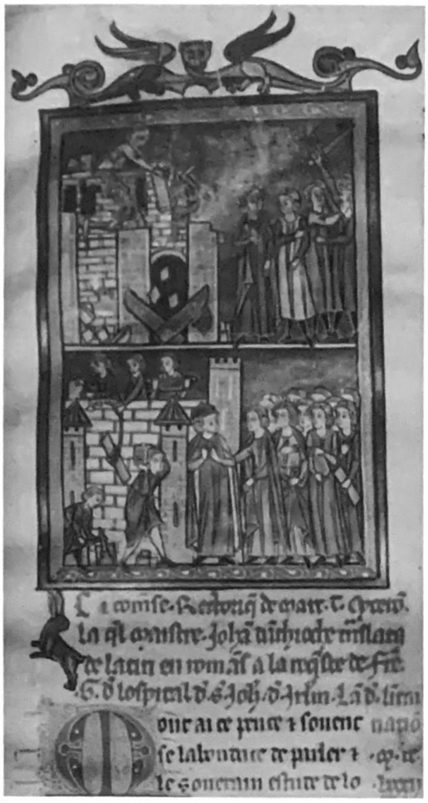
We have made the case elsewhere that this manuscript is the personal copy of William of St. Stephen made uniquely for him as the result of his commission to John of Antioch.[403] It remains to be explained how and why a Hospitaller knight, who has taken a vow of poverty, would order such a book. Perhaps it was for the library of the Order in Acre. In any case, the translator, scribe, and illuminator produced this codex for him in Acre in 1282.[404] As such it is the only extant illustrated secular codex yet identified that is clearly dated and localized, that is, documented to have been done in the Crusader capital.[405] Furthermore it provides important evidence for the career of a prolific painter who did several manuscripts in Paris before he came to Acre to work in the 1280s.

The codicological characteristics of this book accord generally with the earlier manuscripts we have discussed previously, albeit with certain variations. Because this is a special commission by a Hospitaller of considerable stature, the vellum is whiter and more pliable than was the case in the books dated to the 1270s, but its surface texture is very similar nonetheless. The color of the ink is comparable to those books also, as is its pattern of flaking. Finally, the layout of the book in terms of rulings and organization on the page is also comparable.[406] In sum, Chantilly MS 433 (590) is a slightly higher quality work that basically accords with the workshop characteristics found in the *History of Outremer* and *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts done in Acre in the 1270s. This evidence in conjunction with the textual evidence clearly indicates that the manuscript was done in a scriptorium in Acre, but it does not necessarily tell us which scriptorium that was. We shall discuss this issue further.

It is remarkable that a book containing treatises on rhetoric would be illustrated with narrative figural scenes. Although rare before the thirteenth century, it is not the first known medieval *Rhetorica* manuscript to be illustrated,[407] nor is it the first codex with this text to be found in the Near East.[408] However, it is the first Old French translation of this text to be illustrated in the Holy Land, and one of the earliest such illustrated books we have in the vernacular. The most unexpected aspect of this codex is the style of the artist. Instead of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style that we have seen in Acre, founded in effect by King Louis IX in his commission of the Arsenal Bible, and carried on in the two subsequent decades, we find here an artist working in purely French Gothic, indeed, Parisian Gothic style. We recognize this especially in the linear rhythms of his figure style and the handling of the draperies, the poses of the figures, the design of the architecture, and the distinctive colorism of the panel miniatures and the illuminated initials as well.

The challenge to this recently arrived Parisian painter by William of St. Stephen's commission was similar to that faced by the Crusader painters of the *History of Outremer* manuscripts in the 1260s and the 1270s. Here was a new secular text rendered in the vernacular for which there were no precise precedents on which to base the decoration and figural illustration. The problem was greater in this case, however, because the *De Rhetorica* texts were treatises, not historical material with copious anecdotal or essentially narrative content.

The Paris–Acre Master produced a varied ensemble of decoration to meet this challenge. For the *capitula* on fols. 1r to



240. Cicero's *Rhetorica*, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 433 (590): fol. 13r, Book 1 (*De Inventione*) miniature panel with two registers (11.0 × 8.3 cm):
1. Evil Oratory causes the fall of cities and strife among the people;
2. Good Oratory encourages the building of cities and harmony among the people.
Marginal drolleries.
(photo by courtesy of the Musée Condé, Chantilly)

5v, he designated calligraphic red and blue initials only. For the start of the prologue on fol. 6v he painted a handsome pink and blue illuminated initial (T). On fol. 9r is a diagram of knowledge dealing with the divisions of philosophy, and on fol. 11r is a similar diagram of "la rezon civile," both beautifully painted in pink and blue, illuminated, and given elegant scalloped outlines.

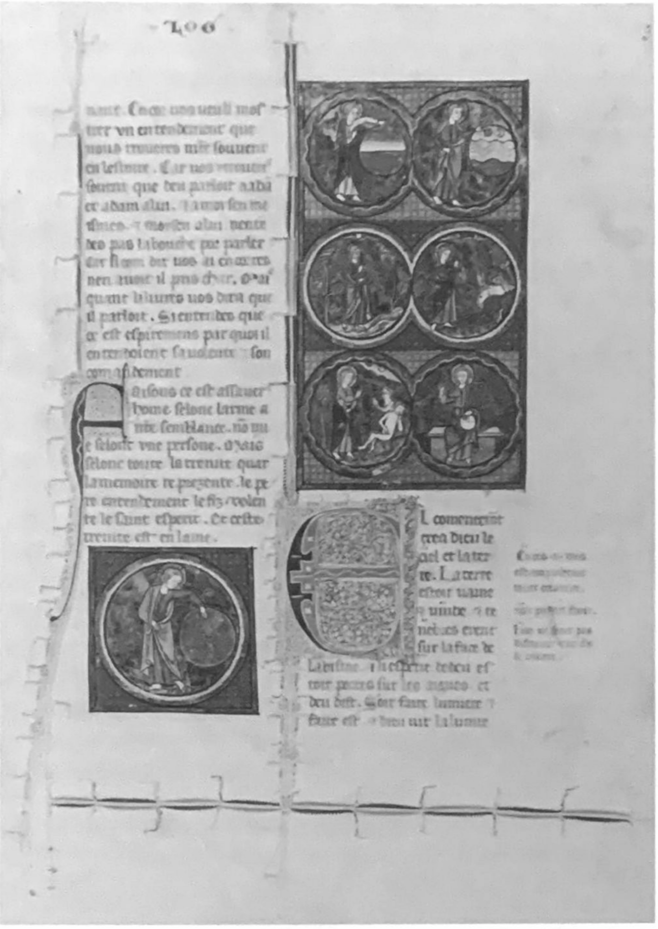
Cicero's text of the *De Inventione*, here identified as the *Rettorique de Marc T. Cyceron*, has the richest content for possible narrative imagery, and the artist accordingly takes advantage of this material. On fol. 13r the text of the *De Inventione* begins – designated Book 1 – and with a bit of imagination our master produces a large double-register panel miniature illustrating the benefits that good and bad oratory can bring to humankind. The text begins only with a small red and blue calligraphic initial, but the panel is embellished with two marginal drolleries, twin winged dragons with a common head above, and below, a jumping rabbit looking back at the text. This is the earliest appearance of marginal drolleries in the Crusader East as far as I know, and they give a somewhat unexpectedly whimsical quality to the illustrations, attesting to the thoroughly up-to-date Western origin of our painter.[409]

On fol. 45v, this text continues at Book 2, with a smaller panel and a very handsome historiated initial (I). Drawing on Cicero's text containing the charming story of Zeuxis of Heraclea, the Paris–Acre Master illustrated the essential details.[410] Zeuxis was commissioned by the citizens of Croton to paint an image of Helen of Troy for their temple of Juno. Helen was to embody the surpassing beauty of womanhood. Zeuxis asked about the loveliest girls of the city who might serve as his models. The citizens cautiously take him first to the palaestra to show him their handsome male athletes. There he is told that in the beauty of these youths, the loveliness of their sisters can be seen. Zeuxis, arguing that no one person could possess supreme beauty except Helen, invited the Crotonians to send him their most beautiful girls. Zeuxis selected five to use as his models, endeavoring to transfer their combined beauty to his mute likeness.

Just as we have seen the classical stories transformed into the visual realities of Crusader French culture in the *Histoire Universelle* miniatures, we find the same phenomenon here. The temple of Juno is transformed into Gothic church architecture. Zeuxis is depicted as standing on a ladder, painting a statue-colonne of the crowned Virgin under Gothic arches as he studies the five most beautiful, clothed women of Croton below. Unlike the point of the story, where Zeuxis chose the five different beautiful women in order to produce the one supremely beautiful example by selecting from their attributes, in this image the women are all exactly alike.[411] Zeuxis himself is adapted from the episode of Exodus 12: 22 ff., where the Israelite elder paints his lintel with hyssop dipped in the blood of a lamb, scenes familiar from thirteenth-century French manuscript illustration in Paris.[412] To the right is found the palaestra, with activities represented exactly as the translator had glossed them in the text: wrestlers, stone throwers, and javelin throwers.[413] These figures have diverse parallels in secular and religious French illustration, sources as widely varied as the wrestlers of Villard de Honnecourt's famous sketchbook or biblical minatures. Finally, the statue-colonne, we should note, is freestanding, not part of a portal as we might expect. This is no doubt meant to convey the idea of a pagan idol according to standard medieval iconography.[414]

Book 3, which begins what is called the "Rettorique nouvele" [=the Rhetorica ad Herennium] on fol. 86r, is given a very large illuminated initial "I" framed with a gold border, but no miniature. Book 4, which starts on fol. 95r, has both a miniature and a handsome illuminated initial. This image represents Cicero simultaneously dictating his text and explaining to Herennius how he will proceed, a direct reflection of the opening words of this book. On fol. 113r Book 5 begins with a historiated and illuminated initial. The scene contains simply a seated master, presumably Cicero, gesturing to a standing student. Otherwise this initial is embellished with an elongated running dog in the upper margin. Finally, at the start of the last book on fol. 127v, Book 6, we find another – the fourth – panel miniature, accompanied by an illuminated initial and a marginal bird. This image is also a teaching scene, but here is a classroom where a master supervises the recitation of six students with two elders looking on. One of the students holds a large book up, apparently as evidence for the point he is making. The two elders are seated at right, wearing the large, new Palaeologan hats. This teaching scene seems improvised, and with the presence of the Greek hats, it may also reflect the sight of Greeks in Acre wearing current attire.[415]

It is remarkable to find a newly arrived painter from Paris working for a prominent Hospitaller in Acre in 1282 on such an unusual commission. However, what earlier manuscripts



241. Bible selections, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS nouv. Acq. Fr. 1404: fol. 2r, Genesis, two panel miniatures: the Lord creating on the first day (5.3 × 5.1 cm), and the Lord creating, days two to six, and resting on the seventh day (12.2 × 7.3 cm), large red and blue calligraphic initial, (E). (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

can we attribute to him in Acre, and what work of his can be identified in Paris? In Acre there is at least one extant codex that seems to have been done before 1282, a book of Old Testament Bible selections now in Paris, B.N., nouv. acq. fr. 1404. (Figs. 241, CD 295–308).[416]

MS n. a. fr. 1404 is of course of the greatest interest because it immediately makes us think of the Arsenal Bible, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 5211, done for Louis IX in 1250 that we discussed earlier. The two manuscripts are related by their texts, both containing early translations of Old Testament books, and by their organization, both parallel up to the end of IV Kings.[417] After that point, however, Arsenal MS 5211 has Judith, Esther, Job, Tobit, Proverbs in three books, Maccabees in two books, and Ruth, but Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404 has only Maccabees in two books, Tobit, and Judith. The translated texts in both manuscripts are, however, equally colloquial and unpolished. Both manuscripts share other characteristics as well. Both are books of modest size: MS 5211 is 28.5 × 20.0 cm, whereas MS n. a. fr. 1404 is 31.7 × 23.2 cm. Both were done for private use. Both are given handsome illustrations at the start of each biblical book. But there the comparisons end. The Arsenal Bible is a manuscript of *grand luxe*, with large, mostly full-page multi-scene narrative miniatures, with an unusually rich and elegant ornamental repertoire, accompanied by illuminated initials, all done on a lavish scale. By contrast, Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404 is a nicely decorated – but not luxuriously illustrated – book with modest-sized miniature panels and red and blue calligraphically decorated initials, but no illuminated initials.

Could Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404 have been copied from the Arsenal Bible? The answer is clearly not, neither for its text nor for its miniatures.[418] What the latter codex has that the Arsenal Bible does not is a verse prologue to Judges, which bears on the original circumstances of the translation of that book, and on the commission of MS n. a. fr. 1404 as well. This indication also tends to confirm what we would have expected, namely that Louis IX had taken his handsome illustrated book of Bible selections back to Paris with him when he left in 1254. The verse prologue to Judges has been fully discussed elsewhere,[419] and we can summarize its significance as follows:

1. Both the Arsenal Bible and MS n. a. fr. 1404 incorporated early translations of Old Testament books and they must have been copied from a common model, or common models, not from each other. If it was remarkable that the Arsenal Bible had used the early editions of Old French translations of the Old Testament book, for reasons discussed in Chapter 6, it is less remarkable that the same early editions were used for MS n. a. fr. 1404. Even though new editions were now becoming available in Paris, in Acre clearly the familiar translations were accessible to the scribes working there. The prologue to Judges is important evidence.
2. The Book of Judges was originally translated about 1173–4 on the commission of Master Richard and Brother Othon, prominent Templar knights active in England in the latter part of the twelfth century.
3. The Book of Judges with the prologue was apparently taken to the Holy Land by Master Richard in 1185, where it became Templar property after his death at the battle of Hattin in 1187. Shortly before Richard had left for Palestine, however, the text was transcribed and must have circulated in N. France and eventually in Flanders, where it was copied in Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 6447.[420]
4. When the Arsenal Bible was produced in Acre in 1250, this text of Judges was used, but the prologue was omitted because it would have been inappropriate for a royal commission. However, later on the prologue was included in MS n. a. fr. 1404, probably because the manuscript was made for a Templar knight, who, as Weiss characterizes it, "would have desired a dedication made to a predecessor and fellow 'Christian warrior in the Holy Land.'"[421]
5. When Acre fell in 1291, MS n. a. fr. 1404 was apparently taken back to France, where it was copied in a Provençal manuscript now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, MS 724.[422]

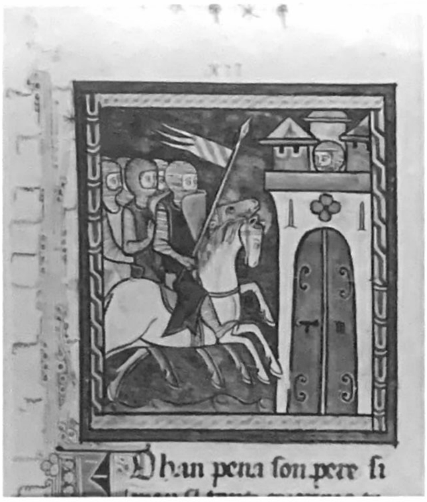
As for the miniature cycle in MS n. a. fr. 1404, it is completely different and much more simplified than what we find in the Arsenal Bible. Effectively only the miniatures introducing Genesis and II Kings have multiple scenes, but for all the representations, the imagery is simplified and direct. Indeed it is also essentially purely French and lacks any Byzantine component. In some few cases the depictions are so simplified as to be ambiguous and even unclear. Nonetheless we can readily see that the work of this artist has parallels with the Moralized Bible tradition of iconography, with the imagery of the *Histoire Universelle* and even the *History of Outremer* miniatures.

The seven scenes for the Genesis miniatures demonstrate that this artist has strong links with basic practices in French thirteenth-century Bible illustration, including some aspects of the Moralized Bible tradition. The inclusion of the seated Lord resting on the seventh day shows only the faintest connections with earlier frontispieces in the Arsenal MS 5211 or the Dijon MS 562, works from Crusader Acre.[423] The scenes that II Kings includes are even more exclusively Western. The image of David ordering the death of the Amalekite (II Kings 1: 15) is entirely focused on the angry king, in his characteristic cross-legged pose,[424] and the anointing of the crowned David (II Kings 2: 4) is completely Western,[425] in contrast with the Byzantine-influenced version found in Arsenal MS 5211.[426] The Exodus image that follows Genesis demonstrates both how up-to-date the artist is in terms of Western iconography, and how innocent of Byzantine influence he is; Moses is both bearded and horned,[427] traits unknown in Byzantine painting of this period.

The simplification in the images is comparable to what we have seen in the Brussels *Universelle History* MS 10175, and there are several examples in MS n. a. fr. 1404. Successful reductions are found in the miniatures for Numbers, Joshua, Judges, III Kings, and Tobit. The panels for the Prologue, I Kings, and IV Kings all exhibit more problematic iconography. In these cases the imagery is so simplified as to be not only unspecific, but also ambiguous.

Contrast these images with some of this painter's best work in which he effectively conveys the new spirit of courtly, chivalrous values as also seen in the *Histoire Universelle* miniatures. For example, in the miniature for Judith, the well-known gruesome scene of Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes has been transformed into a tournament setting. The tent of the general is white with red fittings, gold tie-backs, a green interior, and topped with a golden orb. Holofernes is shown in bed incongruously wearing a crown, while Judith wields his great sword with cavalier bravado in doing the grisly deed, in stark contrast to the earnest determination she displays in the Bible text and as she is depicted in the *Bibles Moralisées*.[428]

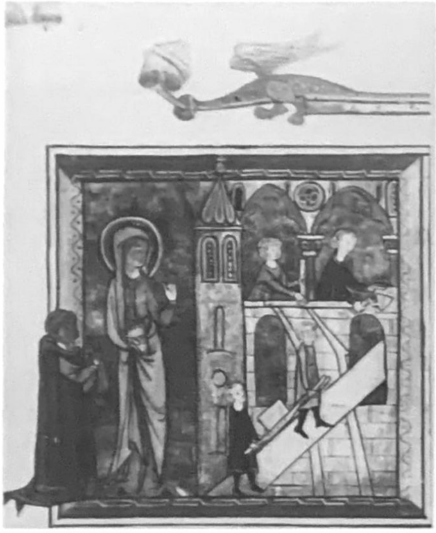
Similarly in the extant image for II Maccabees, the choice of iconography is specially attuned to what we must attribute the patron's taste to have been. The story of John I Hyrcanus returning to Jerusalem where he will defend the city against the invading Seleucid, Antiochus VII, is a rare selection iconographically. However, the image of John and his men, Jewish soldiers all, being transformed into French knights riding to defend Jerusalem depicted as a formulaic French castle, embodies the idea of chivalric military ideals just as we have seen them in the *Histoire Universelle* (Fig. 242). We cannot be surprised to find this strongly stated ideal in this image in particular. The Maccabees, alone of the Old Testament books, was the only work in Old French illustrated both as part of the Bible and as secular literature.[429] We can readily imagine that for the Templar patron of this manuscript, a scene depicting preparations for the defense of Jerusalem against the infidel aggressor would have been relevant and meaningful. What is poignant is the fact that the artist has chosen to illustrate John Hyrcanus, not the heroic Judas Maccabeus. John Hyrcanus failed to defend Jerusalem in 133 BC as miserably as the Templars had failed in 1243 and 1244!



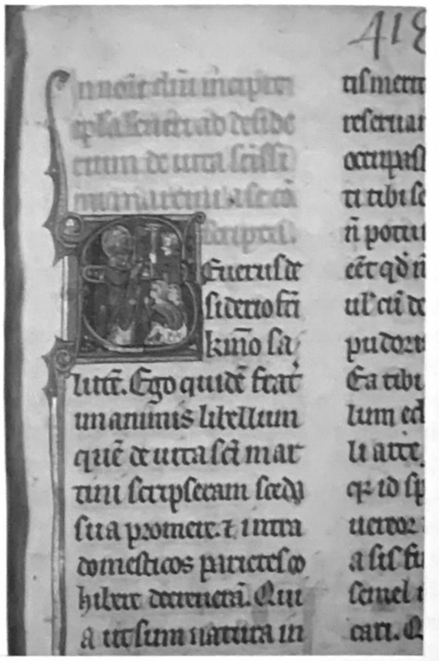
242. Bible selections, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS nouv. Acq. Fr. 1404: fol. 226v, II Maccabees, panel miniature with John Hyrcanus returning to defend Jerusalem (6.85 × 6.8 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (I). (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

Compared to the rich and detailed program of Arsenal MS 5211 prepared expressly for Louis IX, the imagery of Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404 is much more simplified. Not a manuscript of *grand luxe*, the latter codex contains miniatures that focus attention on major figures from the Old Testament, without personalizing their significance for the patron. There is no special focus on images of Moses, or Old Testament kings and heroines the way we found them in the Arsenal Bible. MS n. a. fr. 1404 does not even include Ruth and therefore does not contain the last book of the Octateuch, clarifying in this way as well as in its imagery its lack of contact with the Byzantine tradition. The fact is that MS n. a. fr. 1404 enables us to understand through its basic and direct program of illustration how extraordinary the Arsenal Bible really is by contrast.

Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404 is nonetheless a very important document for understanding the development of painting in Acre around 1280. It alone preserves the prologue to Judges with its connection to the Templars, and it appears to be the earliest codex painted by the Paris–Acre Master after his arrival in the Crusader capital, about 1280. At this point we can observe that the miniatures of MS n. a. fr. 1404 are very closely related to those of the Chantilly MS 433 (590) Rhetoric codex. Careful observation of the figure style, the conventions of the drapery style, the design of the architecture and military imagery, the colorism, and the technique of the painting will convince us in fact that the same artist did the painted decoration in both manuscripts. If we look at the figures, we see they are both similarly proportioned and share the strong outlines, the drapery forms with elongated "v" folds and conventions for the vertical and horizontal hems. There are also the facial conventions with full faces, large teardrop-shaped eyes, and the linear hair forming distinctive curls over the ears. The Gothic architecture is more pronounced in the Chantilly MS 433 (590) examples. The colorism is basically the same, with pink, pink–purple, orange–red, light and dark blue, and lavender in both codices. However, the additional colors of yellow



243. *Censier*, Paris, Archives Nationales, MS Pièce S 1626 (1): fol. 20r, (Third quarter) Relicta Hervei Munerii. v. sol'. . . .
rubrics: Recepta conventus . . . a pascha usque ad festum sci iohis bapte anno dni m(o).cc(o).lxxvi (o).
Miniature panel (7.8 × 7.8 cm), Geneviève supervises the construction of the Basilica of Saint-Denis.
(photo by courtesy of the Archives Nationales, Paris)



244. *Libellus* of St. Martin, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat. 5334: fol. 1r, Historiated Initial, (S)everus . . .
(3.45 × 3.55 cm, main rectangle, with flourishes in the margins that measure 24.55 cm high maximum).
1. St. Martin nimbed and in episcopal robes, blesses three *malades*.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

and light green that also appear are exploited much more in the Chantilly MS 433 (590) miniatures than in the MS n. a. fr.1404 paintings. Furthermore the technique of shading with the use of color zones is much more emphatic in the 1282 manuscript than in the book of Bible selections. However, there can be no doubt in terms of imagery and style, color, and handling that the same artist is at work in both manuscripts, the Paris–Acre Master.

In sum, this painter once again provides evidence for the "artistic bridge linking Paris and Acre" conceptualized by Weiss, which the Arsenal MS 5211 epitomized in 1250. This time, however, the connection is mainly made in the person of the artist, not so much in the way his painted work brings the Crusader and Gothic styles together. Which manuscripts exist from Paris that can be also identified as his work, and what are their characteristics?

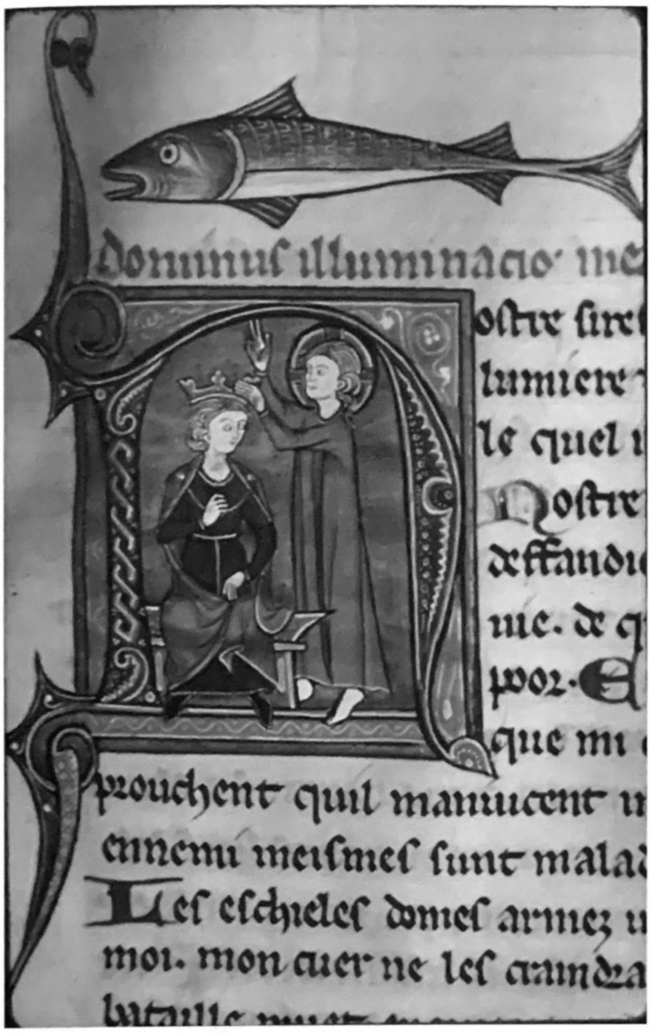
Paris, Archives Nationales, Pièce 1626(1); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5334; and New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 494: When research began on the Paris–Acre master, the first codex that emerged done in Paris and decorated by his hand is the censier commissioned by the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in 1276, now in the Archives Nationales in Paris, Pièce S 1626(1) (Fig. 243, CD 309–312).[430] Since that time two additional manuscripts have come to light in which his work can be identified. One is a libellus of the life and miracles of St. Martin, now in Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 5334,[431] and the other is an Old French Bible now in the Morgan Library in New York, MS 494. Of the three works, the censier is invaluable for its documentation, providing an explicit date and place for its illustrations. However, the libellus offers an important historiated initial in a Latin codex as part of his oeuvre, and the Bible contains the most numerous examples of his work before he arrived in Acre, a total of at least thirty-three miniature panels by his hand.

The censier is the most familiar work because it has been identified the longest.[432] It contains four miniatures, which begin each quarterly phase of the year for the rents listed in this document for the year 1276. Although the attribution of all four miniatures to the hand of the Paris–Acre Master has been contested, no other examples of separate work by more than one artist has been suggested among the other manuscripts ascribed to his hand. Whatever we may decide in this case, the designs of the Paris–Acre Master seem to have been the basis for these paintings, and there is no doubt that his work is found in the censier.[433] There is also no doubt that the hand of the same artist can be seen in the historiated initial of the libellus of the life and miracles of St. Martin (Fig. 244, CD 313).

On the basis of comparative analysis, it appears that the initial in the libellus was done after the Paris–Acre Master had finished his work on the censier in 1276. It also appears likely that the libellus was done in Paris before he left for Acre. As the result of his work in Paris as we knew it then, it appeared that it was correct to think of the artist as a bookpainter, probably as a cleric in one of the lower orders, judging from the normal qualifications required for those working in the university book trade. It is also possible that our master had an important patron who was some senior cleric or an educated aristocrat of means. It is perhaps the case that when his major patron left Paris to go to Acre, he went with him.[434]

In 1997 I wrote the following:

> So far as we know now the hand of the Hospitaller Master [sic] does not appear in any manuscripts attributed to Paris at this time other than the *libellus* and the *censier*. All of his other work appears to have been done in Acre.[435] Despite the modest decoration in the *libellus*, it provides us with additional precious evidence that the Hospitaller Master's [sic] origin is correctly to be found in Paris and that his training



245. Bible in Old French, New York, J. P. Morgan Library, MS 494: fol. 302r, Psalm 26, historiated initial
(5.2 × 4.7 cm), (N)ostre sires si est ma lumiere & mon salut. . . .
1. Coronation of King David [Paris-Acre Master], two marginal drolleries.
(photo by courtesy of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

> and his patron in Paris provided him with the opportunity to travel to the Levant, where the major part of his *oeuvre* was accomplished.[436]

In fact, however, there is another extremely important codex, a Bible in Old French, now MS 494 in the Morgan Library in New York, in which the hand of the Paris–Acre Master can be identified working in Paris before he went to the Holy Land (Fig. 245, CD 314–326).[437]

Morgan MS 494[438] is a magnificent illustrated Bible in Old French, a book Henri Martin called the only complete thirteenth-century Bible in the Old French vernacular in existence. It is a large, heavy book of 638 folios obviously done for someone of means, and although it was not lavishly illustrated, it was very handsomely decorated at a level slightly higher than the Bible from Acre we have already discussed, MS n.a. fr. 1404. In the case of the Acre Bible, our master did all of the painted illustrations. In the case of MS 494, he was one of three major masters, and there were probably assistants working with them in the workshop as well.

Parts of the text of this codex have been studied – the four Gospels – and on the basis of that it has been related to other early Old French Bibles, all done in the West.[439] What is interesting about the text stemma is that although another Old French Bible done in the West exists that is closely related stylistically to MS 494 in terms of the miniatures, Copenhagen, Royal Library MS Thott 7,[440] the text of the latter is unrelated. The question is, given the relevance of one of the artists of MS 494 for painting in Acre, is any part of the text of the Morgan manuscript related either to Paris Arsenal MS 5211 or to Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404? Given the importance of this Bible text in Old French for the development of Bible studies in Paris in the thirteenth century, not to mention the evolution of the language, this book is worth further serious consideration. On the basis of the binding of the codex, it appears to have been in the French royal collection in the fourteenth century, when King John II took an interest in it. With regard to its miniatures, the fact that it was probably done in the late 1270s – current thinking at the Morgan places it *c.*1280 – and that it is yet another example of a significant collaborative effort means that it was part of the flourishing industry of manuscript illumination after the death of Louis IX for which Dante praised Paris as the greatest European center.[441] It also means that in this book we will gain a much greater understanding of the Paris–Acre Master before he goes to the Near East. Which illustrations did he paint in Morgan MS 494?

Out of a total of seventy-six miniatures in this Bible, the Paris–Acre Master appears to have done the following: two panels and two historiated initials for I–IV Kings, one panel and eight historiated initials for the Book of Psalms, one panel for "Paraboles," fifteen historiated initials for the Pauline epistles, and three panels along with two historiated initials for the Letters of James, Peter, and John. This total of thirty-four illustrations for the book is clearly a substantial segment of the illustrations – he was one of the major artists working on this codex.

How can we compare his work in this manuscript to other paintings in his oeuvre? If we look at the historiated initial for Psalm 26 on fol. 302r, an image of the Lord crowning King David, we can see evidence for the fact that this painter is indeed the same artist who later worked in Acre as the painter I am now calling the Paris–Acre Master. Consider this miniature in relation to the panel for II Kings in the Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404 at fol. 124v, where David is being anointed as king. Not only is the basic figure style and the mise en scène precisely the same in terms of the standing and seated figures in both miniatures, but also certain specific details are the same. Notice the handling of the drapery folds and their hems, the way the artist renders the faces with the large round teardrop-shaped eyes, the treatment of the hair with the characteristic curls over the ears, and the poses of the figures, for example, the profile figures standing weightlessly on tiptoes. These features, among others, including the colorism of these paintings, make it clear the same artist is at work on these two miniatures. Furthermore, it is evident from the painted "n," from the flourishes in the left margin with spikey junctures, floral endings, and golden discs, the large fish represented as a marginal drollerie, as well as the text frame below joined to the lower flourish by the neck of a dragon biting its own neck, that this artist is using a full repertory of decorative design here. Moreover this repertoire in Morgan MS 494 probably done just before 1280 is exactly comparable to what we find by his hand in Chantilly MS 43 (590) executed in 1282. We can also recall that our master included decorative marginalia even in the censier for the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in 1276.

Further consideration of this artist's work will yield additional parallels. The scene of Anna praying with Eli standing behind her at I Kings (fol. 171r) is comparable to the scene in MS n. a. fr. 1404 (fol. 94v) with slight changes in iconography. Meanwhile the figure of Eli wears a cloak that is exactly like the cloaks worn by the kneeling monks appearing in miniatures of the censier, at fols. 20r and 26v. Moreover, the frame of the miniature panel in MS 494 at fol. 171r is similar, in terms of color and diagonal corner joins inside the outer gold border, to those found in the miniatures of Chantilly MS 433 (590) at fols. 13r, 45v, 95r, and 127v. This type of frame is different from the type utilized in MS n. a. fr. 1404 with its squared-off corner joins and vocabulary of decorative forms, but interestingly in MS 494 we find virtually the entire repertory of frames, either by him or by other artists, that the Paris–Acre Master uses in his later manuscripts in Acre.

The decoration that begins the Psalms at fol. 296v of MS 494 consists of a panel miniature, which depicts the story of David and Goliath, and an historiated initial that shows David playing his psaltery. A marginal drollery appears below; it is a creature – half-man, half-fish – who combs its hair and looks at itself in the mirror. A text frame appears along the upper left margin with spikey junctures, and a winged dragon is worked into the design. The panel includes two biblical scenes, but the spirit of the imagery is comparable to the illustration of secular romances, such as we find in the Lancelot manuscripts.[442]

The historiated initials that constitute the series of decorations for the Psalms are entirely comparable in iconography to those found in the region of Paris in the late thirteenth century. The program of illustration in Morgan MS 494 is completely standard as can be demonstrated by comparison to, for example, Paris, B.N., MS lat. 15467, a book done in Paris *c.*1270.[443] It is an eight-part Psalter with the exact same imagery for Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, and 109, all also done in the format of historiated initials. MS 494 is distinct only by virtue of the added panel miniature at Book 1, before the historiated (B) of the "Beatus vir . . . ," which contains the two scenes from the David and Goliath story, as mentioned earlier. There are also some iconographic variations in the miniatures of the ensemble; for example, the image for Psalm 109 has neither the Trinity nor the figure of Christ enthroned, as found in the standard versions. It has instead a rather rare variant, namely, two enthroned figures with crossed nimbi, a variation on the Trinity where the dove of the Holy Spirit is missing.

Otherwise the historiated initials done by this master are well executed, but generally repetitious and not particularly interesting. The largest group of these initials is found for the Pauline epistles, and they generally represent a figure of St. Paul seated with a sword inside the decorated letter, and occasionally a drollery above or below in the margin. The one more interesting type of image for these initials is found at fol. 597r, the start of Paul's letter to the Philippians, where Paul inside the city hands a covered letter to a figure who may be a tonsured cleric outside. The architecture of the city with its blue walls, large white tower and red roof, and small pink tower in the rear with a blue roof is completely comparable to the architecture we find in Chantilly MS 433(590), especially at fol. 13r.

In terms of his collaboration with two other major artists in Paris in the late 1270s in MS 494, this manuscript provides us with very important evidence for this painter's work. First, we can see that his activity in Paris was much greater, more diverse, and yet more mainstream than we could document until now. In Paris he executed thirty-nine miniatures in three very different kinds of manuscripts. This contrasts sharply with the mere five miniatures we could attribute to him before the discovery of MS 494. This number and the nature of the illustrations, although broadly speaking all essentially religious in content, by virtue of their diversity suggests that his career in Paris was much more important than we knew before MS 494 was identified. His work in Paris is also perhaps much more parallel with what he does in Acre. Second, the work of this artist develops seamlessly. We first see him in Paris starting with the censier of 1276, and then he paints both the libellus and the Bible before he leaves for Acre around 1279 or 1280.[444] When he arrives in Acre he first takes on a commission remarkably similar to, if much smaller than MS 494, a book of Old Testament selections, MS n. a. fr. 1404, which he illustrates. Then he receives a commission from William of St. Stephen, an important Hospitaller knight, to do the *Rhetorica* manuscript in 1282.

This artist, the Paris–Acre Master, and his paintings are therefore important in a number of ways. This Master is the first purely French Gothic painter known to work in Acre. He is also the first western European artist of any origin who comes to the Latin Kingdom, some of whose work we can identify both in Europe and in the Latin Kingdom. Obviously there may be other painters yet to be discovered, but it is noteworthy that we should find the Paris–Acre Master first, when the French presence in the Crusader capital is consistently strong by virtue of the existence of the French regiment there since the time of Louis IX.

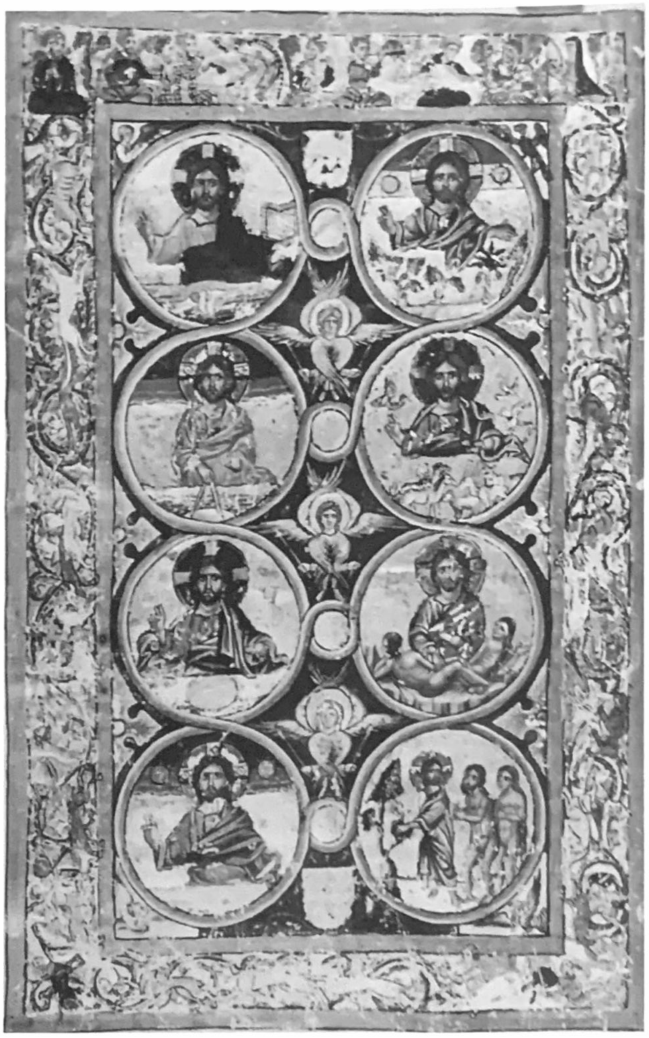
The Paris–Acre Master, who arrives in Acre as a French Gothic painter and proceeds to continue his painting in the French Gothic style of the 1270s, provides us with an important new perspective on the "Crusader style" work we have seen in Acre before 1280. The Paris–Acre Master is clearly Western, a Parisian French Gothic painter, and he becomes "Crusader" only by virtue of the fact that he is commissioned to do his work in Acre for Crusader patrons, not because the nature of his painting changes. His existence changes our frame of reference somewhat for what a Crusader painter is, and how we understand what the nature of Crusader style may be. The Paris–Acre Master comes directly to the Holy Land already fully trained and mature in his career, completely formed as an artist. He is not born in the West and taken to the Crusader States where he receives his artistic instruction in a region strongly influenced by the Byzantine tradition. Nor is he born in the East of Crusader settlers, with French, Italian, German, or English background, and trained as a Crusader artist under the strong influence of Byzantine art. He is, in sum, completely unlike earlier Crusader painters we have encountered. The question is, when he decides to stay in Acre and execute more work, how will his work change and develop? What work will he do? How will he be influenced by his new surroundings, and how will this alter his art?

In the meantime, what if anything can we say about his patrons and the nature of his commissions, in Paris and in Acre between 1276 and 1282? In Paris we find him painting the censier for the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève and the libellus possibly for St. Martin des Champs, or for someone somehow connected to this famous establishment. Unfortunately we do not know for whom he worked on the Bible, Morgan MS 494 – perhaps whoever he or she was constituted his most important patron. In Acre, we have proposed that a Templar may have commissioned the book of Old Testament selections, and we know for certain that he worked for William of St. Stephen, a prominent Hospitaller, in 1282. This series of patrons, all of whom are quite possibly religious in background and status, suggests that the artist may have been in lower orders himself. There is, however, no indication that he worked for the Templars or the Hospitallers in Paris, and we still do not know why he went to Acre. Perhaps new evidence will come to light that can help clarify these questions further.

The work that the Paris–Acre Master does after 1282 is something of a surprise, given his previous commissions. After a hiatus of several years, from 1282 to 1286, he reappears doing a series of manuscripts of the *History of Outremer*, among others, which include a *Faits des Romains* as well. In these codices we have no specific indications of who his patrons were, but given the nature of the manuscripts, they were most probably laymen, possibly aristocratic laymen, of means. The first of these codices is a *History of Outremer* codex now in Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9084. It is a remarkable book because its miniatures are clearly done by artists working in two different styles: The first five illustrations are painted in the traditional Crusader style; the remaining seventeen panels were painted by the Paris–Acre Master in his signature French Gothic style. Why would such a program be done? What would explain this dualism, as it appears to modern eyes? What context can we find for the production of this book as we have it?

Hugo Buchthal began his discussion of the manuscript by pointing out that the first five miniatures of MS fr. 9084 were done in a style closely related to a major Acre manuscript, the last extant *Histoire Universelle* from Acre, London, British Library, Additional MS 15268. His characterization makes clear that the production of this latter codex was a major event in the history of manuscript illumination in Acre. Buchthal writes, summarizing its place in the manuscript production of the Crusader capital:

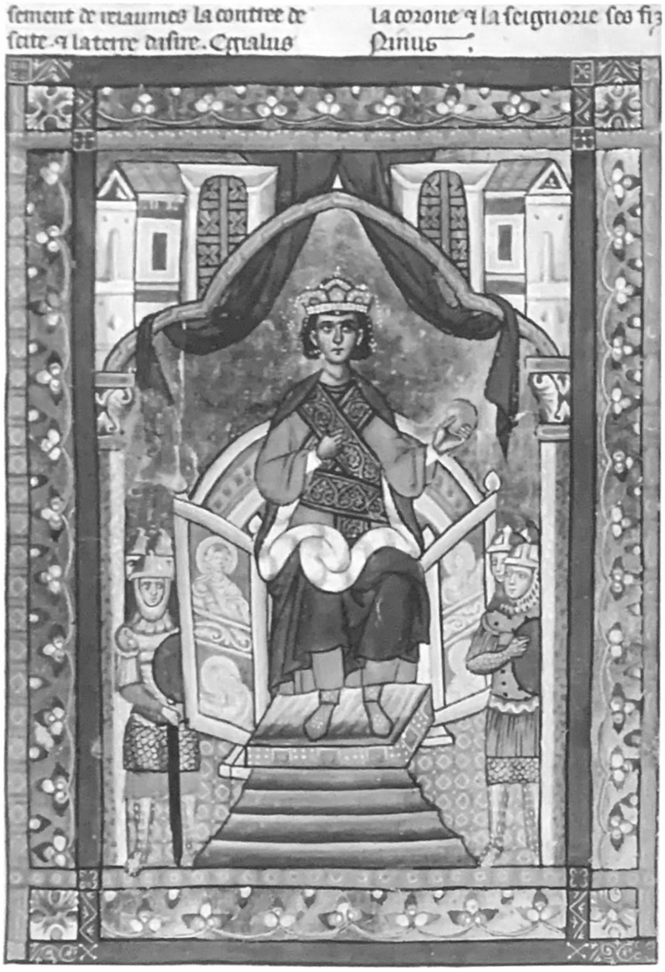
> The magnificent volume of the Histoire Universelle in the British Museum [sic], . . . reflects the ambition to emulate the grand compositions of a contemporary Byzantine manuscript. For 150 years, ever since the days of Queen Melisende's Psalter, the temper and the aspirations of Crusading illumination had remained constant. But its true qualities were not present from the outset; they appeared only after a long period of apprenticeship. Its most accomplished products, the Riccardiana Psalter and the Arsenal Bible, already belong to the thirteenth century. The British Museum copy of the Histoire Universelle may now be added to the small group of outstanding masterpieces illuminated in Outremer. It speaks eloquently of the vitality of the scriptorium of Acre even at this late date and in the face of impending doom. One cannot help admiring the consistency which governs the scriptorium's activities throughout the second half of the century: the tradition inaugurated by the master of the Arsenal Bible asserted itself to the end, and gave every single miniature its particular artistic identity. This last chapter in the history of miniature painting in the Crusading Kingdom, even more than its predecessors, is the supreme vindication of the stimulating qualities of Byzantine art, and of the fertilizing effect it had on the creative impetus of medieval Latin artists.[445]



246. *Histoire Universelle*, London, British Library, Add. MS 15268: fol. 1v, (panel: 30.0 × 20.0 cm), the Creation. (photo by courtesy of the British Library, London)

As it turns out this manuscript does not represent the last chapter in the history of manuscript illumination in Acre. However, this eloquent statement about the importance of London, British Library, Add. MS 15268[446] challenges us to reconsider its iconographic program, the artists who painted it, its patronage and function, and fundamental questions about the "scriptorium of Acre," and the idea of who a Crusader artist is and what the nature of Crusader art is at this late date in the city of Acre.

London, British Library, Add. MS 15268 (Figs. 246–248, COLOR PL. 8, CD 327–369): Buchthal's analysis has made clear the fact that Add. MS 15268 has a cycle of miniatures comparable to those found in Dijon MS 562 and Brussels MS 10175. It is not the largest cycle; the London codex has forty-three miniatures whereas Dijon MS 562 has fifty and Brussels MS 10175 has thirty-seven, but its miniatures are regularly larger in size than those found in its predecessors. Indeed, many occupy fully two columns of text, and some are full-page or nearly full-page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Ninus

247. *Histoire Universelle*, London, British Library, Add. MS 15268: fol. 16r, (panel: 21.6 × 16.4 cm), King Ninus enthroned. (photo by courtesy of the British Library, London)

panel miniatures. Iconographically its cycle is related to its Acre predecessors, probably drawn from a common model but closer to the Brussels MS 10175 cycle, thus very up-to-date. Buchthal suggested the London codex was probably done in the same scriptorium as the two earlier Acre *Histoire Universelles*, but he does not analyze the number of artists who can be identified working on this commission, and none of these artists are found in either Dijon MS 562 or Brussels MS 10175. Some of these artists are likely found, however, working in a *History of Outremer* codex, Paris MS fr. 9084, the next manuscript also worked on by the Paris–Acre Master. This fact poses interesting questions for our understanding of the scriptorium arrangements in Acre at this time, an issue we shall return to after analyzing Add. MS 15268 further.

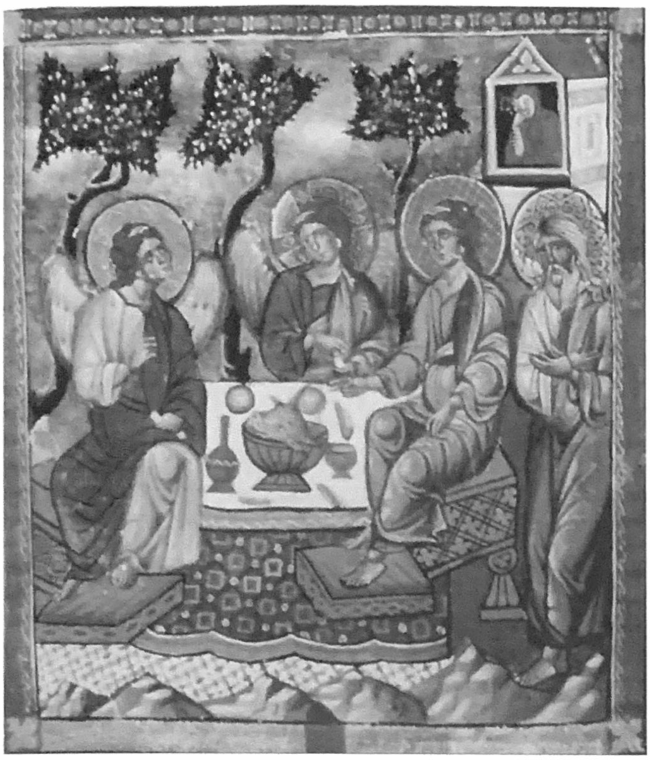
The miniatures of the London *Histoire Universelle* are related in content and presentation to those of its predecessors, Dijon MS 562 and Brussels MS 10175, as those of the Arsenal Bible are related *mutatis mutandis* to the miniatures of its later relative, Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404 in Acre, or to the relevant portion of Morgan MS 494 in Paris. Buchthal's summary of how the miniatures in the cycle of the London codex have been expanded cites the important points, rendering superfluous yet another detailed comparison.

> In the process of copying, each miniature has been completely transformed. The unimaginative *reportage* of the earlier manuscripts in which different stories were often illustrated by the same hackneyed and stereotyped formulas has given way to a vivid and elaborate narrative; every scene gives the impression of a fresh and individual interpretation, achieved by an entirely new approach to the subject and by a lavish decoration not to be found in the model. The illustrations evoke immediately the high standards and the refined atmosphere of a royal court, and raise the narrative to a new level no longer in keeping with the modest aims of the original work.[447]
>
> Most miniatures appear more sumptuous and colourful through the addition of single figures, groups of figures, or whole scenes, of buildings and sometimes of whole towns, and of mountains and other landscape details; these are often quite superficially inserted in places where they clearly do not belong. Wherever possible the traditional scenes are presented in a livelier manner, and with considerable variation. Sometimes the features added are irrelevant to the story, and even detract from its significance; the great majority of the miniatures, however, are more explicit, and their wealth of descriptive detail achieves a splendid decorative effect. Here for the first time the somewhat meagre pictorial material of the earlier model, which was primarily of iconographical interest, is used in such a way as to bring out its artistic possibilities; it has intentionally and proudly been converted into a series of representative and attractive pictures in which iconographical considerations play only a subordinate part.[448]

With regard to style, Buchthal makes the following important observations:

> Though several hands may be distinguished in the illustrations of this manuscript, their style is surprisingly uniform. What differences there are may be traced back to the different styles of the models used by the masters of Acre; frequently they are more prominent between the single figures of one scene than between different miniatures. In fact, the blending of the French and Byzantine styles is more superficial in this manuscript than in most of its predecessors, for instance in the Arsenal Bible; frequently these two elements stand quite unrelated side by side. The reason for this lack of co-ordination is that the two component parts of the style are no longer identical with those in the earlier manuscripts; there is an influx of new ideas which have not yet been entirely absorbed. The French features are still based on works like the Bible Moralisée and the Morgan Picture Book, and lack the sophistication of Gothic illumination from the period after the return of St. Louis from the Holy Land; but the Byzantine element, especially obvious in the Genesis miniatures, is now derived from a new style, which appears at Constantinople only after the middle of the century, with restoration of a Greek dynasty to the imperial throne.[449]

Buchthal sees the influence of the new Palaeologan Byzantine art in various terms. There is what he calls "new devices of perspective" that appear in, for example, the image of King Ninus Enthroned (Fig. 247; fol. 16r), which he likens to the Mellon Madonna's throne, now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC.[450] (Fig. 300) There is the new colorism, surely one of the striking features of the miniatures in this London *Histoire Universelle*. There is the figure style with its volume and roundness, softly painted with white highlights, but often with strong outlines, as in the miniature of the Hospitality of Abraham (Fig. 248; fol. 24v). There is also the strength and impressiveness of the head of the Lord repeated seven times full size in the frontispiece to Genesis (Fig. 246), which Buchthal compares to



248. *Histoire Universelle*, London, British Library, Add. MS 15268 fol. 24v, (panel: 18.3 × 16.6 cm), Abraham's hospitality. (photo by courtesy of the British Library, London)

the head of Christ in the now famous Deësis of the south gallery in the Church of Haghia Sophia.[451] This is the same Deësis, of course, which O. Demus used as an essential point of reference in discussing the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas, which conveys a strong restatement of Byzantine artistic presence in the 1260s, despite the fact that neither the Kahn nor the Mellon Madonna looks very closely related to the head of the Virgin in this Deësis in any specific way.[452]

What Buchthal has to say about the French influence here is also very interesting in light of what we know now about the presence of the Paris–Acre Master in Acre in the 1280s. It means that, for whatever reason, in a workshop where the Paris–Acre Master was surely known, and where he may have even done his work on Paris MS fr. 9084, the French influence in this cycle was only received as embedded in the transmission of earlier models. No direct impact can be seen from the work of the Paris–Acre Master, a French Gothic painter working in Acre in the Gothic style of Paris in the 1270s. We can only conclude that this choice was intentional on the part of those who commissioned London Add. MS 15268. They wanted a book illustrated in the traditional Crusader style.

Buchthal also comments on the interesting influence of Islamic art that appears in the painting of this book along with the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style and imagery.[453] The frontispiece that begins this manuscript is the richest example for seeing these various aspects together. Whereas the medallion images of the Creation for Genesis are based on both Byzantine depictions of the Pantokrator and the iconography of the Lord as the architect of the universe as found in the Moralized Bibles, the mise en scène owes more to the Arsenal Bible in terms of the combination of geometric forms with floral designs in the interstices. What is different here of course is both the addition of three seraphim and the four Evangelist symbols, giving the Creation cycle a cosmic Christian reference, with two coats of arms and a remarkable historiated border, referring very likely to the person for whom the book was made. In fact, as Buchthal has also pointed out, the border incorporates at the top, a feasting scene in which an Islamic dignitary is seated while surrounded by music makers and a dancing girl. On the sides and at the bottom, this program is completed with the addition of vine scrolls containing hunters and animals, including certain exotic creatures like centaurs.[454] Hunting scenes associated with rulers are an ancient iconography for kingship in the Near East going back to Assyrian times, and this appears to be directly intended here for a Crusader, that is, a resident Frank who was part of the leadership establishment who could understand and relate to this kind of visual language.

Buchthal makes the case that borders of this type can be seen in Islamic thirteenth-century art, with banqueting figures and some of these animals to be found in wood and ivory carvings as well as miniature painting from Baghdad from before the Mongol conquest in 1258.[455] Following this same idea, other parallels have also been suggested in both miniature painting and ivory sculpture.[456] He also makes the case that this frame is closely related to frontispiece paintings in manuscripts of the Baghdad School that function as dedicatory copies of certain texts commissioned by a high Muslim official.[457] He argues further that the purpose of including this imagery here is to give this book the character of a dedicatory copy for its recipient. The problem is, and remains after all these years, "to establish the identity of the Latin prince who would have appreciated these allusions to Islamic fashion."[458]

The two coats of arms found on the frontispiece are today almost obliterated, but the hope of identifying the owner of the arms dimly visible there has suggested the possibility of identifying just that Latin prince. Buchthal commented, however, that "the coat of arms which appears twice on this page is a later addition, and thus of no help in settling the problem of its original destination."[459] More recently, however, Zeitler attempted to argue that these coats of arms did not replace older escutcheons, but that the arms fragmentarily visible here are the original ones for whom the manuscript was intended. Unfortunately, the arms she identifies, *losangé or et azur*, although identifiable in some measure, do not relate to anyone in Outremer who seems relevant to this commission.[460] She argues therefore on the basis of these escutcheons that given the presence of these arms, the interpretation offered by Buchthal, that the manuscript was produced to be given to the new king of Jerusalem, Henry II de Lusignan, on the occasion of his coronation in Tyre, is not acceptable.[461] She concludes that the manuscript was probably done for "a Francophone Westerner of elevated social status. Most likely the initial owner was a member of the Levantine aristocracy, . . . [but] there is no reason to assume that a world chronicle, such as the *Histoire Universelle*, could not also have been made for a Western cleric living in the Levant."[462]

The jury is still out on this issue. Of the two coats of arms, the gold remains and the blue of the lozenges can be seen clearly around the edges of the two and tiny scraps in the main body of both as well. The color of this blue seems to be a dark turquoise, which is different from the more cobalt blue of the background on which the shield is set. The dark turquoise seems to be similar to the blue of the scrollwork of the border and may be found in the draperies of two of the musicians in the top border. It remains to be investigated definitively with appropriate technology whether the remaining pigment is contemporary with the rest of the miniature or a later addition. One problematic bit of evidence is the existence of a white vertical stroke in the top left corner of the upper shield: Is it painted over the blue, or beneath it? Was this original or painted in later? As yet this is not determined, but will need to be evaluated as research goes forward.

There is another point worth considering. Assuming for the moment that this blason, *lozengé or et azur*, was the design for the entire shield, it is worth noting that one of the miniatures in the cycle at fol. 149r, depicting Queen Camilla fighting Aeneas, shows Camilla's leading knight carrying exactly these arms on his standard. Does this indicate something about the patron, and/or how these mythical wars were meant to relate to the recipient of this book? Although these escutcheons clearly do not carry the arms of King Henry II, we cannot rule out the possibility based on what we know now that the manuscript with its many fanciful heraldic decorations in the miniatures (COLOR PL. 8) was meant for him, as Buchthal originally suggested, or some other prominent noble at this time.

The question of the artistic hands involved in the painting of this cycle of miniatures is an equally difficult issue. Buchthal realized that several artists participated in producing this book, but he made no attempt to analyze their hands. He comments in different places on the fact of multiple artists, for example, "the miniatures were executed by several different artists who all worked in a very similar style. They all had an intimate knowledge of the pictorial tradition and conventions of the Acre scriptorium, and were familiar with the local version of the cycle of the *Histoire Universelle*; this knowledge could only have been acquired through considerable experience on the spot."[463] Personal inspection of this manuscript makes vividly apparent some of the ways the miniature cycle visually differs from its predecessors or from other illustrated codices done in Acre in the 1280s. Some of the most striking features of this codex when looked at in terms of the miniature cycle are the extraordinary colorism of these paintings, with strong rich colors combining Gothic reds, blues, and pastels, with oranges, reds, and greens, as well as certain other hues such as gray, yellow, beige, and even black. This colorism is combined with a very strong interest in the use of heraldry for the knights and soldiers, which appear in these miniatures. Heraldic arms appear prominently in one form or another on nearly half, that is, fully nineteen of the forty-three panels in this cycle. For the most part the heraldry appears to be essentially imaginary, but the taste for such imagery is clearly a feature of this and other manuscripts done for the educated aristocratic soldiery in the last years of manuscript production at Acre, as we have seen and shall continue to see.

Three other features also striking about these miniatures are the focus on battle scenes of all sorts in all the various stories contained in the *Histoire Universelle*, on the imagery of crowned and noble figures throughout the book, and on a considerable sensibility for depictions that convey the idea of the confrontation of East and West. We see the battle scenes particularly in the representation of Greek mythological stories down to the time of Alexander the Great and imagery derived from the Alexander romance. They include conventional combat between knights and armies as well as siege scenes, but they also include soldiers battling exotic beasts or the famous confrontations of Alexander's army fighting with troops mounted on elephants. The depictions of crowned and noble figures range from biblical personages such as Joseph and Pharoah, to mythological and historical figures like Ninus, Laius, Adrastus, the Amazon queens, Brutus, Nebucchadnezor, Holofernes, and Alexander among others, a remarkable array of people from antiquity. Finally, these representations are occasionally given quite specific contemporary East–West iconography by means of characterizations of Eastern physiognomies and swarthy skin, or costumes of flowing robes and men wearing turbans, or scenes of figures in tents seated in Muslim fashion. We see examples in the miniature for Judith and Holofernes (fol. 181r) especially, and the battle of Alexander with opponents on elephants (fol. 204r). The question is, who were the artists who carried out this commission?

To consider this question, it is important to recall what Buchthal said earlier:

> what differences there are [in style] may be traced back to the different styles of the models used by the masters of Acre; *frequently they are more prominent between the single figures of one scene than between different miniatures*." (my italics)[464]

It must be pointed out that in the current state of our knowledge about this manuscript, we are limited in how far we can proceed with analysis and interpretative discussion.[465] Nonetheless there are certain aspects of style involving artistic hands that can be at least commented on.

When we look at the first part of the miniature cycle, the part that deals with Genesis and is the most heavily influenced by Byzantine sources, we can begin to see what appears to be going on with this project. In the miniatures of the Genesis story we find the representation of a strongly modeled three-dimensional and very painterly patriarchal figure in boldly colored two-tone pastel robes, for example, Noah, Abraham, or Jacob, fols. 7–71. This figure often appears with others done in a somewhat different style, figures much less monumental, treated much flatter, with more linear draperies characterized with flat color and much less modeling, as in the Abraham and Isaac scene (fol. 30v), or scenes of Jacob and Joseph (fols. 48r, 65v, 67r). Recall Buchthal's comment, "the blending of the French and Byzantine styles is more superficial in this manuscript than in most of its predecessors, . . . ; frequently these two elements stand quite unrelated side by side." The possibility exists that this is because different artists were doing different parts of these miniatures, not simply that one artist was using different models. What other evidence can we see?

We also notice in these scenes a certain paradigmatic method placing the figures lined up across the foreground over a background that consists of elements introduced in a seemingly formulaic manner. These backgrounds are composed of different elements, which vary, but they consistently appear to be inserted as needed, namely, architectural components, landscape elements especially mountains, and decorative patterned passages. These patterns are varied but used frequently, and often appear between architectural elements, as with King Ninus (fols. 16r, 71r), Abraham and the Three Heavenly Visitors (fol. 24v), and scenes of Jacob and the Joseph story (fols. 48r, 58r, 64r, and 67r). We also notice that the frames of the miniatures vary considerably. Consider the double gold frame with floral interior decoration of the Noah miniature (fol. 7v), to the red and blue frame with floral motifs of the first King Ninus (fol. 16r), to the variety of patterns – medallion, cable or meander, lozenge, floral – that appear on the other panels with more conventional rectangular enclosures. What this evidence suggests is that perhaps these different parts of the miniatures are being painted by artists who specialize in these components.

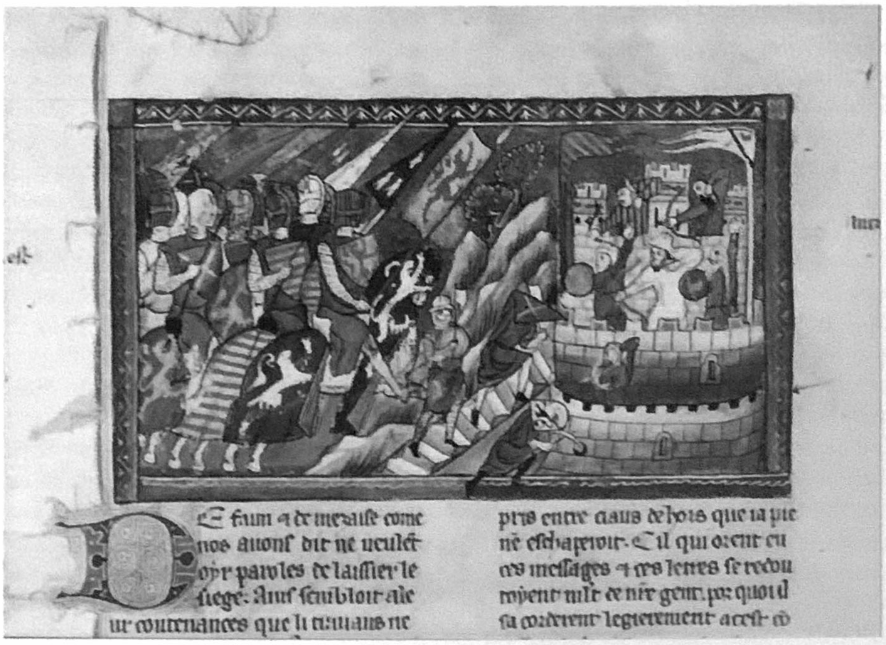
This kind of analysis can be continued for the latter portions of the miniature cycle where we encounter other similarly striking elements that seem to be juxtaposed with different components that vary with the size and complexity of the miniature. The handling of the frames, of the background elements, of the use of patterns, and of the variety in combining figure types continues in these later paintings. However, other striking aspects appear as well, most notably the introduction of a considerable repertory of knights and soldiers, the array of heraldic designs, and the composition of complex assemblages of different figures and often strange and exotic animals. It is immediately apparent when analyzing London Add. MS 15268 as compared to its predecessors, Dijon MS 562 and Brussels MS 10175, that the designer of the London miniatures has followed the cycle tradition in choice of scene, perhaps known from a common model available in the workshop. However, when the remarkable expanded miniatures of Add. MS 15268 are compared with the corresponding images in these extant predecessors, it is clear that the process by which they were expanded can be seen to have required significant additions of elements. Typical revisions or additions, such as, for example, groups of figures, landscapes, architecture, and zones of pattern, and changes in existing forms, such as the frames, seem to have much more to do with other similar "standardized" components in the manuscript than they have with their sources in the earlier surviving examples. That is to say, whereas for example the appearance of mounted knights with full heraldic identification can be seen in both Dijon MS 562 and/or Brussels MS 10175 miniatures and the corresponding panel of the London codex, the stylistic relationship between such knights and their counterparts in other Add. MS. 15268 miniatures is singularly much more closely linked by contrast to those in earlier representations, or by contrast even to other figural groups in the London manuscript.

The conclusion this leads us to consider for the London Add. MS 15268 manuscript cycle is that the workshop organization for this project introduced something we see in Acre for the first time. It appears that the artists were organized according to specialties and there was a division of labor among the painters according to those components for which they were responsible. This suggests that the head of the workshop for this large and important project employed several painters, perhaps as many eight or nine, perhaps as few as five or six. Further research will be required to pursue this analysis and to investigate other possible cases in which this same modus operandi can be identified. As it appears here, the headmaster must have organized the team, established the plan for the cycle, provided the instructions, whether verbal, written, or visual, for each miniature, and supervised the process in order to make it possible to complete the project in a timely fashion. The purpose of introducing this kind of division of labor was probably intended not only to make the process of a major project like this one possible, but also to be able to manage the time required so that a large and complex cycle could be executed efficiently in a minimal amount of time.

As research goes forward on this manuscript we can evaluate the possibility of this rather new and sophisticated approach to the organization of labor among the members of the workshop. Clearly very few extant manuscripts from the latter part of the thirteenth century from anywhere in the medieval world would suggest an approach like this, much less the case in Acre. Certainly even Arsenal MS 5211 done for Louis IX – a manuscript of the highest level of decoration with a cycle of the greatest sophistication that exhibits a very rich and complex program – does not seem to provide any evidence for a division of labor such as what we are suggesting for Add. MS 15268. Even though we know that in the case of the Psalter of Queen Melisende from *c.*1135 there were a number of artists at work on this commission, each artist worked on their own set of miniatures; they did not collaborate on a single miniature.[466] It is, however, the nature of the miniatures as we find them in the London Add. MS 15268, the way they are related to their predecessors, and to other miniature panels in this codex, and the composite nature of their compositions that suggest this interpretation of how they were done.

Looked at from this point of view, it sheds new light on the possibilities of the Acre scriptoria that we will endeavor to evaluate as we discuss other manuscripts that constitute closely related examples in terms either of chronology or of style. For one thing it means that the workshop for any one manuscript must be evaluated individually on its own terms. It means that artists could be brought in if more than one was needed to handle a special project, as we have already seen in the past. However, it also means that if many artists were not needed for a large project, these painters could work along in their own workshop. There they would work individually as well, but with the possibility of maintaining contact with their colleagues in other nearby ateliers when needed to meet the needs of their current commissions.

In light of these proposals, what can be said about the patronage, the function, and the intended recipient of London Add. MS 15268? In light of the programmatic emphasis, the special decorations, and the high quality, the size, and the lavishness of the commission, Buchthal proposed what is the current working hypothesis for the production of this book. He suggested that "the British Museum manuscript is probably a royal dedication copy which may have been produced to celebrate a special event."[467] He identifies that special event to have been the advent of Henry II of Lusignan to be the new king of Jerusalem. Henry II was crowned king in Cyprus in June 1285. Approximately a year later, in June 1286 he came to Acre where he was acclaimed as the new king-to-be in the Latin Kingdom. On 15 August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, Henry was crowned in the cathedral in Tyre.[468] Thereafter he came to Acre where "they held a fortnight of festivity."[469] Buchthal proposes that "it is tempting to connect it [Add. MS 15268] with the festivities of 1286; it is perhaps not too bold to argue that it was presented to King Henry by the military aristocracy of Acre on the occasion of his coronation, and to commemorate the pageantry staged in his honour."[470] For the time being this



249. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084: fol. 53r, Bk 5, (D)e faim & de mezaise come nos avons dit . . . (panel: 9.2 × 16.0 cm). See COLOR PL. 9.
Captions: left, "*lost*," right, "*antioche*."
1. The Crusaders attack and enter Antioch.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

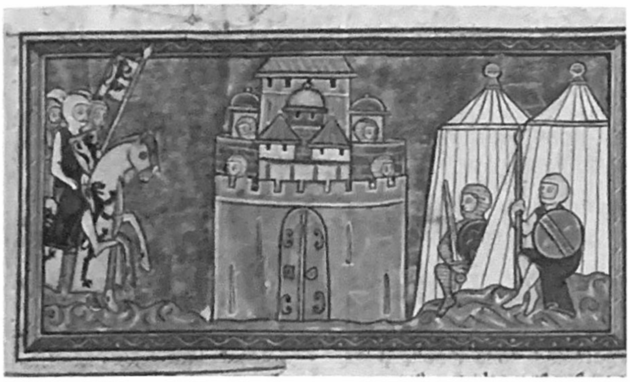
remains the best working hypothesis for many reasons, and it means that the project to produce the manuscript was carried out in 1286, even though the exact timing is unclear.[471]

In light of the likely production of this major manuscript in 1286, what precise relations can we see between this codex and Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9084, a manuscript with miniature painting closely related to the style of the London Add. MS 15268 cycle?

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 9084[472] ***(Figs. 249–250,*** *COLOR PLS. 9, 10, CD 370–391):* Hugo Buchthal proposed that "it is unlikely that the William of Tyre manuscript . . . was intended for the library of a royal patron. But the first five miniatures in it are certainly the work of the same group of artists who illustrated its close relative, the Histoire Universelle in the British Museum; they may be taken as reflections of the same spirit of high attainment which we traced in the illuminations of that outstanding volume." Buchthal declines to identify which artist(s) found in London Add. MS 15268 he thinks worked on the first five miniatures of MS fr. 9084, and, of course, he did not know in 1957 what we learned in 1976, that the remaining seventeen illustrations were done in Acre as well, not in France or Cyprus. He only comments, "it is impossible to say why the decoration of this manuscript was continued by a different artist. It appears that the five original miniatures were executed before the text was written, and that the remaining ones were inserted after it had been completed."[473] After we reintroduce the codicology and the miniature program we will attempt to comment on these issues.

Buchthal suggests that the first five miniatures in MS fr. 9084 were executed in the style of Add. MS 15268 before the text was done because in the case of Book 3, which depicts the Council of Nicaea, the panel cuts off the first column of text and intrudes half way into the second column. The text in that second column in effect is written around the outside of the frame. Of course, many panels in this cycle – over half – are unusually wide. Those for Books 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, and 17 are all wider than one column, a remarkable departure from the format of earlier illustrated *History of Outremer* manuscripts. The fact is, however, that there seems to have been a major break in the process of the production of this book, as indicated by the following. First, after the first five miniatures were finished, the remaining seventeen miniatures were done by the Paris–Acre Master, a major change in style. Why did this occur? Second, those seventeen panels were apparently painted *after* the text had been completed. Even though two of the seventeen panels intrude into the second column, at Books 6 and 7, just as we saw this happen at Book 3, they were apparently planned that way; in any case there is no evidence that the miniatures in the second style were introduced before the text was written.[474]

These observations suggest the following possible scenario. The book was planned and ruled, with spaces indicated for the panels, which were mostly followed except for Book 3; then the painting started with the first five miniatures in the Add. MS 15268 style. Could the reason for this have been that initially the idea was to give this *History of Outremer* codex to the new king, Henry II? For some reason it was decided to stop this project as originally planned. Possibly it was because the decision was made to present the new king with an illustrated *Histoire Universelle* instead, or possibly because the artist(s) working on MS fr. 9084 were needed on the *Histoire Universelle* project, which was getting underway. However, whatever the reason, the original artist(s) apparently moved on to do the other work, namely the London Add. MS 15268 project. Meanwhile the MS fr. 9084 project was resumed, most likely as a new commission for a new patron. The rest of the program was reviewed and



250. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 9084: fol. 182v, Bk 15, (A)pres le mois diver... (panel: 8.0 × 15.4 cm). 1. The Byzantine emperor John attacks the city of Shayzar while the prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa stay in camp. See COLOR PL. 10. (photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

approved, and the text of the manuscript was written. Then a new and different artist was engaged to complete the final seventeen miniatures of the cycle, the Paris–Acre Master.

Compared to the other *History of Outremer* manuscripts, MS fr. 9084 is unique in having such a lavish decorative program and a cycle with so many expanded format panel miniatures, many of them two columns wide. In most cases, the expanded size panels make it possible to depict on one level what the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycle had often depicted as two register panels, in a double-decker format. This approach is undoubtedly a continuation of the planned configuration of the first five initials with the scenes in this cycle always read in effect left to right, never top to bottom. These features make it clear it was done as a special project, more expansive and more expensive than most other *History of Outremer* codices we have seen, which have smaller, single-column historiated intials or panel miniatures.

The program of MS fr. 9084 is also innovative in its iconography and content. These features are found both in the first five miniatures and in the second group of seventeen panels, indicating the program was a carefully planned and unified project, even though the painting was carried out by different artists working in very different styles. In the first five miniatures, four of the scenes show a remarkable sensibility for visualizing the eastern context of the events, and three of those scenes are entirely new departures in the *History of Outremer* cycle indicative of an innovative and individualistic approach. We note in Book 1 how the contrast of East and West is realized in the visual distinction between the rendering of the Western tonsured and beardless Peter the Hermit and the Eastern patriarch of Jerusalem, bearded and wearing a semblance of Orthodox vestments, along with the Eastern domical architecture of Jerusalem. The story is expressed in this miniature in an unusual way. In the text, Peter first visits the patriarch, then goes to the Holy Sepulcher to pray, and then returns to the patriarch before returning home to the West. The miniature suggests this movement back and forth by Peter by means of the introduction of the central, trefoil archway as the link between the two main scenes.[475]

The same kind of East–West distinction is expressed in the miniature for Book 3, which is original with this cycle and which uniquely depicts the ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325, where prelates from the Latin and the Greek churches gathered. The beardless tonsured Latin figures contrast strikingly with the bearded and hooded easterners. The lead eastern figure is particularly interesting and eastern looking with his special cap and his robes with what appear to be pseudo-kufic letters across the front.[476]

For Book 4, Turkish and Armenian satraps bring presents to Tancred, hoping to win his favor with diplomatic gifts of gold and fine horses. At the left, Tancred is dressed as a Western nobleman enthroned with two bodyguards. To the right, the Eastern suppliants are strikingly depicted in their boldly patterned robes,[477] and some watching in the hills are also wearing turbans. Clearly here the East–West idea was expressed in terms of the lay nobility, Crusader on the one hand, indigenous on the other.

Finally, for Book 5 we have a remarkable depiction of the First Crusaders attacking Antioch (Fig. 249, COLOR PL. 9). The heavily armed Crusader knights on horseback are recognizeable bearing their brightly colored arms on caparisons, shields, and standards. The outnumbered Antiochene defenders are clearly characterized as Easterners by means of physiognomies, beards, costumes, round shields and weapons, exclusively bows and arrows, although two figures seem to be throwing stones. This is again a departure from the iconography of the earlier *History of Outremer* cycles. More importantly, it is a very strong thematic depiction of the confrontation of East and West that was very familiar to all residents of the Latin Kingdom.

Stylistically the question is, what is the relationship of these miniatures to the work done in Add. MS 15268? The same analysis applied to the miniatures in the London cycle yields similar results here. We can see several specialized aspects of these miniatures, with the groups of knights (Books 2 and 5), the imagery of the Easterners (Books 1, 3, 4, 5), the representation of the Latin clergy (Books 1 and 3), the architecture, and the frames. Just as we postulated a system of the division of labor in Add. MS 15268, it appears we can see the same possibility here. Furthermore, these artists of MS fr. 9084 can be identified with the artists in the London MS, in terms of comparable knights, the Eastern turbaned figures, the architecture, and the frames. Buchthal even singles out the parallel between the soldier in Book 5 holding an axe with a shield protecting his head, and the soldier on the ladder in the *Histoire Universelle* who is holding a pickaxe with a shield protecting his head, in the scene on fol. 101v.[478]

At some point shortly after the first five miniatures were done, a new artist was employed to complete the remaining seventeen panels. This painter is the Paris–Acre Master, whose last work in Acre was documented in 1282, in the Chantilly MS 433(590) *Rhetoric* codex. Why we do not see his hand at work during this hiatus, from 1282 to 1286 is unknown, but with MS fr. 9084 he is faced with a new challenge to complete a miniature cycle for a planned program in a text presumably new to him, the *History of Outremer*. To carry out this task he refers iconographically to earlier cycle traditions, both the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycle and the Paris MS fr. 2628 cycle. He also apparently studies the first five miniatures of MS fr. 9084.

Even though the expanded panel format found in the first five miniatures of MS fr. 9084 is continued in the plan for the rest of the cycle, the Paris–Acre Master derives much of his program for these miniatures from the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycle tradition. The themes of Books 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 are consistent with the earlier cycles, but there are nonetheless differences in how the imagery is handled; certain innovations are introduced. Despite the expanded width of many of the panels in MS fr. 9084, the artist deals with the imagery by in effect doubling the scene, as with Book 6; expanding one scene into two parts, as seen in Book 7; or simply enlarging the one scene, as we find at Book 17.

In other cases the Paris–Acre Master simplifies the scenes, for example, making the deathbed–coronation iconography into one or the other alone, at Books 10, 11, 19, and 21, all of which are normal panels a single column wide. In the case of Book 16, he introduces a double-column panel, which has the deathbed–coronation pairing, but this represents a significant departure from the earlier cycles in program as well as in iconography. For Book 16 the images in the earlier Acre school manuscripts focused on the dramatic story of the *chevauchée* of Fulk and Melisende, and Fulk's death resulting from an accident while riding. In iconography the artist represents the coronation of Baldwin III in French Gothic terms with a typical coronation–enthronement, instead of the kneeling king imagery of the earlier Crusader cycles.

In other examples from this series of traditional themes, our painter introduces some new ideas, mainly in the form of variations on the basic imagery. For example, the selection of a new ruler for Jerusalem in the panel for Book 9 is varied by depicting the election of a new patriarch following the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade. At Book 18, the idea of the humiliation of the patriarch of Antioch is intensified by interpreting him as a corpus, a victim in the image of Jesus, on the citadel tower. Earlier examples from Acre typically show the patriarch simply exposed on the top of the tower following the narrative in the text. Finally, for one of the coronation scenes, that at Book 19 where King Amaury is crowned, the artist introduces new iconography. Instead of the generic setting found in all earlier coronations, the Paris–Acre Master introduces iconography to specify that this event takes place in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. He paints an architectural framework with supporting arches and minidomes on each side, which join a central trefoil arch under a large domical lantern with a cross on top. This canopy structure has no precedents in earlier *History of Outremer* cycles.[479] Instead it appears to be derived, not from the *Bibles Moralisées* tradition, but from seals of the Hospitaller masters in Acre. Despite the possibility of these seals as a direct and timely model, this type first authorized in 1278,[480] it is not necessary to imagine that the patron of this manuscript was somehow connected to the Hospitallers or that our artist was either.

The miniature cycle in Paris MS fr. 9084 taken together is grounded in the Acre school tradition, but it is nonetheless a very idiosyncratic production with several peculiar features. Not only does it have the novel format, and two distinctly different artistic styles, but also two books out of the basic twenty-two – Books 12 and 13 – were given no miniatures. This omission was apparently the result of the planned program, but it is strange that the start of these two books in this text, at fols. 142v and 155v, is given no indication of the existence of a major text division. There is also the introduction of new iconography at the start of certain books, for example, for Books 22 and 33, Chapter 13. In the first case, the presence of Bohemond of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli at Jerusalem is found at this point in Lyon MS 828 in a very bland and undefined image. However, in MS fr. 9084 it is transformed into the depiction of a Crusader army arriving outside a city, an image reminiscent of the panel for II Maccabees in Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404. The latter two examples constitute a classic image type for this master, which not only boldly states the heraldic designs of the lead mounted knight, but also evokes the iconography of Crusader soldiery and fortified cities, central features of life in the Latin Kingdom. In the second case the Crusader envoys to Frederick II appear in an image that is one of the rare depictions of this famous and controversial ruler, *stupor mundi*, which appears in any Crusader cycle, East or West.

This last example raises the question of whether the Paris–Acre Master has shown any change in development from the work he did when he arrived in the Crusader capital in *c.*1280–2, and the work he is now embarked on in *c.*1286. First of all his drawing style seems to stabilize and clarify, in the sense that his forms and the use of line become more consistent. Also the fact is his artistic surroundings do seem to have some impact on him, in terms of what he observes formally, and in terms of his color. He can be seen to be learning new ideas, for example, about representing architecture and space, at Books 6 and 18, possibly from images in the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycle tradition and even from miniatures he might have seen in manuscripts of the *Histoire Universelles* produced in Acre. We also find him beginning to adopt the Acre school convention for representing eyes, the so-called spectacle effect with round eyelids and a straight line from the eye back toward the ear, in the miniatures for Books 7, 17, and 20, but sporadically, not consistently. Finally, one can also see that his color develops from the basic Gothic palette introduced in Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404 and Chantilly MS 433(590). Presumably as the result of his contact with the first five miniatures of MS fr. 9084 with their strong vibrant color, featuring rich saturated and strong hues, such as bright orange, light greens, yellows, and deep purples, his color starts to change and develop. In the seventeen panels he executes for this codex we find him introducing a significant new use of yellows, more extensive use of lavenders and orange–reds, and even brown and black.

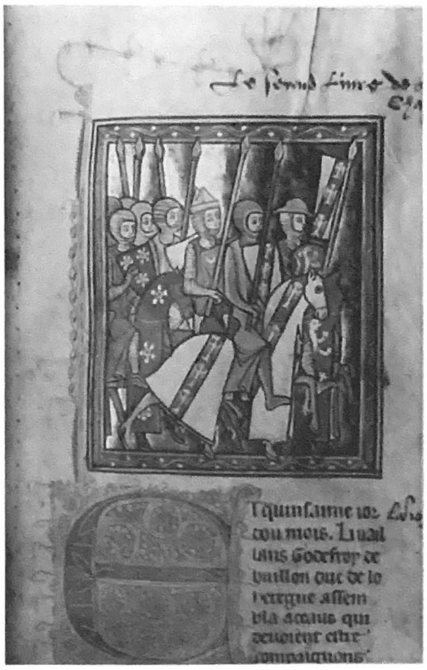
To conclude then, MS fr. 9084 represents a new departure in the work of the Paris–Acre Master, but looked at in perspective, we can surely say that he has staunchly retained his Parisian Gothic style. He has not suddenly turned into a painter doing the traditional Crusader style as the result of his first approximately six years in Acre. Despite the impact of his new artistic surroundings on him by *c.*1286, he has in fact shown very little interest in emulating the traditional Crusader style and much more interest in proceeding according to his own inclinations, but always as a Parisian Gothic painter.

However, what did it mean that such different styles were employed in the production of MS fr. 9084 for the patron? This is, of course, not the first work of Crusader art to feature multiple styles. We have seen such examples in the twelfth century, in works as diverse as the Psalter of Queen Melisende, *c.*1135,[481] and the sculptural program of the south transept façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, dedicated in *c.*1149.[482] We have also seen this phenomenon in the "Acre Triptych" from *c.*1260 discussed in Chapter 6. Such multiple styles are to be found in works from western Europe as well. One thinks of the Winchester Psalter *c.*1150, with the "Byzantine Diptych" in the midst of a cycle of English Romanesque miniatures, or the Stavelot Triptych with two Byzantine reliquaries set in a Mosan enameled triptych, done *c.*1156–8.[483] What significance can we understand in the stylistic dualism of MS fr. 9084?

One possibility is that the patron wished to have the miniatures painted that way. This means that perhaps when the artists working in the traditional Crusader style left the project, the patron personally selected the Paris–Acre Master to complete it. Why would he have done this, or why would the workshop supervisor have done this on behalf of the patron? The function of this manuscript was to provide the story of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, presumably for someone resident there, but perhaps for someone only visiting.[484] Certainly one possibility is that the styles are meant to have a programmatic meaning; that is, there is a certain iconography of style. Viewed this way, significance is associated with the traditional Crusader style, which is richly multicultural, pertaining to the Near East before the advent of the First Crusade there, in contrast to the more Western flavor of the last seventeen miniatures, which express the notion of Frankish presence in the Crusader States. Looked at this way, this program in MS fr. 9084 is more sophisticated, a special production, and indeed we have no way of knowing that it was not ordered to be this way from the very beginning. It is just a matter of fact that the break in the production of the illustrations for the book seems to be so major. It is unusual to start with some of the miniatures, then do the whole text, and finally finish with the rest – much the larger part – of the miniature cycle.

In a way, the program of the narthex dome mosaics for the Church of San Marco in Venice raises similar questions mutatis mutandis. The first dome for the Creation cycle is done in an archaizing style reaching back to the fifth century, and the remaining domes for the other Old Testament books are done in a contemporary style of *c.*1200. The reason for the archaizing style and iconography is basically because the model used was the Cotton Genesis from the Early Christian period.[485] The others were done in the style of the day from other models. However, the question remains, what meaning was this program intended to convey because of the stylistic difference? Could it be that the iconographic model was also followed for its style to express the fact it was the first book of the Bible and this image of the Creation cycle was given special authenticity because of the venerable Early Christian model? Whatever the reason, the modus operandi for MS fr. 9084 was different. In both cases, the style rendered was the current style of active artists, not a style reflected from some older source. For both of those styles in Paris MS fr. 9084, the contemporaneity was apparently important, to express the immediacy of the experience known by and sought in this book by the patron.

Could the duality of styles and the uniqueness of the combination in MS fr. 9084 also mean that this book was done for a particular person and for a notable event? These are also definite possibilities, and we wish we could identify the patron/owner, but again without further information we are not able to say anything for sure. Nonetheless there is no doubt that the distinction drawn between the style of the first five miniatures and that of the last seventeen clearly could have been inspired by a "Crusader" event. Perhaps the celebration of 15 July 1286 was important to the patron as a distant historical moment of significance in his family – the 137th anniversary of the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and the 187th commemoration of the taking of the city of Jerusalem by the First Crusade?



251. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Boulogne sur Mer, Bibl. Municipale, MS 142: fol. 16r, Bk 2, (E)l quinsaime ior dou mois . . . (panel: 9.1 × 7.9 cm).
1. Godefroy de Bouillon and Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy lead the men of the First Crusade to the Holy Land.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Boulogne sur Mer)

Finally, perhaps the two styles of MS fr. 9084 could be intended to express in a different way the same metaphorical bridge between Paris and the Holy Land that the Arsenal Bible apparently expressed for Louis IX. The Acre–Paris link is clearly evident in the realities of the Latin Kingdom, and especially of Acre in the entire period from 1250 to 1291 because of Louis IX, the continuing presence of the French regiment, the residential aristocracy with their ancestral connections to France, the involvement of Charles of Anjou and his French representatives, and the arrival of a Lusignan king, Henry II, as the king of Jerusalem. In this *History of Outremer* codex the two styles would vividly express the cultural presence of East and West in its illustrations for someone who wished to read the Crusader story in its folios. These speculations are just that, nothing more, but they are worth making so that as we continue to look at the evidence for Crusader painting we can consider these questions, and perhaps find answers as research goes forward.

Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipal, MS 142*[486] *(Fig. 251, CD 392–413) and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10212: Shortly after the Paris–Acre Master finished his work on Paris MS fr. 9084, he executed a complete cycle of miniatures for a second *History of Outremer* codex. The fascinating thing about MS 142 is that on the one hand it copies closely the unusual features of MS fr. 9084 in terms of the iconography of its first five miniatures, its unusual text incipit at Book 2, and the omission of miniatures at Books 12 and 13, and on the other hand it generally simplifies the imagery of the basic Acre cycle drawn mostly from MS fr. 9084. In most of the scenes for Books 6 to 23 chapter 6, it follows MS fr. 9084,[487] but in certain cases it reverts to the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycle for more standard scenes. The two obvious examples are at Books 15, where the chess scene is reintroduced at the attack on Shayzar, and 16, where the accidental death of King Fulk is depicted. It is also interesting that in MS 142 there are only two expanded panels two columns wide, at Books 1 and 9, compared to eleven in MS fr. 9084, but it has four double-decker panels at Books 15, 16, 20, and 33 Chapter 13, whereas MS fr. 9084 has none in this older format.

The relationship between these codices is very close, with certain variations no doubt to meet the needs and desires of the different patrons. For example it may be that the two expanded panel miniatures in MS 142 are used to introduce the First Crusade at Book 1, and then to start the history of the Latin Kingdom at Book 9. However, there is also a clear development in the work of the Paris–Acre Master seen in the slightly later MS 142 that is only beginning in the slightly earlier MS fr. 9084. This is visible in terms of continued change and enrichment of his color palette and an increase in his sensibility with regard to observation of the Eastern ambiente as found in his imagery. The change in his color palette is most noticeable in terms of the extraordinary lime green he introduces for Books 6 and 18, both scenes of Antioch, especially. The new interest in the imagery of East–West confrontation, seen so vividly in the first part of MS fr. 9084, is found in the several additional examples in MS 142. There is Book 6, the conquest of Antioch with bearded and turbaned Antiochenes. At Book 7, the Crusader envoys to the emperor of Constantinople find also two Greeks standing behind the throne wearing their wide-brimmed hats. For Book 15, the Muslims defending Shayzar brandish scimitars and one has a round shield with the crescent moon on it.

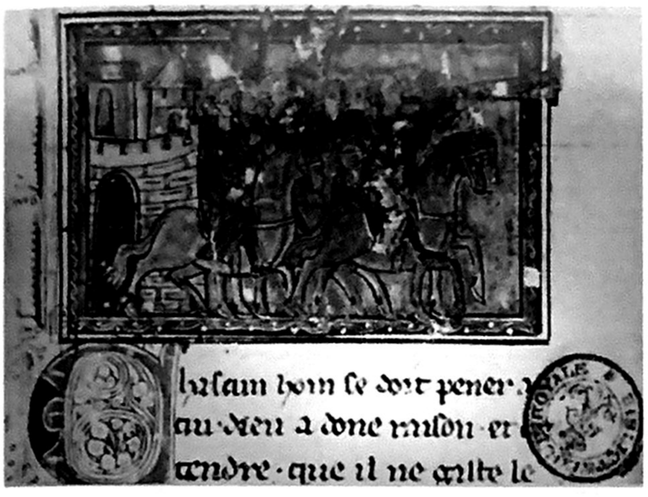
It is clear that for the first five miniatures of MS 142, the Paris–Acre Master studied MS fr. 9084 carefully and translated the imagery and Crusader style of their artists into his own idiom.[488] In the process these scenes are, with the exception of Book 1, reduced to panels one column wide. In doing this, our painter introduces certain changes that indicate the interests of a different patron, for example, special emphasis on the specific heraldry of Godefroy de Bouillon at Books 2 and 5, a much more Western point of view in characterizing these five scenes, and much greater simplification in the scenes of Books 3 and 5. Stylistically, this is the classic example of a model-copy paradigm, where the artist retains the iconography of the model to the extent possible but he transforms the style completely into his own signature formal work.

Following this part of the cycle, the Paris–Acre Master continued to use the basic Acre cycle he knew from MS fr. 9084, but he also drew on the cycle as known from the earlier St. Petersburg–Lyon manuscripts. Although the question has reasonably been raised as to whether MS 142 might have only copied the first five miniatures of MS fr. 9084, and was then completed before MS fr. 9084 was finished,[489] on balance this seems unlikely for several reasons. We note the overall closeness of these two codices to each other, the dependence that MS 142 shows on both parts of MS fr. 9084, the unusual features that MS 142 reproduces from MS fr. 9084, and the developmental aspects in the artist's work from MS fr. 9084 to MS 142 found in both parts of the cycle in the latter codex. These features indicate that MS 142 was made by copying MS fr. 9084 with occasional revisions and special alterations made with reference to other imagery from the standard Acre school cycle. This can be understood as the product of two different commissions for two different patrons, painted by the same artist, the Paris–Acre Master, presumably in the same workshop.

When the Paris–Acre Master did revert to the standard cycle known from the St. Petersburg–Lyon manuscripts, he also adopted their double-decker panel format and yet he clearly changed the style once again. Although he becomes aware of some Eastern aspects of the imagery as we have noted, he is not interested in the traditional Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, with the result that the only changes in his style is his expanded and richer colorism and the interesting variety in his representations of architecture. His mature artistic formation is not, however, changing in any fundamental way in the face of the Byzantine-influenced Crusader style that we can be sure he studied closely in several different examples. This indicates that he differs from other artists who absorb and practice the Crusader style as their own. The essential difference is that the Paris–Acre Master is a Parisian Gothic painter who is now working in a Crusader milieu, and other painters we have encountered were Crusader painters, who were trained as Crusader artists no matter what their ancestral heritage may have been.

It is remarkably fortunate that we can find two manuscripts so closely related to each other, helping us to examine and to define the working methods of the artist and giving us more information about his workshop circumstances. It is interesting to see that his work in 1286–7 is strikingly similar to what he was doing in Acre in 1280–2. It appears to be a classic colonial phenomenon in one aspect especially, where the painter leaves a major center – Paris in this instance – fully formed as an artist, and when he arrives in his new circumstances in Acre he becomes markedly conservative in retaining the style of his homeland.[490] He is working as a Crusader artist otherwise, however, particularly in the way that he embraces the iconographic traditions of the Acre school, and the fact that he seems to be in Acre working primarily as a painter, not otherwise employed so far as we know. He is able to paint in the style of his homeland because clearly there was a market for his work in Acre in the 1280s. There must have been sufficient interest among the military aristocracy in secular illustrated books in Old French to give him plenty of work. Presumably part of the reason his style was in demand was because by the later thirteenth century, the reputation of Paris as the European center for book illumination was known everywhere. Even though the style of the Paris–Acre Master is staunchly fixed as formulated in the 1270s and changes little so far in the 1280s, it is very much à la mode in Acre as we have seen. What additional work does he do between 1287 and 1289?

The vogue for "history" in Acre in the late thirteenth century among the military artistocracy is evident in the numerous manuscripts extant of the *History of Outremer* and the *Histoire Universelle*. There is, however, another work, the *Faits des Romains*, which makes an appearance in the late 1280s, a codex now in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10212 (Fig. 252, CD 414–420).[491] The text begins, "*Ci comense le livre de Cesar*



252. *Faits des Romains*, Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10212: fol. 1v, Chascun hom se doit pener. . . .
Rubrics: Ci comense le livre de Cesar comet il conquist plusors tres (panel: 4.7 × 7.35 cm).
Caesar's army on the march.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels)

coment il conqist plusors terres," and it was a book of Roman history based mainly on Caesar, Lucan, Sallust, and Suetonius.[492] In a sense this work was a continuation of the *Histoire Universelle*, carrying the story along from where it ended, but compared to the *Histoire Universelle* or the *History of Outremer*, it was much less popular in the thirteenth century. Only later, in the fourteenth century, when interest in Old French translations of classical prose texts grew much stronger, did commissions of the *Faits des Romains* grow more numerous.

Brussels MS 10212 is an important manuscript for the witness it provides of the breadth of interest in historical works in Acre, for the fact that it is a good-quality work done in the East at a time that few works were being done as yet in the West, and for the additional examples it contains of work by the Paris–Acre Master. Brussels MS 10212 is, however, a more routine workshop product, modestly decorated with small miniatures fewer in number than those in Add. MS 15268 or in either of the *History of Outremer* manuscripts we have just discussed.

There was no standardized cycle of miniatures for this text yet established; many of the early manuscripts simply have a single miniature at the start of the text. Among those early codices that do receive a set of illustrations, such as this one, there is very little consistency in the choice of scenes, and no direct correspondence in the iconography.[493] Nonetheless the imagery of this book is interesting for several reasons. Many of the scenes show the Paris–Acre Master adapting familiar imagery from other cycles, for example, at fol. 1v the Roman soldiers of Caesar's army are depicted as a *chevauchée* of French knights (Fig. 252), at fol. 121r the messenger scene finds Caesar crowned like a French king seated in front of his campaign tent, and at fol. 69v the arrival of the Roman army before Trier resembles French Crusaders, including one knight carrying a shield blazoned with the French royal arms, marching on a fortified city in the Holy Land. Nonetheless, there are some interesting features and one or two new additions to our Master's repertoire. We find a continued interest in specific heraldry, something we noticed with Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 142. We see many ship scenes (fols. 53v, 208r, 233r), which correspond with the ambiente of the city of Acre. Indeed, the construction of boats by men of Caesar's army to be used to cross the English Channel at fol. 53v depicts shipbuilding with more specific tools, including the T-handled augur, than we have found the Paris–Acre Master representing in his earlier works. Finally, there is one interesting addition to his imagery, the representation of helms for mounted knights. Although full knightly armor with helmets is common in the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycles of the *History of Outremer* and in the three early *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts done in Acre, surprisingly helmets do not appear in his extant work before this point. There is not a single one in his miniatures of the *History of Outremer* codices in Paris MS fr. 9084 or Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 142.

This seemingly minor innovation is of interest because of its likely source. Whereas the helmeted figures in Add. MS 15268 at Books 2 and 5 did not inspire our painter to represent them when he copied these miniatures for Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 142, he introduces them now a year or two later, when he does Brussels MS 10212, *c.*1287–8. It appears instead that this idea for the Paris–Acre Master came from a codex interpreted here to have also been made in Acre in the late 1280s, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 20125.[494]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 20125 (Figs. 253–255, CD 421–469): At this point we must pause to consider that fact that despite my proposal, first made in 1976, to attribute this codex to Acre *c.*1287, many important scholars – most, but not all, text scholars – have continued to think of it as French, that is, done in France and produced somewhat earlier, in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Buchthal of course interpreted it as a French manuscript in 1957, and it was he who first identified its importance for the development of the *Histoire Universelle* cycles in the thirteenth century.[495] Buchthal wrote that Paris MS fr. 20125 was "easily the finest surviving example of the French group – there is no trace of the influence of Palestinian iconography or style; and this is substantially the cycle found in all later manuscripts produced in France. The only possible conclusion is that the manuscripts from Acre go back to the same western models from which this important volume is derived."[496] Stahl is also inclined to doubt that MS fr. 20125 could have been done in Acre. He comments,

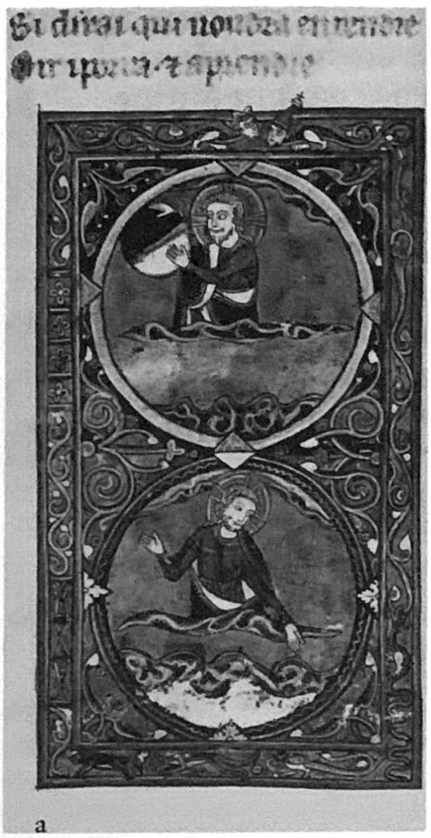
> Nothing in the iconography of the Paris manuscript establishes an origin in Acre; whether it is a French manuscript or an Acre copy of a French manuscript, its cycle is entirely Western. It lacks any influence from the Dijon or earlier Acre manuscripts. . . . At the same time, Folda's stylistic arguments for an Acre attribution are not convincing. The painter of the Paris manuscript may be a contemporary of the Hospitaller Master but he is a mediocre artist whose style derives from a different French tradition. . . . He certainly is an artist working in a different shop, for the manuscript has no important codicological features in common with the other Acre manuscripts.[497]

Joslin accepts the Acre localization and *c.*1287 date without discussion, but more recent scholars such as Oltrogge and M. de Visser-van Terwisga prefer to date the manuscript earlier, to France in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Oltrogge takes a very strict view following Stahl in which she is only willing to accept Chantilly MS 433(590) as an Acre product, and maintains that MS fr. 20125 is made in France.[498] Finally

M. de Visser-van Terwisga follows Oltrogge, characterizing her dating as "plus prudente que celle de Folda." As for the localization, she discusses the "langue et localisation" and the "langue du manuscrit" at some length, finding that the language of the text derives from the northeastern area of the langue d'oïl. However, with regard to the codicology she does not have any new observations to offer, commenting only "nous n'avons aucun renseignement sur le destin du codex depuis le moment de sa facture (3e quart XIIIe siècle) jusqu'au moment où il entra dans la collection du cardinal [Richelieu]. Toutefois, un grand nombre de notes marginales en ancien provençal ou en catalan semble témoigner du séjour du manuscrit dans le Midi de la France, au XIV/XVe s."[499] She, of course, chose Paris MS fr. 20125 as her "manuscrit de base" for editing the text, based on its full content and good quality. All editors of the *Histoire Universelle* agree on the importance of this codex for the completeness and quality of its text, as being close to the French prototype written for Roger de Lille. In the face of this scholarly opinion it might seem inappropriate to maintain my earlier position that this codex, though thoroughly based on Western sources, was executed in Acre by a French Gothic painter in the late 1280s. The most recent contribution on this manuscript, however, by Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, offers important new evidence to support the attribution of this codex to Acre based both on the emphasis given in its picture cycle on the Amazons, and specifically the interpretations of the scenes celebrating Amazonian victories, not the usual defeats.[500]

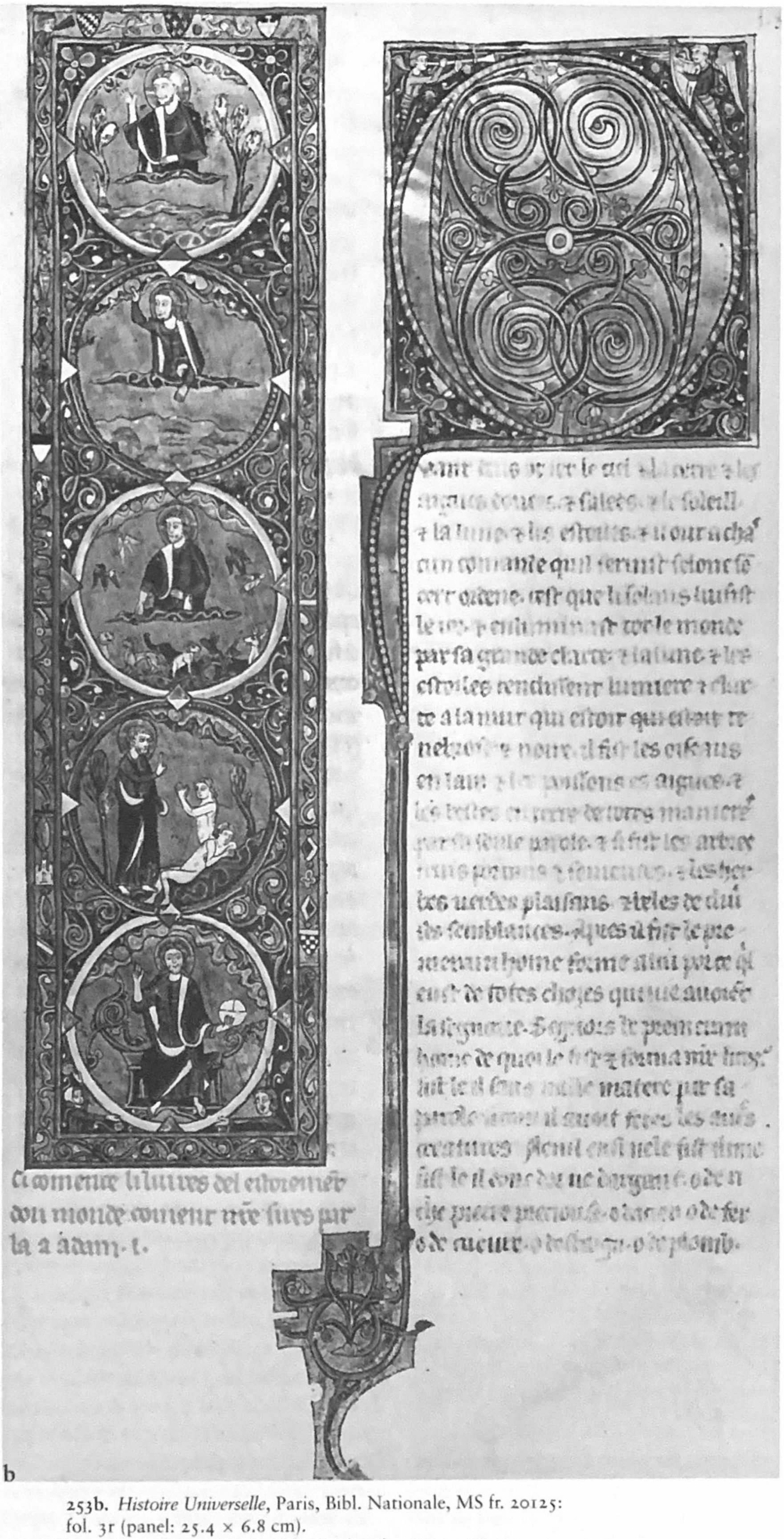
From my point of view, none of the discussion has disqualified Paris MS fr. 20125 from being a product of Acre because neither the codicological characteristics nor the individuality of the artist's hand has been invalidated. Let me summarize my analysis again with regard to these aspects and with comments on more recent studies. The case for MS fr. 20125 being produced in Acre was based, in the first instance, on the workshop features of the manuscript and the stylistic analysis of the miniatures. Now we can add to that evidence the remarkable features of its picture cycle as it pertains to the imagery of the Amazons.

It is my contention that this codex was prepared and executed in an Acre workshop closely related to that of the Paris–Acre Master, but painted by an artist distinct from him. The painter was not the Master himself, but a colleague who seems to be an advanced apprentice closely associated with him in the Crusader capital. The distinction in the styles of the two men is that compared to the Paris–Acre Master, the painter of MS fr. 20125 designs and paints taller and larger, slightly less accomplished figures, who seem somewhat ungainly in their proportions and wooden in their poses. Although the MS fr. 20125 artist follows his Master closely, there is the sense of "hardened copies" with less fluency and greater effort at imitation. In the end there is less evidence of an independent figure style fully developed on its own terms and more indication of a figure style followed in a somewhat dependent fashion. Also different is his colorism, which is more limited and features darker blues and purples. There is also a decorative overlay in the MS fr. 20125 miniatures, which manifests itself in surface decoration, seen in the patternization of the shading in the draperies, geometric forms and flat shapes articulated mainly by line, and the use of dotted lines to enhance haloes, draperies, and the planking on boats, but not seen in the work of the Paris–Acre Master. Not surprisingly the apprentice is able to emulate his master in terms of certain formulae, for example, the way the linear hair forms a curl over the ear, or the keyhole shape that forms in the drapery hem of certain figures. However, he does not achieve in MS fr. 20125 the fully formed, consistent, and mature style seen in the Acre work of the Paris–Acre Master.[501] This artist achieves a very effective narrative style. His work is contemporary with that of the Paris–Acre Master but not of the same formal quality.[502]



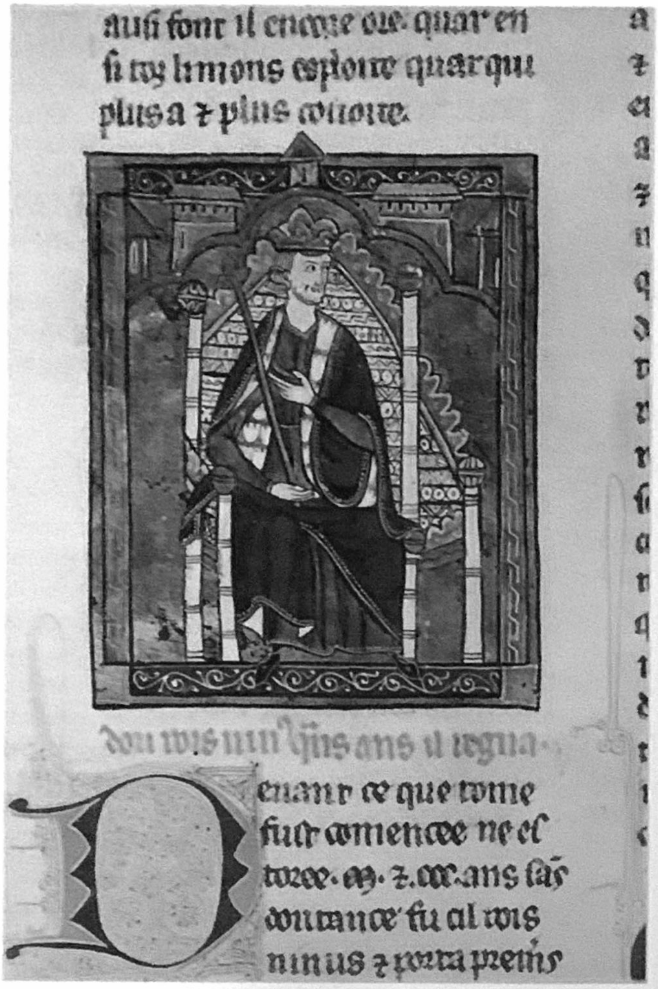
253a. *Histoire Universelle*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 20125: fol. 2v (panel: 11.6 × 6.5 cm).
Creation: 1. God separates light and dark.
2. God separates sky and water.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

In regard to the codicological characteristics of the manuscript, I see MS fr. 20125 as a more representative example of a codex done in Acre than, say, the Brussels MS 10212 *Faits des Romains*. The vellum is cut and smoothed to create a rather slick surface. The sheets of vellum are rather thick and off-white, which tend to be oily on the hair side, and possess a somewhat blotchy, irregular surface on the skin side. These aspects compare closely to other manuscripts produced in Acre, without having to say that they necessarily came from the same workshop. The layout and decoration is quite similar in principle and in particulars with other codices from Acre in this period, although there are some variations, such as the use of gatherings with ten folios each. The scribal hands are comparable in general and the color, texture, and flaking of the ink are all similar to Acre school manuscripts done *c.*1260 to the late 1280s.[503]



b

253b. *Histoire Universelle*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 20125: fol. 3r (panel: 25.4 × 6.8 cm).
Creation: 1. God separates dry land and sea,
2. God creates the sun and moon and the fish of the sea,
3. God creates the birds and animals,
4. God creates Eve from the side of Adam,
5. God rests on the seventh day.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)



254. *Histoire Universelle*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 20125: fol. 83v, rubrics: Dou rois ninus qns ans il regna (panel: 8.75 × 7.7 cm).
King Ninus enthroned.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

How does the iconography of this cycle compare to the other *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts painted in Acre? As we have previously discussed,

> the miniature cycle is . . . distinctive, displaying important divergences from earlier Acre codices. Of the individual scenes, Buchthal has considered the salient ones, but the Genesis panel is worth another look. The extant frontispieces in the Dijon and London codices obviously have the frontal bust-length Creator in common with Paris MS fr. 20125. But the images in the last two tondos clearly bring to mind the Bible of the Hospitaller Master [=Paris–Acre Master, Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404]. And the seven medallions of MS fr. 20125 are a comparable version of the usual French cycle as found in MS nouv. acq. fr. 1404. Mover, the idea of splitting the creation cycle into two panel miniatures is a peculiarity these two codices have in common.[504]

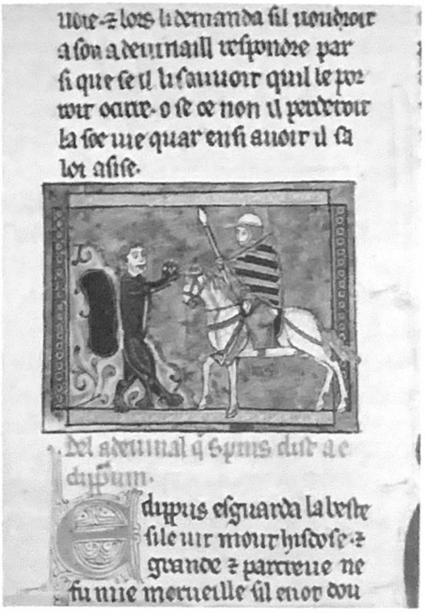
What is clearly very different between these two Creation cycles is the fact that MS fr. 20125 has an elaborate frame compared to the simple one in MS n. a. fr. 1404, and in the former manuscript the frame is very richly decorated. We note in particular the vine scrolls and the hybrid animals, a very simplified version of the lower parts of the frame of London Add. MS 15268 discussed earlier. However, one of the most important features of the frame is the extensive heraldry, including six shields on the larger frame, one of which contains the French royal arms at the top center, *azur fleurs de lys or semés*.[505] At the top part of the frame of the smaller miniature, we find a parody of church and state in the hybrid figures, which have heads wearing a royal crown at the left and a papal tiara at the right. Although a specific patron is unknown for this codex, perhaps these references might suggest the codex was done for someone of stature, someone perhaps even at the royal Lusignan court, who was also connected to the Capetians in Paris, or to Charles of Anjou and his court?

Looking further at the MS fr. 20125 cycle, we find that although the number of miniatures is quite numerous, only two fewer than what is found in Dijon MS 562, which has the largest cycle, certain interesting scenes are not represented, including the Tower of Babel and the Building of Rome. As Buchthal also pointed out, there are fewer scenes from the story of Troy and the romance of Alexander than what we find in the other Acre cycles. These omissions are offset in MS fr. 20125 by the interpolation of additional scenes from the Joseph story of Genesis and four extra miniatures of jousting knights, the latter of which occur as simplified battle scenes that have no exact parallels in the three other Acre *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts. We may add that there is also found in Paris MS fr. 20125 a full set of six scenes dealing with the Amazons, equal to the maximum number of scenes on the Amazons found in any miniature cycle from the other manuscripts done in Acre, far more than the usual two found in Western codices.[506]

It is significant to recall, however, that "in by far the majority of cases, . . . , Paris MS fr. 20125 follows the other Acre *Histoire Universelle* cycles and their common model. . . . It is at first surprising to realize that the *Histoire Universelle* most recently produced in Acre before the Paris codex, namely London Additional MS 15268, had the least iconographic influence on the artist of MS fr. 20125. It was instead those manuscripts chronologically closer to the common western model, Dijon MS 562 and Brussels MS 10175, that provided most of the cycle on which MS fr. 20125 was based."[507]

Among the new evidence produced by recent scholarship, one of the most important studies published since 1976 about this manuscript, apart from the excellent text editions referred to earlier, is an article by Mary Joslin on the relationship of text and image as found in selected miniatures of the Genesis cycle of MS fr. 20125.[508] By choosing four miniatures and subjecting them to careful analysis, she is able to demonstrate how sensitive the seemingly simplified imagery of the MS fr. 20125 really is to the nuances of the Old French text. This inspires her to say that the artist or the painter's supervisor is able to read the Old French fully and to respond to it in a manner that specifically enables him to illustrate the secular vernacular narrative of this particular text. As a result the images are carefully designed for this special text and do not draw on the established Byzantine tradition for biblical images of Genesis, which were originally formulated for a quite different text. This is in marked contrast to these same scenes where they appear in the other Acre cycles.

In other words, Joslin is able to argue that there was a very close relationship between text and image in the conception of the panels for the Hospitality of Abraham, Jacob's Deception of His Father for the Blessing, Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, and the Brothers Plead before Joseph for Mercy toward Benjamin. She in effect demonstrates that in the MS fr. 20125 images,



uoie. ⁊ lors li demanda sil uoudroit
a son adeuinaill respondre par
si que se il li sauuoit quil le por-
woir oacre. o se ce non il perdeeroit
la teste quar ensi auoit il sa
loi asise.

Del adeuinal q spins dist a edippum.

Edippus esguarda la beste
sile uit mout hisdose ⁊
grande ⁊ parceue ne
fu mie merueille sil enot dou

255. *Histoire Universelle*, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS fr. 20125: fol. 91v, rubrics: Del adevinal q spins dist a edippum (panel: 6.0 × 8.0 cm). Oedipus confronts the sphinx.
(photo by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

the artist and/or the designer carefully read the French text and designed an image that would complement the text and express its content. By contrast she points out that with regard to these narratives in the other Acre cycles, they adapted preexisting miniature types from other sources that do not fit so closely the exact content of the text. She points out selected special features in each of the four sample scenes in MS fr. 20125. In the case of Abraham and the Three Visitors, she notes the iconography of Abraham's welcoming pose and greeting, and the imagery of the three visitors as pilgrims. In the scene of the Deception of Jacob, she notes the major role of Rebecca and the unique action of the blind Jacob, placing both hands on Isaac's neck and hand. In the confrontation of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, she discusses the visual effectiveness by which "the figures of the image repeat the reasoned struggle by two equals of the dialogue, a contest unlike that encountered in usual contemporary illustration of this narrative."[509] Finally, with the last scene she explains how the image conveys "the dramatic end of Judah's long plea for Benjamin."[510] Moreover, the closeness of text and image is indicated in MS fr. 20125 by the placement of these miniature panels exactly at the point in the text where the story depicted is recounted.

Joslin's discussion in this article corresponds with aspects of Stahl's discussion in indicating that this artist is working separate from the Paris–Acre Master. He is working in a different mode relative to the text, and he seems to be working in a different workshop, though of course it may still be in the same street, or even right next door to that of the Paris–Acre Master.

Here we refer back to our observation that the Paris–Acre Master seems to have looked at the work of the MS fr. 20125 painter in doing the *Faits des Romains*, because it is only there, in Brussels MS 10212, that he introduces mounted knights with helmets! This is easily understood when we examine the Paris *Histoire Universelle*, and observe that fully twelve of its forty-nine miniatures feature helmeted knights in complete battle armor.

The other important contribution has been made by Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, who analyze the minicycle of miniatures dealing with the Amazons in fifteen illustrated manuscripts of the Histoire Universelle dating from the 1260s to *c.*1300. Their analysis has shown that MS fr. 20125 parallels the other three Acre manuscripts in terms of the number of miniatures and the positive narrative content of these miniatures. However, the imagery of MS fr. 20125 is independent of those other three cycles in its pro-Amazon tenor. Moreover, Derbes and Sandona characterize these Crusader manuscripts as follows: "the three crusader copies of the *Histoire Universelle*, and especially the Paris copy, are clearly informed by a different sensibility: now the women are no longer transgressive threats to the social order but rather its defenders."[511] Their discussion also raises important points about ideology, one of which appears with regard to the heraldry found in the miniatures of the Amazons in MS fr. 20125. It specifically relates to the appearance of the star and crescent, which appears in the miniature of Camilla and Aeneas (fol. 172r), that is, two insignia popular with the Seljuk Turks in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their concluding proposal to explain the *raison d' être* for this focus on the Amazons presents us with a remarkable and persuasive "art in historical context" interpretation. Derbes and Sandona discuss the genesis of the text of the *Histoire Universelle* and the role of women, in particular Countess Joan and Countess Margaret of Flanders, as part of the targeted audience for the author. They also document the link between this text and the Crusade ideals exemplified by this family in Flanders. This leads them to propose the idea of a woman patron for MS fr. 20125, based on its Amazon cycle and that of Genesis as discussed by Joslin. They then speculate on the identification of a possible patron for this manuscript, pointing out that Alice, countess of Blois, came to the Latin Kingdom in 1287 and lived there almost a year before she died in Acre in 1288. Although their argument is circumstantial, they conclude, "the possibility of a female patron associated with the Flemish countesses seems worth exploring, and Alice of Blois fits the description."[512]

These considerations lead me to restate my proposal that Paris MS fr 20125 was done in Acre about 1287, buttressed with new evidence. It means that its model and the copy of the prototype, what Buchthal referred to as a "sister manuscript of [the] model of Paris fr. 20125," are in fact one and the same codex.[513] Please see my stemma for the diagrammatic specifics on the relationships of these manuscripts, their places of origin, and their dates.[514]

Conclusions

To conclude this part of our discussion here, we can consider the following points. Looking at these manuscripts produced in Acre at the time of the advent of Henry II as the new king of Jerusalem, it is remarkable that we have five illustrated codices done from about 1286 to about 1288. These manuscripts all contain extensive narrative texts with large cycles of miniatures and they were carried out by a number of artists. For London Add. MS 15268 and the first part of Paris MS fr. 9084 we find a group of accomplished artists working together in a closely organized workshop circumstance. For the second part of MS fr. 9084, Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 142, and the *Faits des Romains* now in Brussels, MS 10212, we find the Paris–Acre Master executing a series of works in his distinctive style. As for the important Paris MS fr. 20125, we have a separate French master who seems to be closely related to the Paris–Acre Master, but working independently.

It must be candidly observed that the chronological anchor for these works is the relationship between the patronage of London Add. MS 15268 and the diplomatic gift to King Henry II that Buchthal first proposed. However, even if this attribution did not exist, the sequence of these codices would not change, and we could position them in the later 1280s albeit less securely, after Chantilly MS 433 (590) in 1282 and Brussels MS 10175. What is not possible in my view is the proposal made by Stahl to date the Paris–Acre Master's three manuscripts – the second part of MS fr. 9084, Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 142, and Brussels MS 10212 – to the late 1270s or early 1280s. As I stated elsewhere,

> in proposing his reinterpretation, Stahl used as a criterion for Acre the standards of Parisian manuscript illumination. In arguing my dating, I am taking the position that, historically as well as geographically, Acre and Paris are distinct artistic centers despite certain strong ties between them. In the case at hand, when the [Paris–Acre Master] came to Acre from Paris, he clearly retained his Parisian training, but his development as a painter in the East then proceeded according to his new circumstances and his interaction with this new environment. Indeed, I propose as a matter of principle that Crusader art in the Latin Kingdom must be evaluated on its own historical terms, not those of Paris, Constantinople, Venice, or any other European center from which various components of its artistic stimuli may have originated.[515]

Finally, there are a few important aspects of the work of these various Crusader painters in different workshops in Acre during the period 1268 to 1289 to be commented on as follows. When the commission for the new king's book, London Add. MS 15268, was apparently given in 1286, the decision was made to do it in the traditional Crusader figure style, and there was a group of well-trained Crusader artists to deal with this important project. Meanwhile two French artists, the Paris–Acre Master from Paris and the MS fr. 20125 Master, presumably from northern France, although we do not know his exact origin, were also working in Acre. The fact there were two French artists and that between them they did nearly four cycles is indication of the growing interest in the Crusader capital for Old French manuscripts illustrated in French Gothic as opposed to Franco-Byzantine Crusader style. This group of manuscripts provides evidence for a revival of painted book production in the second half of the 1280s in Acre.

We should not forget that a number of books had been done there in the years starting with *c.*1270, but then continued in the late 1270s up to 1282. There is an interesting variety of texts that were illustrated, several *History of Outremer* manuscripts, a Vegetius codex, three *Histoires Universelles*, a *Rhetorica* manuscript, and a book of Old Testament Bible selections. This group totals nine manuscripts, but only one of the artists working in these years up to 1282 resumes work later. Between the time these books were done and the revival of the later 1280s, there was a four- or five-year hiatus. Remarkably the only one of the artists working in these years who resumes work later, after 1286, is the Paris–Acre Master.

These observations raise many questions. What happened to the artists working in the traditional style in the earlier phase of production who did not reappear later, whereas the Paris–Acre Master apparently stayed in Acre and resumed working later? It is striking that there were more artists working in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style *c.*1286–8 than there were earlier, assuming a large workshop produced London Add. MS 15268 as proposed earlier, but can we connect their hands with only two manuscripts? Why is their extant work so limited? At the same time there were apparently two artists in Acre working in French Gothic styles. Who were their patrons? Why did demand continue to grow for manuscripts done in Acre in the French Gothic style? How many workshops were these manuscripts produced in? What is the significance of the fact that only one of the thirteen illustrated codices produced in Acre between *c.*1270, the late 1270s, and *c.*1286–8 was a religious book, whereas the rest are secular manuscripts in the vernacular, that is to say, in Old French?

These questions are not easy to answer, but we can make a few preliminary comments. Although we do not know why the Paris–Acre Master came to Acre from Paris, he must have been part of the continuing flow of Westerners to the Latin Kingdom in the late 1270s and early 1280s. We do not discern any reduction in the number of travelers to the Holy Land from Europe. Possibly his decision to come to Acre was influenced by the fact that Charles of Anjou became king of Jerusalem in 1277, leading to an influx of persons from France as a result. We cannot say for sure. More likely is the possibility that when we notice the revival of illustrated manuscript production in Acre in 1286–8, it is because the industry is stimulated by the arrival of the new king, Henry II of Cyprus, in Acre. This phenomenon would be vaguely comparable to what happened in Acre by the direct stimulation of Louis IX when he came in 1250. What we can also speculate on is the likely relationship between the growing interest in the French Gothic style in Acre and the appearance of a second artist working in this style. With the arrival of the new king of Jerusalem, we know that the French royal sponsorship of the French regiment was revived from 1286 onward, as well. This might help explain what was generating new interest in the French Gothic style in Acre even while we presume the traditional Crusader style was continuing, although we have no examples of it in manuscript illumination as evidence. In this connection we shall look with interest in the next section at what the extant icons can tell us about the development of the Crusader style.

Finally, there is the issue of religious versus secular book illumination, a phenomenon that we have noted earlier, but that now appears to have become a major feature in the Acre book production. Bearing in mind that we must exercise caution in assessing the situation, based on the chance survival of manuscripts; we must recognize that the paucity of extant religious codices may reflect the destruction of churches and religious houses in 1291.[516] Nonetheless, there seems to be a sharp rise in secular illustrated books in the vernacular at this time. What do we see happening in Acre in this regard, what can it tell us about workshop organization for book production, and what, if any, connection do the developments in Acre have with relation to that in Paris? We know that the beginnings of secular manuscript illumination in France occurred shortly before the middle of the thirteenth century. A. Stones points out that

> the earliest MS of the crusading epic, *Histoire de la guerre sainte*, by Guillaume de Tyr, is very similar stylistically to the Toledo MS of the *Bible moralisée*, whose frontispiece with its portrait of Saint Louis is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 240. It is likely that both were made for Saint Louis before his departure to the Holy Land in 1248, and it is probable that the Guillaume de Tyr MS was made for Saint Louis himself, although it contains no specific marks of ownership.[517]

These observations are important for our considerations here. Stones asserts that the beginnings of secular book illumination in France takes place in Paris with significant sponsorship by King Louis IX. What follows in Paris is enough to elevate the French capital into the leading position in the illumination of manuscripts in Europe by the end of the thirteenth century. She is claiming it begins in the reign of Louis IX and the king himself personally sponsored some of this production.

In light of these developments in Paris, it is not so difficult to see, *mutatis mutandis*, how Louis IX could also have had a deciding influence on manuscript production in Acre when he resided in the Holy Land from 1250 to 1254, as we have argued in Chapter 6. Furthermore it is not difficult to relate the significant development of secular book illumination in Acre as somewhat parallel to what we find in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century. Carried one step further, the new information that we have learned from Stones about secular book illumination and from Mary and Richard Rouse about book production in Paris should be able to help us envision the workshop situation in Acre at about the same time, by virtue of this parallel, with the proviso that what was going on in Acre was a smaller version of the Paris production in a city without a university, but with a clientele of means who were interested in commissioning illustrated manuscripts.[518] What Derolez summarizes as the variety of workshops and methods for Gothic books, which replace the monastic scriptoria of the earlier Middle Ages, is what we find in Acre and in France, that is, "the layman's writing and illuminating shops, . . . , some religious orders and congregations, individual scribes and artists."[519]

What we see in Acre from 1250 to the end of the 1280s appears to be an expanding production of secular books and a diminishing production of religious books, judging from the available evidence. We have identified individual workshops and looked at the work of a variety of artists. We have proposed to see separate religious houses, such as the Dominicans and the Franciscans with their own scriptoria, and the patriarch of Jerusalem residing in Acre as having his own scriptorium in or near the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, for the production of special religious service books. We have also found there to be a variety of secular works illustrated by a series of several artists working in the traditional multicultural, Franco-Byzantine style,[520] along with two French Gothic painters.

Stones comments on the relationship between sacred and secular books. "Developments in both the layout and the style of secular illustrations are closely related to those of liturgical or devotional books, and in many cases there is evidence that both were produced by the same workshops and artists. While this is generally the rule, many of the outstanding and sumptuous literary MSS have no parallel in liturgical books, while the opposite is also true, and there are splendid liturgical books illuminated by artists who appear not to have participated in secular MS illustration."[521] We can certainly see this characterization of the situation in France as being relevant to book production in Acre.

When we look at the output of the Paris–Acre Master in Acre we can see his layout and style is virtually the same in both secular and religious books, and even though most of his known output in Acre is in secular books, in Paris the only work we have by him is in religious books. However, it is also true that the decoration of the most lavish liturgical service books, prayer books, and biblical texts done in Acre in the thirteenth century are designed and handled by artists who cannot be found working on projects involving secular books. This indicates both that secular and religious book production was not unrelated and that it was carried on in various workshops in Acre. It will be interesting to see what further illustrated manuscripts can be identified from Acre in the very last days of its Crusader existence from 1288/9 to 1291, and what style(s) they were done in.

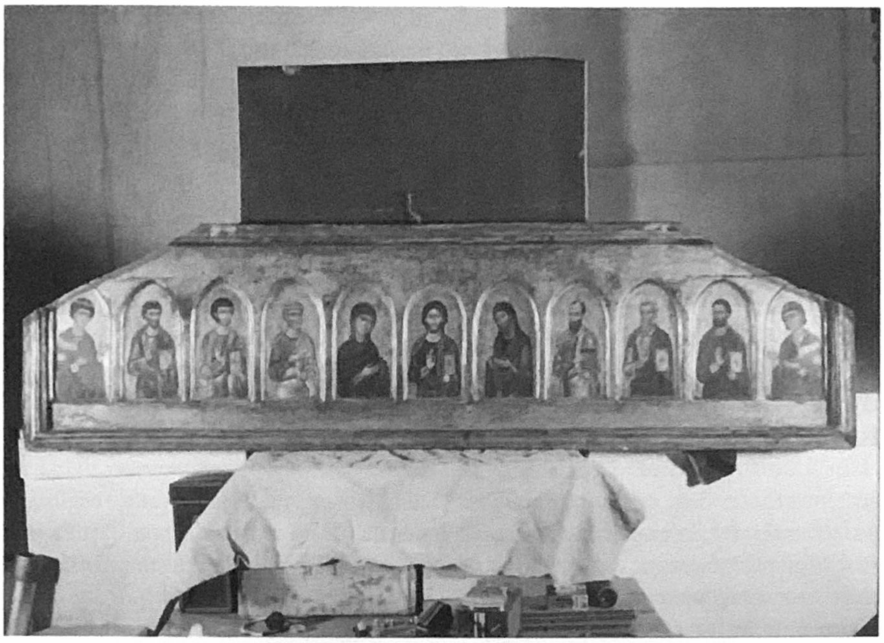
ICON PAINTING

The presence of panel paintings and icons became an important reality in the artistic world of the Crusaders from the time of Louis IX's residency in the Holy Land, from 1250 onward. The problem, as we remarked earlier, is that we often have no clear indication of the exact functions of these panel paintings and icons for the most part. Whereas we can understand what certain types of icons would have been used for in Orthodox services, for example, an iconostasis beam or a bilateral processional icon, it is unclear how these same types of icons would be used in Latin liturgical circumstances.

Rarely do the written sources refer to the use of icons or panel paintings in specific settings. However, there is one passage by the *Templar of Tyre* worth noting. When discussing events of the year 1270, an assassin attacked Philip, the lord of Tyre, and attempted to kill his son as well; the text reads:

> Mais quant il fery le grant seignor, le cop sona si fort que le jeune seignor quy estoit en la chapele [et] lisseit son livre, torna sa chere saver que ce esteit, et adons vy venir le hassissi, l'espee en la main nue, si que il se bouta dedens l'autier, quy avoit une table enpainte de sains par devant, et estoit entré dedens, et au bouter que le seignor jeune fist dedens l'autier le hassissi lansa l'espee pour luy ferir sur la table de l'autier, et se tint si fort quy ne la post aracher.[522]
>
> But when he struck the Old Lord, the blow sounded so loudly that the Young Lord, who was in the chapel reading his book, turned to see what was going on. When he saw the Assassin coming in with a naked sword in his hand, he lunged towards the altar, which had a board painting with pictures of saints on the front of it, and he got behind it. As the Young Lord made his lunge for the altar, the Assassin threw the sword, trying to hit him on the table of the altar, but [he missed, and] the sword stuck so tightly that it could not be withdrawn.[523]

The board with saints painted on it is clearly a panel painting placed on the rear of the altar, and corresponds to what we would call an altarpiece in this instance. Although it is true



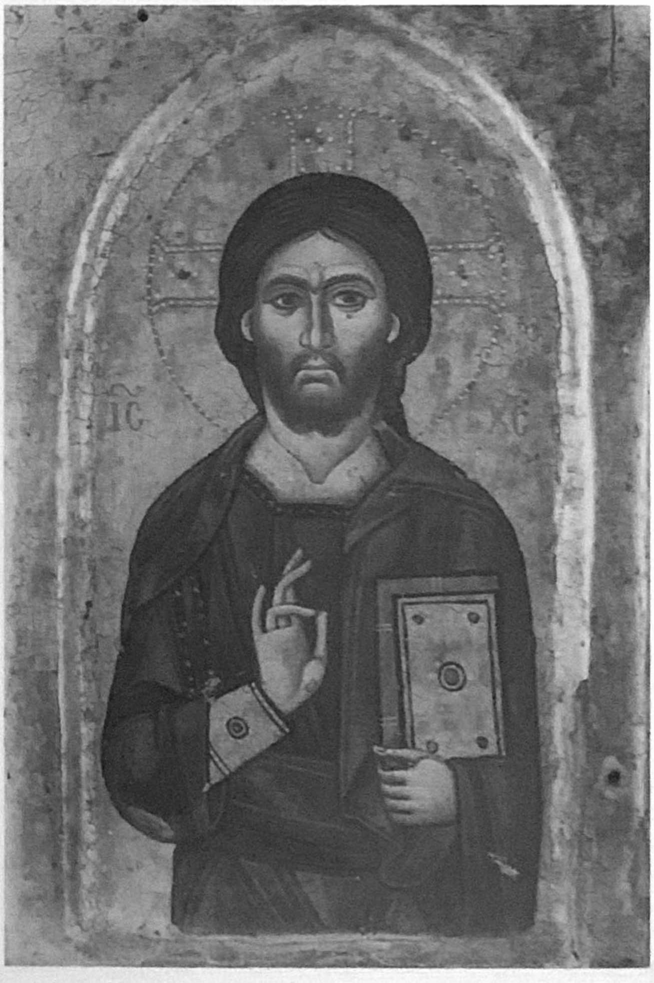
256. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam, total view, containing bust-length images of the Deësis and eight other saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

that there are several "Crusader icons" in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai that it might be tempting to equate with this "board with saints," few would be large enough to be placed on an altar as an altarpiece, and even fewer would be substantial enough to receive a blow from a thrown sword so that the blade would be embedded in the wood and difficult to withdraw without the panel being broken. Perhaps the most likely Sinai parallel for this kind of panel would be the dossal (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003), which measures 43.3 × 168.5 cm, and which we shall consider in our discussion of the icons in Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style later.

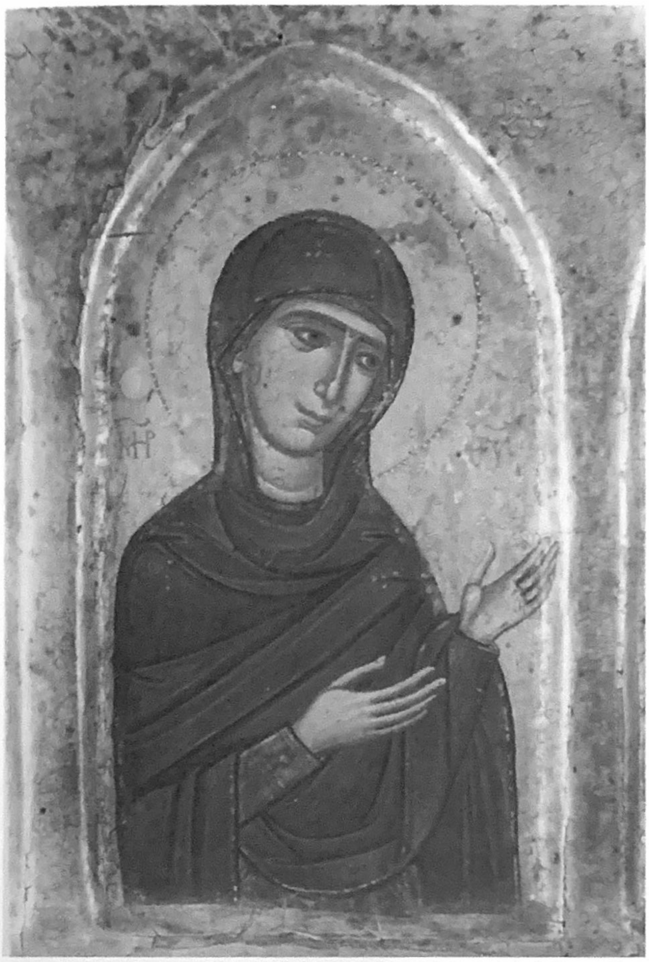
When it comes to the art historical analysis and interpretation of Crusader icon/panel painting, we can recall that our study is also challenged by the context in which we find the surviving examples. All of the extant "Crusader" icons from this period are found in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, presumably deposited there or commissioned there by pilgrims before 1291, or collected somehow and saved there after 1291. Because of the lack of developmental artistic context for the icons, we continue to follow the methodology of attempting to compare them stylistically with the main lines of development we can see in manscript illumination, the latter of which provides us with our main semblance of documented and structured historical sequencing along with the coins to some extent. Despite the difficulties encountered in our study of these icons, we should remember that these panel paintings, done for Crusader or Eastern Christian patrons by Crusader or Byzantine artists, constitute one of the major bodies of artistic work we have from the thirteenth century.

Icons in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader Style

In light of the developments in manuscript illumination, we can wonder whether there might be a large production of panels painted in the French Gothic style, but this appears not to be the



257. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam, detail: Image of bust-length Christ blessing, from the central Deësis group. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

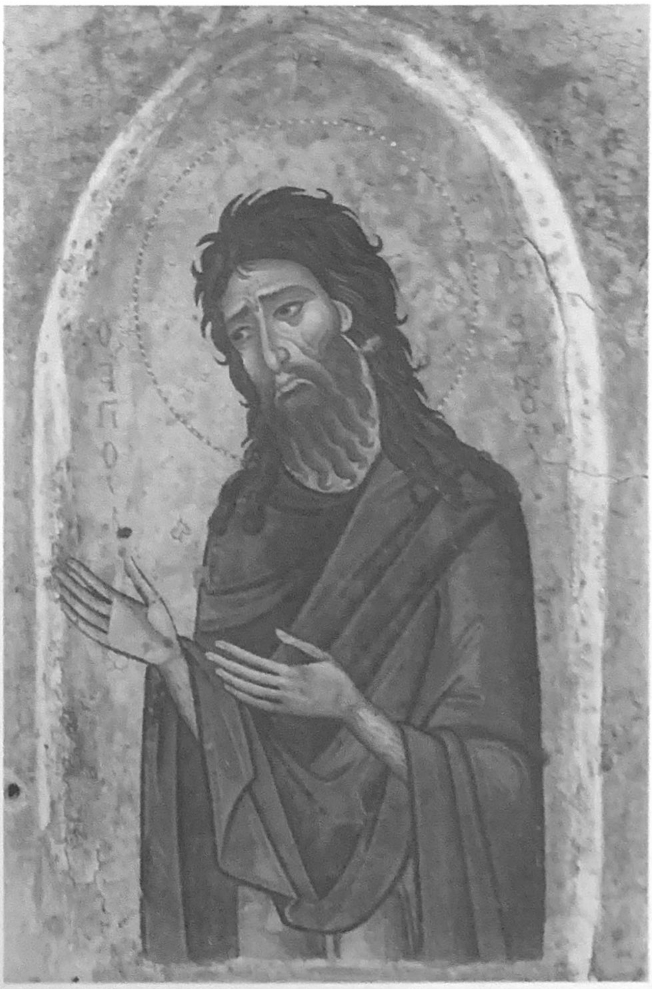


258. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam, detail: Image of bust-length intercessory Virgin, from the central Deësis group. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

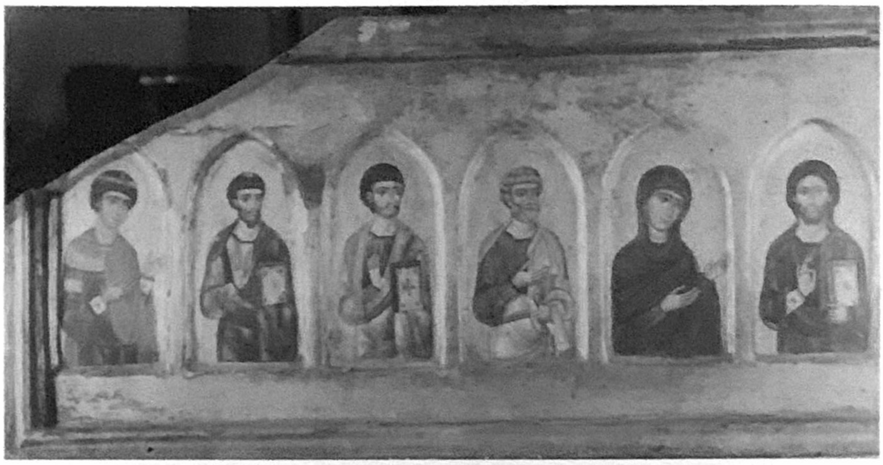
case. Although we have noted the occasional example, usually in a rather mediocre style, earlier in the thirteenth century,[524] we do not find any after 1268. This may be a matter of taste, or the accidents of survival, but icons painted in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style do continue to be produced. They can be identified in two examples, a Last Judgment (Fig. 262, App. no. 24/212), and a Dormition of the Virgin (Fig. 263, App. no. 101/1725), first published by Kurt Weitzmann in 1966. In both of these examples the painting is very fine, extremely nicely done, with different versions of a very developed and painterly Franco-Byzantine style. In the case of the Last Judgment (Fig. 262, App. no. 24/212), the iconographical components of the image are very comparable to purely Byzantine examples in icons and other media.[525]

The Last Judgment icon[526] is remarkable because of its Byzantine organization combined with certain Western aspects in the iconography, the extraordinarily dense array of inscriptions in Greek above the figures, and the elaborate frame with paired gold lozenges set on a black frame, combined with large white dots between the lozenges, and white dots on a red outline to frame them. In register one, Christ dressed in bright red robes appears as the largest figure in a central position as part of the standard Byzantine Deësis group (Matthew 25: 31 and Deësis prayer). Flanking them instead of the apostles, however, are two types of angels, one pair blowing trumpets (Revelations 20: 13) to announce the Last Judgment, others dressed in royal court costume as the Lord's attendants. Below Christ in the second register is the '*Etimasia*, or prepared throne (Psalms 88 (89): 15 and 102 (103): 19), which emits a firey stream down to a lake of fire (Daniel 7: 10 and Revelations 20: 10, 15). The throne appears here flanked by the Twelve Apostles seated in choir stalls (Matthew 19: 28). In the third register are the elect on both sides of Christ. Below them, on the left is a vision of Paradise with the enthroned Virgin and the souls in the bosom of the prophets, in the center is the resurrection of souls and St. Michael weighing the souls, and at the right is the image of Hell with the image of Hades in the midst of the souls in torment.

As Weitzmann points out this arrangement significantly alters the Byzantine unity of Christ and the apostles sitting in council together, and the equal division of the elect and the damned, which is standard Byzantine iconography. Clearly this painter is partly reflecting the popular Last Judgment imagery found in sculpture all over France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, even the clarity of the Western



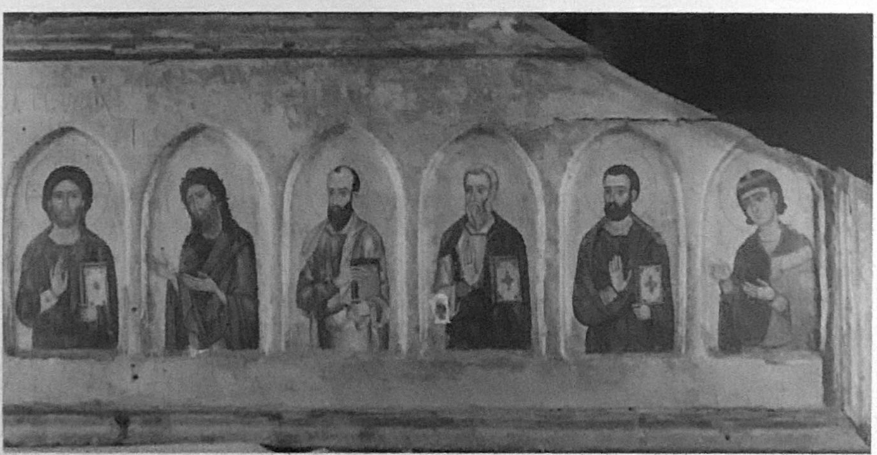
259. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam, detail: Image of bust-length intercessory St. John the Baptist, from the central Deësis group. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



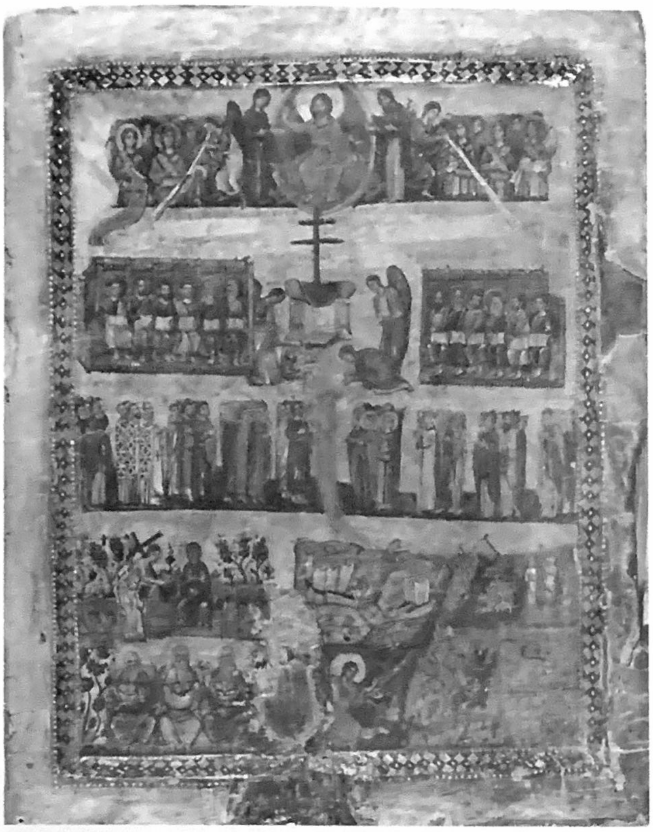
260. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam, detail: lefthand side of the beam with Sts. George, Luke, John, Peter, flanking Mary and Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

compositions is blurred in this representation because whereas the Lord blesses on the side of the elect and turns his left hand down as a sign of condemnation, this gesture only pertains to the damned in registers four and five in the lower right side, but not to the elect in register three. This image surprisingly increases the representation of the elect over most Western versions, and diminishes the emphasis on the damned often found in tympanum sculpture in France. However, the judgmental aspect is clearly evident. It is the artist's consolidation of the angels in the top register that is so unusual with the angels blowing huge trumpets, the angel rolling up the scroll of Heaven (Isaiah 34:4, Matthew 24: 9, and Revelations 6:14) at the upper left, and the huge assembly of attending angels indicated by their staffs. What is completely missing here, which is normally incorporated in such scenes in the West, is the four heavenly beasts from Revelations.

Weitzmann also compares this icon to the Last Judgment painted by T'oros Roslin in a gospel book done in Cilicia in 1262, now in the Walters Art Museum, MS W. 539, fol. 109v.[527] In the Armenian version the artist has also based his image on the Byzantine type, but made equally significant variations in the iconography, which are quite independent of the Crusader approach. T'oros Roslin simplifies the scene to four instead of five registers, enlarges the top register, and introduces an extra angel rolling up the scroll of Heaven to match the pair of angels blowing trumpets for the sake of artistic symmetry according to Weitzmann, an idea quite unknown to Byzantine representations. Un-Byzantine as well is the omission of the '*Etimasia*, with only the True Cross on Calvary retained, and the introduction of a group of veiled women at the far left, next to the seated apostles but outside the frame of the miniature, separated from the scene by a large door closed by one of the apostles. These women are clearly a reference to the foolish Virgins from the parable in St. Matthew's gospel (Matthew 25: 7–12), a motif found often in Western Last Judgment iconography, but never seen in Byzantine imagery of the final things. Der Nersessian identifies the ultimate Western origin of this imagery, but proposes to see T'oros Roslin's source as an earlier



261. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 74/1003, Dossal/iconostasis beam, detail: righthand side of the beam with Sts. Procopios, Mark, Matthew, Paul, flanking John the Baptist and Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



262. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 24/212, Panel with the Last Judgment in four registers. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

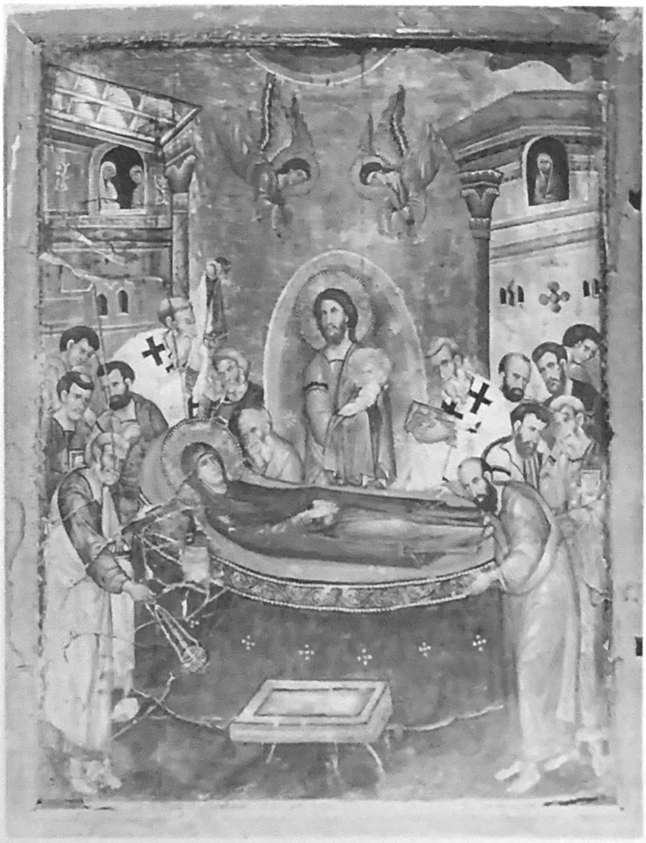
Armenian codex.[528] Der Nersessian also identifies the source of T'oros Roslin's composition of the top register and the separation of the apostles from Christ and the Deësis group as coming from earlier Armenian painting, not from any Western influence.[529]

This raises the interesting question of whether the Crusader icon artist may have known contemporary Armenian painting. We have seen how closely linked the northern Crusader States were to Cilician Armenia at this time, during the reign of Hetoum I, until his death in 1269, and then during the time of Leon III, who ruled from 1269 to 1289. It is not impossible that this icon could have been done by a Crusader painter with knowledge of Armenian iconographical ideas, but whatever the source of the inspiration, the panel must have been done for a Greek, given the elaborate Greek inscriptions. It is not impossible that it was commissioned as a gift for the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai as a gift from a pilgrim.

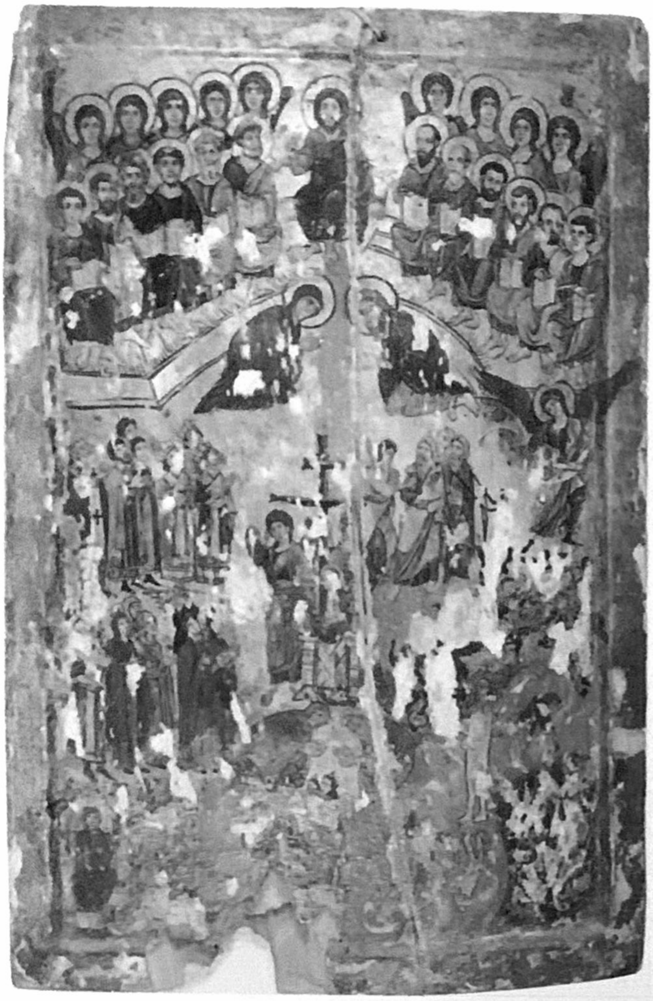
We can further judge how close this Crusader icon is to its Byzantine sources by contrasting it with yet another Last Judgment icon, which also is preserved in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai (Fig. 264, App. no. 79/1128).[530] Although this icon is done in a similarly painterly Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, albeit somewhat more simplified and linear with the Acre convention for the eyes more evident, the imagery is quite different. There are many of the same Byzantine elements present, but the selection of components, and the composition of the scene is quite distinct, and one might say, much less Byzantine as a result.

Christ is of course the central figure, who here displays his open hands equally, but without the stigmata. He sits in a mandorla between the apostles and the angels on a raised dais, as if the source of this scene might have been some monumental version in an apse or chapel. The oddest aspects of this arrangement are, first, the Deësis group has been altered to find the Virgin and St. John the Baptist kneeling in prayer below and before him, and second, the choir of angels has five figures on the left side but unaccountably, only four on the right.

Below the top register, the lower portion of the icon is very damaged, but we can see the following nonetheless. In the midst of the elect at the left and the damned at the right, we find the '*Etimasia* with a large cross guarded by two monumental angels. The composition of this lower part departs from a strict register format and is strangely spatial in the way the figures surround the Prepared Throne and the Cross. Two very large figures of Adam and Eve kneel below the '*Etimasia*, echoing in their poses the figures of the Virgin and John above. In this icon the vision of Paradise is quite small, but the representation of the torments of Hell is contrastingly large. The angel rolling up the scroll of Heaven is inserted at the mid-right side, and damage to the painting prevents us from knowing for sure whether the weighing of souls was represented here. Overall this icon seems to reflect a very different, very Western taste, which emphasizes the torments of Hell, and restructures the image in an uncharacteristic and un-Byzantine hierarchical arrangement that seems to place the figures of Christ with the apostles and angels behind the figures below, as much as they



263. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 101/1725, Panel with the Dormition of the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



264. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 79/1128, Panel with the Last Judgment. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

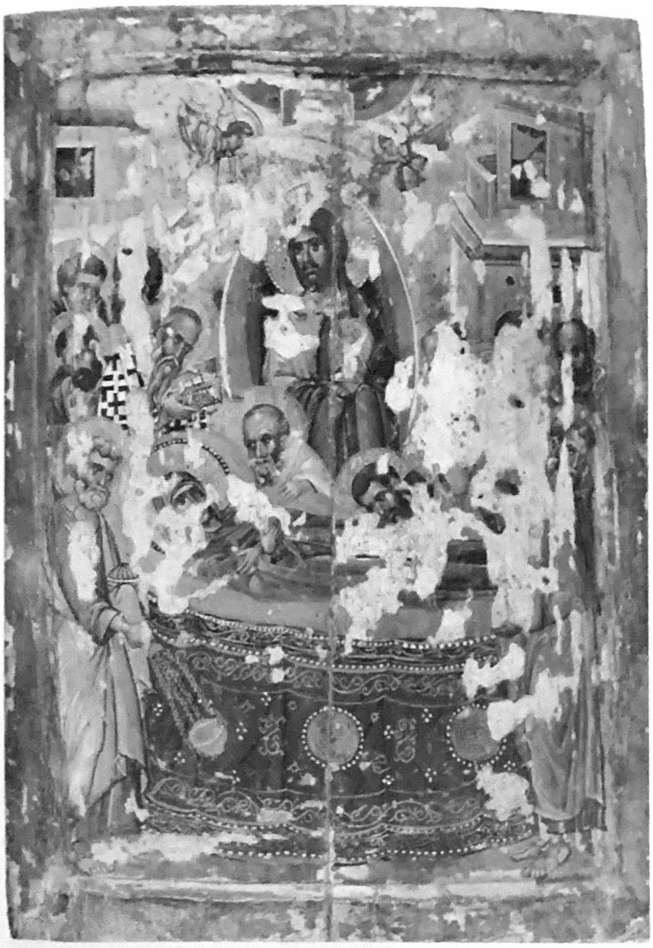
are above them. The figures also seem to be painted in two sizes, with the figures in the upper part of the icon much more monumental than those below.[531] Finally, we note among the elect, in the group of the clergy, the special costumes of the hooded figures. Are these Greek Orthodox monks, or are they from some other group of Eastern Christians? In any case, this panel and the more conventional version (Fig. 262, App. no. 24/212) both seem to reflect the interest in Last Judgment iconography popular in the thirteenth century. On the basis of their style primarily, as continuations of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style seen in Acre in the 1260s, we propose to date them slightly later, in the 1270s, reflecting both Western interests in the theme and parallels with the continuing development of Crusader manuscript illumination in the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycles of the *History of Outremer* and the Brussels *Histoire Universelle*, MS 10175.

The other panel in Franco-Byzantine Crusader style published by Weitzmann is a very handsome panel of the Dormition (Koimesis) of the Virgin (Fig. 263, App. no. 101/1725).[532] Overall this image appears much more Byzantine than the Last Judgment, partly because of the iconographic tradition and partly because of its proximity to that Byzantine tradition. As Weitzmann points out, the Dormition (Koimesis) is a popular subject in Crusader workshops, no doubt because August 15th, the Feast of the Dormition, is one of the greatest feasts of the liturgical year, both East and West. In the Byzantine East this celebration forms part of the Dodecaorta, the Twelve Feasts, and in the West, we note the growing interest in the cult of the Virgin in those places where dormition scenes are frequently found in Gothic sculpture. In Acre we have already seen the Dormition on the Acre Triptych inner left wing (Fig. 160, App. no. 66/753), and now we have in this panel a much more Byzantine-looking depiction that follows the Comnenian-type images, which show the Virgin peacefully lying on her bier, as if asleep, with her hands folded together, quite different from the images of the Virgin from the earlier part of the middle Byzantine period where her hands were usually covered and her womanly form was sometimes indicated.

In this Dormition (Fig. 263, App. no. 101/1725) the basic Byzantine compositional format is followed with the Virgin's bier at the base, in this case with the footstool in front, with Christ standing behind holding the soul of the Virgin in his arms, and with two attending angels flying down and flanking Christ above. The inscription identifying this scene, "Η ΚΙΜΗϹΙϹ [sic] Θ[ΕΟΤΟ]Κ[Ο]Υ," is located above just beneath the semicircular glory of Heaven. The figures attending the scene include the Twelve Apostles and two bishops. This is all fairly canonically Byzantine as found, for example, in the Koimesis done in cloisonné enamel *c.*1150–1200 for the image that eventually was mounted in the Pala d'Oro in Venice.[533]

It is a matter of slight variations in the imagery that reveal the Crusader origin of this artist. Not only is more humanity expressed in this scene by the principal figure, especially the way Christ holds the soul of the Virgin as Mary held him as a baby, but also by the quiet sorrow of the assembled apostles as indicated by gesture and position of their heads, the earnest attention of the attending bishops to their current tasks – tending the censer on the part of Dionysios the Areopagite at the left, and opening his book on the part of Hierotheos at the right[534] – and the attention of three somber female witnesses above in the windows of the architecture left and right. Rarely do we find women witnessing this scene in Byzantine art. We also note the Gothic rose and blue costume of Christ, the unusual equal-arm crosses inserted into the halo of Jesus, and the typical use of white dot on black circle-type haloes for Christ, the Virgin, and the two angels.

We can imagine how important the event of the Dormition was to the Crusaders and to Western pilgrims because of the Tomb of the Virgin in Jerusalem. Fewer were able to see it now because it was no longer under Crusader control, but certain determined pilgrims still managed to visit even under the limitations and fees imposed by the Muslims, as we learn from the thirteenth-century accounts discussed earlier. Nonetheless it is interesting how the discipline of the Byzantine type seen in the Pala d'Oro enamel is observed in this Crusader version, even though there are certain revisions as mentioned. The way St. John, bending over the Virgin for a look, is tucked between Jesus and Mary, in contrast to other examples where he is much more physically in evidence, is one indication of this understated approach, even though the apostles and bishops are otherwise crowded more compactly at either end of the bier in the Crusader example.



265. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 47/496, Panel with the Dormition of the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

One such icon where John is emphasized more with a larger presence in the image is another Crusader panel (Fig. 265, App. no. 47/496)[535] done in similar painterly Franco-Byzantine Crusader style with more deeply shadowed faces and more robust highlights. Although this icon is badly flaked and rubbed, we can see some of the interesting details that identify the special interpretation that this artist has given to the scene. The painter of this icon follows the basic configuration of the other panel, but the image is somewhat simplified, and proportionally the size of the figures is increased relative to the size of the icon so the scene seems tightly packed into the picture area. To accommodate the figures, the artist has had to reduce the number of apostles and downsize the two angels above. Furthermore, the figure of St. John now separates Christ from the Virgin quite decisively. The other "Crusader" details such as the women observers and the white dot on black (for the Virgin) and red (for Christ) circle haloes are also found here. It is also somewhat unusual here that she has her arms crossed in a more explicit deathbed manner than that in the other examples we have been looking at, Byzantine or Crusader.

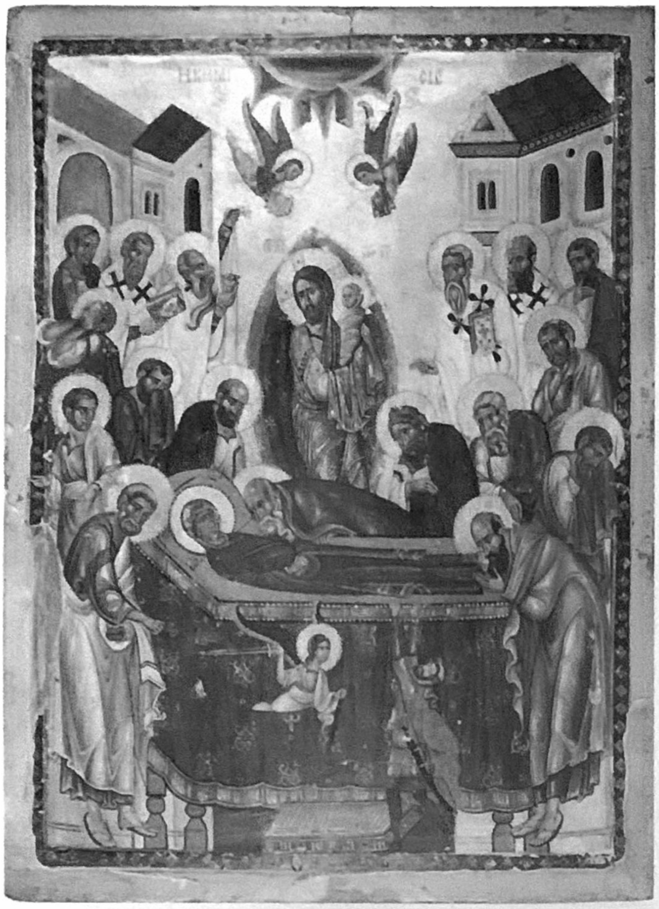
There are no specific indicators to use for dating these icons, but their Franco-Byzantine Crusader style seems to be a continuation from a number of examples we looked at earlier, placing these two icons slightly later, in the 1270s. Compare the icons of the Nativity (Fig. 188, App. no. 113/1831), the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 189, App. no. 114/1836), and the double-decker icon with the Deësis above and three saints below (Fig. 187, App. no. 33/293) from the 1250s, and the Virgin and Child Enthroned with the turbaned donor (Fig. 206, App. no. 51/573) from the 1260s, as part of this development. There was of course also the Dormition of the Virgin that appeared on the Acre Triptych (Fig. 160, App. no. 66/753), which, although in an earlier version of the Franco-Byzantine style of *c.*1260, is quite different in composition, particularly the way the center of gravity of the design is shifted to the left with the figure of Jesus almost stepping out of his mandorla to be close to Mary.

These few examples of icons painted in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style demonstrate that this branch of production continued into the later decades of the thirteenth century, just as manuscript illumination in this style continued as well. However, whereas there are no panels extant done in this period, 1268–89, that exhibit the French Gothic style, there are many icons painted by artists in the Italo-Byzantine Crusader style, what Weitzmann characterized as the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.[536]

Icons in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader Style

Weitzmann has made the case for the existence of the Crusader style that is related to Venice and simultaneously strongly influenced by Byzantine art in the later thirteenth century. Despite the paucity of extant examples of Venetian panel painting from these years, he has proposed a link between the stylistic characteristics in a number of Crusader icons and one surviving work that can serve as documented evidence, namely, the diptych of King Andrew III of Hungary now in Bern, dating from the early 1290s.[537] This style is miniature-like, colorful, and very painterly. To this work we have added the painted lid of the "cassa sepolcrale" from the Monastery of Sts. Biagio and Cataldus with the two standing title saints and a kneeling fgure of Giuliana di Collalto, dated 1262.[538] These two works give us an indication of Venetian style panel painting ranging from the more linear on the cassa to the more painterly in the diptych. Despite the existence of these two examples of what appears to be limited production of panel painting in Venice in the later thirteenth century, we find a flourishing output in the Crusader East, not of Venetian style painting, but of Veneto-Byzantine Crusader painting. This work must have been done by artists who may have been born in the Holy Land of Venetian parents and trained there by masters working in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, but their link to Venice is visibly identifiable.

The Dormition of the Virgin (Fig. 266, App. no. 87/1394): It is not surprising to find, given its importance and popularity, that the Dormition of the Virgin was also commissioned and painted in an icon by a Crusader artist working in the Veneto-Byzantine style. A handsome example is preserved in St. Catherine's Monastery (Fig. 266, App. no. 87/1394), which is in very good condition.[539] We can immediately sense that this is a work by a painter from a very different background because of the more acid colors, in constrast to the pastel pinks and blues in the contemporary Franco-Byzantine works, the use of chrysography on the figure of Jesus, the strong white highlights on the draperies of the apostles, and the heightened emotional temperature of the scene. The content of this scene is increased with



266. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 87/1394, Panel with the Dormition of the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

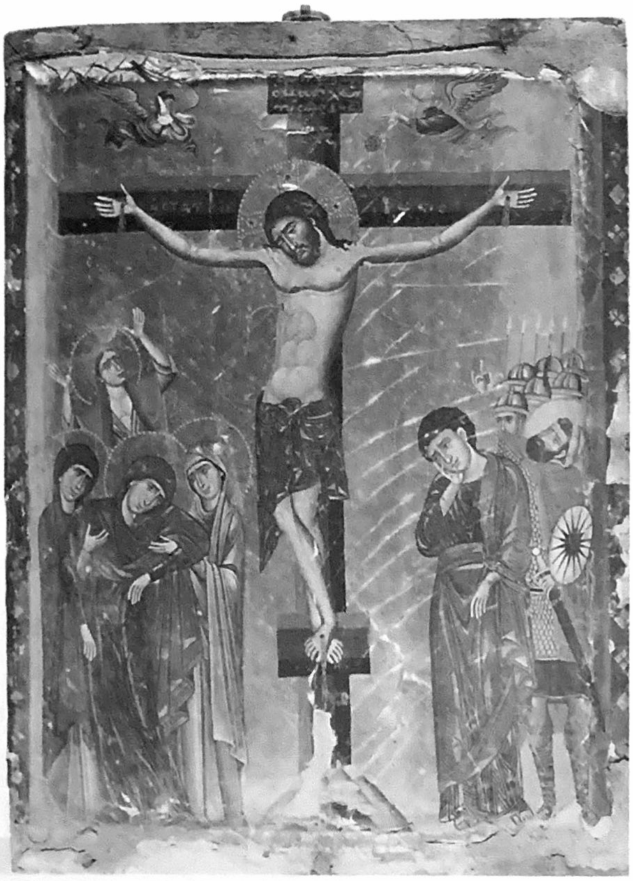
four bishops, instead of just two, and the episode of Jephonias. We can see Jephonias, the diminutive Jew, who attempts to tip over the bier, as an angel comes to punish him by cutting off his hands. A slightly different depiction of this scene appears also in the earlier Dormition on the wing of the Acre Triptych (Fig. 160, App. no. 66/753). The Dormition on the iconostasis beam (Fig. 176, App. no. 107/1746), also done by a Veneto-Byzantine crusader painter, is to be dated 1260 according to my discussion in Chapter 6, and therefore done approximately twenty-five years earlier. It is a much more crowded composition that is also different in its iconography, seen mainly in the introduction of a band of four angels at the right side of the bier, and a reduction of apostles at the left side to only six figures with a bishop.

The Veneto-Byzantine style of this work is most notable in the colorism, the slightly "inflated" limbs of the apostles with their dramatically highlighted drapery, and the "floating" positions of Sts. Peter and Paul at the ends of the bier. We can see the "Crusader naturalism" in terms of the detailed representation of the differing emotions of the apostles. St. John here projects himself over the bier between Jesus and Mary so that he can get a good look at her. Two apostles put their faces in their cloaks and wipe their tears; one at the left covers his face with his hands. These "down-to-earth" details are carried through in the representation of the solid wooden legs on which the bier is set, legs omitted on the other icons we have been considering previously, and the actions of the bishops. One bishop, Dionysios, seen in stark profile as we also found him in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style icon (Fig. 263, App. no. 101/1725), is in the act of blowing on the coals in the thurible, and we can see the smoke of the incense drifting off to the right. Finally the greater decorativeness of the surface and the colors is enhanced by various patterns, including the chrysography on the drapery of Jesus (a type of chrysography very close to that found on the full-length figures in the frames of the diptych of St. Procopius and the Virgin *Kykkotissa* [Figs. 271, 272, App. no. 110/1783] to be discussed later), the golden decorations on the silk hanging on the bier (a design almost exactly the same as we find on the beautiful red veil of the Virgin Kykkotissa diptych [Fig. 272, App. no. 110/1783], to be discussed later),[540] and the fact that all the holy figures, a total of twenty-three, have white dot on red circle haloes, except the Virgin, whose halo circle is black with white dots. We also find on this icon the golden lozenges on a black border in the inner frame, in this case without the white dots, or "pearls."[541]

The inscription on this handsome icon is also in Greek, "H KHMICIC," divided at the top by the glory of Heaven from which the diminutive angels descend. The fact that Greek is used for this inscription is an indication that the icon may have been painted as a gift for a Greek location, in this case the Monastery of St. Catherine's, or as an authentic pilgrim's souvenir from the Holy Land. It is also not impossible that the icon was painted by an accomplished Crusader painter for a Greek patron. The good quality of this icon makes all of these three possibilities viable alternatives, but unfortunately we cannot determine the originally intended function of this icon at this time.

If this icon were the only example of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in the 1270s, we would regret the lack of other works with such high-quality formal characteristics. Fortunately, however, there are several other icons of even more impressive artistic accomplishment. In fact, the icons in this style from the 1270s and 1280s are among the best-quality Crusader works we have from the thirteenth century. They include two famous works, a bilateral icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568) and a diptych of the Virgin Kykkotissa and St. Procopius (Figs. 271, 272, App. no. 110/1783). There are also several other works that belong with this group, an iconostasis beam with the Deësis and six saints (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003), a Crucifixion with Christ in the three-nail configuration (Fig. 267, App. no. 9/56), and a bust-length figure of St. Antipas, the first bishop of Pergamus (Fig. 268, App. no. 98/1645).

The Bilateral Icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis: The bilateral icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568) first published by Weitzmann in 1963 and subsequently repeatedly commented on by him up to 1986, with certain elaborations as to the dating, provides us with a convenient starting point.[542] This is a truly monumental icon with a Crucifixion that is iconographically firmly related to the image in the Perugia Missal on fol.182v (Fig. 149), and the contemporary icon now at Sinai (Fig. 152, App. no. 104/1732), both discussed earlier in Chapter 6. It is a Gothic "three-nail crucifixion" with the Virgin and John below in the characteristic Acre School poses of understated mourning: the Virgin with



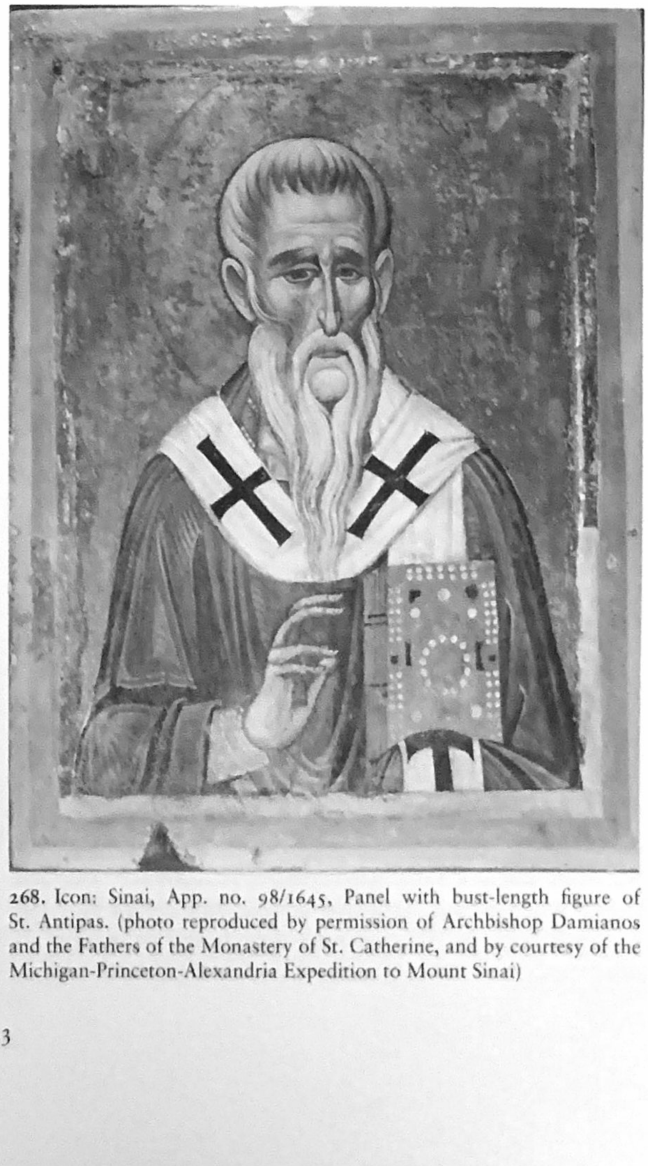
267. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 9/56, Panel with the Crucifixion between the swooning Virgin and St. John with soldiers. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

her hand held to her head and her thumb touching her nose, John with his hand held to his head and his little finger resting on his cheek. We also notice that Christ is very muscular, hardly the typically slender figure we see in Byzantine icons, and he wears a distinctive loincloth with an elaborate knot. The loincloth is very wide at the hips and features a sharp dagger-like fold on the left side. These two points of the design are very comparable to the earlier Crucifixion on the iconostasis beam (Fig. 172, App. no. 106/1745), a much more modest and mediocre work that we proposed to date 1260 in our discussion in Chapter 6. The figure of Christ on the bilateral icon is further enhanced by a tooled metal piece – no doubt a later, post-Crusader addition – that covers the inner part of his nimbus, which is otherwise a golden crossed halo with the characteristic white dot on red circle type we have previously seen frequently. Christ is nailed to a massive cross with beveled members, above which two sorrowful angels mourn his death. The unrestrained mourning of the angels contrasts with the controlled gestures and knitted brows of Mary and John.

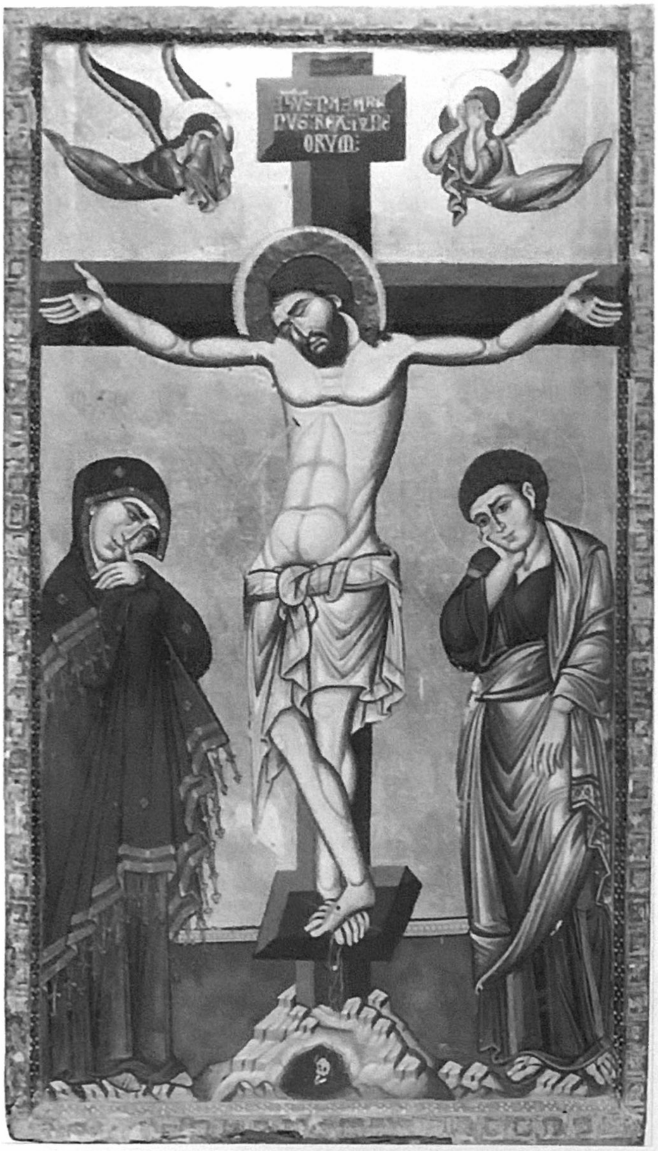
It is striking on this very handsome icon that the inscriptions are all in Latin, one of the few times this is the case with these "Crusader" icons. On the titulus we read: "⁝IHUS⁝ NAZARENUS⁝REX⁝IUDEORUM⁝" in white letters of mixed types. Over the Virgin there is: "⁝MATER⁝ ⁝DNI⁝" and over John we read: "⁝SCS⁝ ⁝IOHANES⁝". Both of the latter inscriptions are painted in red. We may presume because of these Latin inscriptions that this icon was commissioned for Latin-rite use, whatever that may have been. Weitzmann thinks the icon is too large and heavy to have served as a processional icon,[543] but the bilateral configuration strongly suggests that nonetheless.

The style of the figures on this icon is extremely high quality and rather different from the diptych of King Andrew III referred to earlier. The figures are large and monumental with substantial proportions; Weitzmann calls the body of Christ "Herculean" on more than one occasion. The draperies are quite volumetric and firmly modeled; some – as with John's overgarment – are also strongly highlighted. The flesh tones are also intensely modeled and the faces are given decisive linear definition including the spectacled eye convention. The surface of Christ's body in particular is given complex highlights, some crosshatched, some curvilinear, some geometric. Overall one can say that the linear decorativeness of the style, including the outlines and the drapery, with a variety of patterned "v" folds, is its characteristic feature.

This linear character has led Weitzmann to suggest that this is the work of an artist working in a Veneto-Byzantine style. He even called him a "Venetian painter."[544] Taking his cue from this idea and Weitzmann's *comparanda*, Otto Demus later proposed that the same Venetian artist who painted the panels of St. John the Baptist and St. Andrew now in the Correr Museum also did this Crucifixion.[545] Demus therefore called this artist the "Correr Master," but Weitzmann preferred to call him the



268. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 98/1645, Panel with bust-length figure of St. Antipas. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



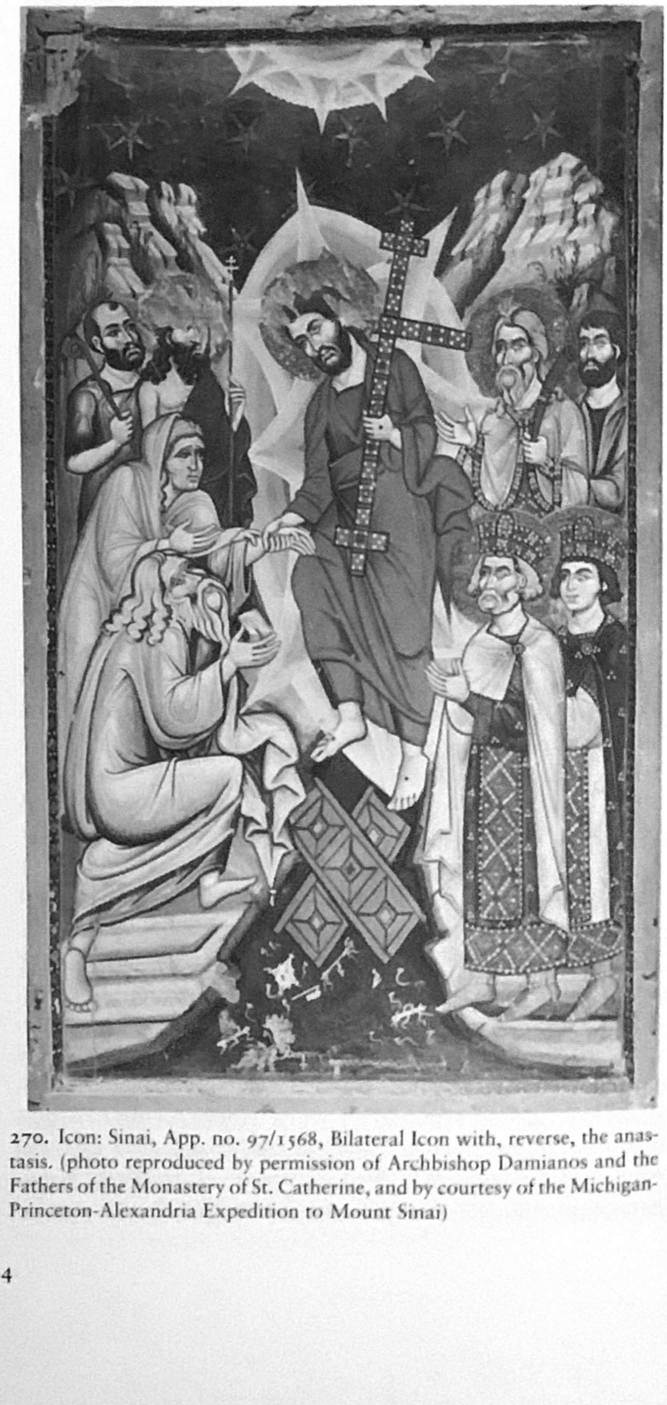
269. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 97/1568, Bilateral Icon with, obverse, the Crucifixion. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

"Crucifixion-Anastasis" Master. Demus noted that the panel of St. John the Baptist has a date of 1281 painted on it by a later hand, but both he and Weitzmann think this may have simply repeated the original date of the panel. On this basis the bilateral icon appears to have been done shortly thereafter, perhaps in the mid-1280s.

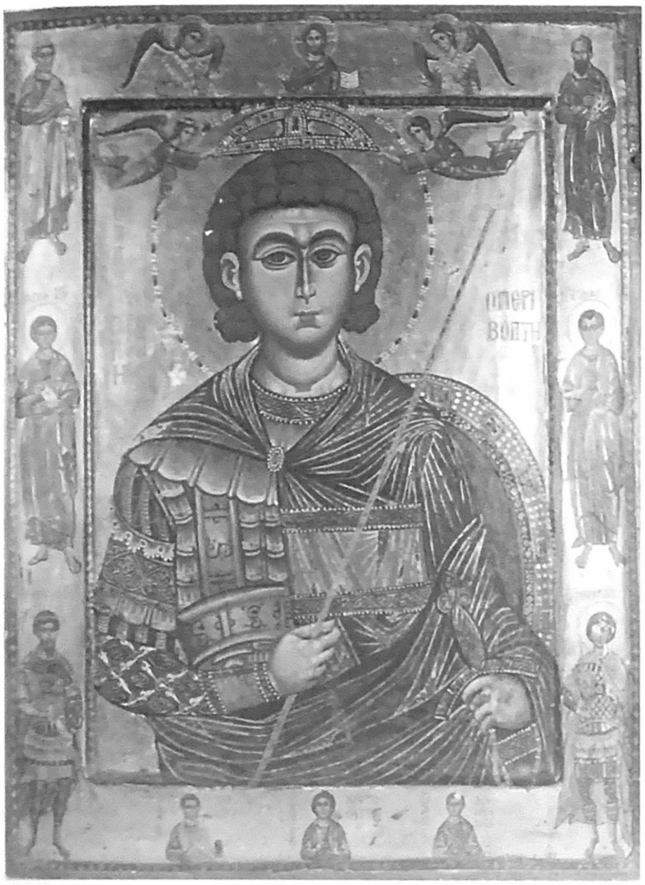
On the reverse of this panel we find an equally monumental representation of the Anastasis, which is striking because of its similar high-quality style, its vertical as opposed to horizontal composition, and the strongly articulated faces of Christ – exactly comparable to the face of Christ on the Crucifixion – along with Adam, Eve, and the other worthies of the Old Testament Jesus has come to save. The color scheme of the figures is equally distinctive featuring for the most part acid pink, beige, and brown draperies, set against a beige and brown mountainous landscape above, with a dark blue sky in which large five-pointed stars float beneath the glory of Heaven.

Stylistically the same decorative linearism is found along with the patternization of the draperies, of the royal robes of David and Solomon, and of the Cross of Salvation carried by Jesus. On this panel moreover, five figures have raised gesso haloes painted with silver. Although two of these are now badly damaged – those of Christ and St. John the Baptist – it is clearly this type of halo decoration that the metal piece on the crucified Christ was intended to replicate.

It is the heads of Adam and Eve in the Anastasis, along with Christ and the elder worthies, with their strongly lined visages indicating aged wrinkled skin with especially their irregularly shaped oval cheeks, that led Demus to link the St. Andrew panel in the Correr primarily with them. He and Weitzmann also note the similarities in certain details such as the tufted eyebrows. Mouriki, however, preferred to see the Venetian link in terms of mosaics: "stylistic parallels have been noted among the figures of the mosaics of San Marco in Venice."[546] Demus even proposed to see the hand of the same artist in both the bilateral icon and the two Correr Museum panels.[547]



270. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 97/1568, Bilateral Icon with, reverse, the anastasis. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

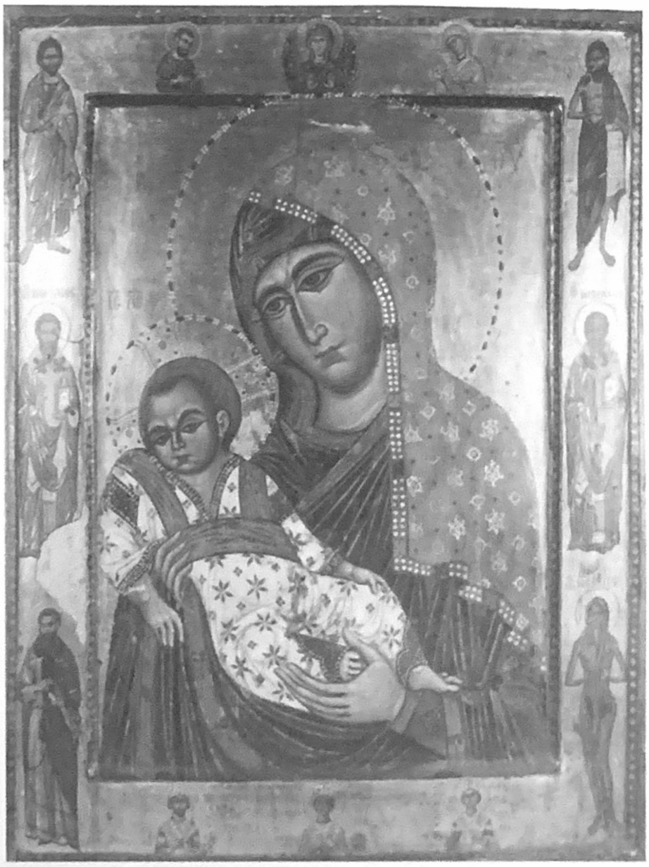


271. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing), surrounded by Christ, two angels, and nine saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)
Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios and the Virgin and Child Kykkotissa

Weitzmann said, "in spite of these strong similarities, we do not feel it necessary to attribute both panels [St. Andrew and the Anastasis] to the same master; but surely we are dealing with the same atelier, some members of which we assume to have moved from Venice to the Venetian establishment in Acre."[548] Although by 1986 Weitzmann was leaning more to accepting Demus's view,[549] I would propose that Weitzmann's quote is probably a more accurate evaluation of the relationships here, but even what he says must be reconsidered. Do we really believe that a Venetian-trained painter who might have worked in the atelier that produced the two panels of St. Andrew and St. John the Baptist would suddenly change his style dramatically and begin painting in a remarkably byzantinizing mode? I think it is more likely that the Crusader artist who did the bilateral icon (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568) had been trained in a workshop where strong Venetian and Byzantine traditions were combined for him to learn from. I insist that more study must be done on just how a mature artist fully formed in his style can change and develop into a painter who combines two major traditions in the Latin East, or in western Europe for that matter.

The issue that this Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style artist raises, of course, is whether it is possible that, just as the Paris–Acre Master worked in Paris in the 1270s and came to Acre to work in the 1280s, a Venetian artist trained in a Veneto-Byzantine style in Venice in the early 1280s could come to Acre and develop into a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style painter producing several important works in the mid-1280s. Given the strong presence of the Venetians in Acre after the end of the War of St. Sabas in 1258 and their growing importance in the subsequent decades, it is not surprising to find this possible parallel development with Venetian painting, if this is in fact what happened. What is surprising about it of course is the fact that a master would leave Venice to go to Acre, where as we shall see, there are more major icon/panel paintings done in the 1280s and extant than in Venice! The question with the bilateral icon and with the other work closely related to this painter is, what is especially Crusader about their work? How can their hands be seen as that of a Crusader artist working in Acre, as opposed to an artist working in Venice itself?

In order to examine this issue, we can study first two other works that our master apparently did in Acre or Sinai. There is the iconostasis beam with multiple bust-length "portraits" of the Deësis group and other holy figures (Figs. 256–261, App. no. 74/1003),[550] and the icon of St. Antipas (Fig. 268, App. no. 98/1645),[551] both panel paintings quite comparable to the two panels in the Correr Museum of St. John the Baptist and St. Andrew. Looking first at the iconostasis beam, we notice immediately that this is a work with specially selected holy figures to fit the unusually short beam, certainly not the usual



272. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child Kykkotissa (right wing) surrounded by the Virgin "n tns batou" and eleven saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Byzantine arrangement. We find in the center the Deësis group, with Christ in red with a blue cloak, the Virgin in a medium blue tunic and reddish maroon maphorion, and St. John the Baptist in a light orange–brown undergarment and dark brown cloak. Flanking the central group are the figures of Peter and Paul with the four Evangelists. Peter wears a medium blue tunic with a beige cloak; Paul has on a slate blue tunic with a dusty lavender cloak. The Evangelists are similarly colorful: Matthew wears a red-rose tunic and a medium dark blue cloak, Mark is in medium blue with a reddish maroon cloak, Luke wears pink with a medium blue cloak, and John's garments have the reverse arrangement: medium blue with a pink cloak. Finally on the ends we see saints George (left) in medium blue with a beautiful red cloak studded with gold and Procopius (right) in a red tunic with a blue cloak studded with gold.

The Crusader features of the iconostasis beam seem evident. The colorism combines certain Byzantine-inspired pastels with Gothic reds, pink, and blues. Remarkably, all of these figures are located under very gracefully inset pointed Gothic arches, creating the effect of a Gothic loggia. Furthermore there is the unusual feature that the Evangelists clearly do not follow standard Byzantine iconography. Instead of John being the oldest with a long white beard, as we normally see in Byzantine gospel books, here John is beardless and very youthful. It is Matthew who has the attributes of John. Mistakes in the identification and labeling of the figures would not seem to be the answer to this imagery because the Greek inscriptions in red are done in a very fine clear display script. Apparently, the revisions to the iconography of Matthew and John were intended, perhaps at the request of the patron.

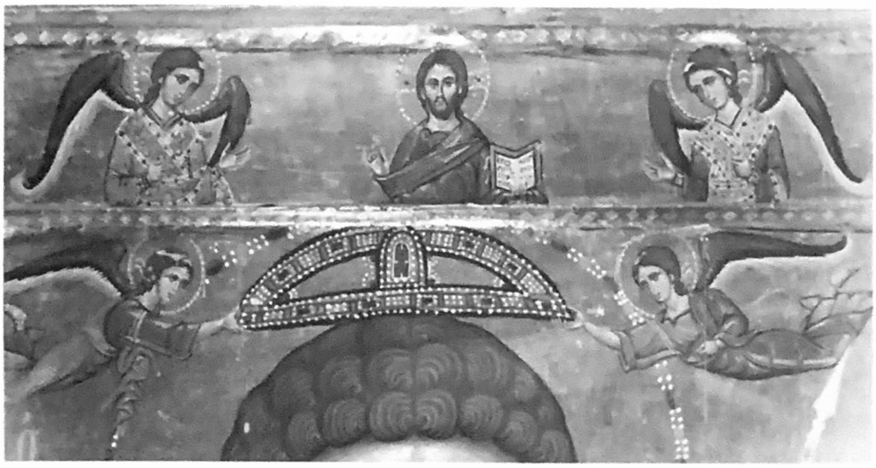
When we compare figures of Andrew and St. John the Baptist in Venice at the Correr with the iconostasis beam figures, we can see clear stylistic distinctions. They could not be the work of the same hand. Andrew and John, who both hold cross staffs, are much heavier in bodily proportions, the design of their faces is more elongated, and the painting of their faces has slightly different linear conventions for the forehead, brows, eyes, and nose. Similar differences are found in the conventions for the ears of the frontal figures and for the neck muscles. Comparing the beard of St. John the Baptist in Venice with the figure on the iconostasis beam, we see how differently the scraggly beard is handled. We also see the relative lack of definition in the painterly handling of the draperies of Andrew and John, compared to the strong, tight linearism with clear outlines and folds, and moderate use of highlighting in the figures on the iconostasis beam. Finally, the treatment of the hands are also quite distinct; they are much larger proportionately in the two panels in Venice than in the smaller, simpler, more slender versions on the beam figures. The position of the fingers to form the Greek blessing is somewhat unclearly done in the two Correr panels, whereas the figure of Christ does it quite precisely by contrast.

When we compare the two Correr saints to the panel of St. Antipas (Fig. 268, App. no. 98/1645) at Sinai, we again find clear distinctions that indicate the work of separate artists. Although Antipas is a much less well-known saint, he was a very early, first-century martyr referred to in the Book of Revelations (Rev. 2: 13) and therefore recognized as one of the heroes of the Early Church, honored with a special chapel at Sinai. In this depiction Antipas shares with Andrew and John similar proportions of their heads to their bodies, but still the bodies seem larger in the two latter cases than in the gracefully tapering shape of the arms and upper body of the former. The linear definition of the faces is more similar in this comparison than we saw with the iconostasis beam, but even though the figures of Antipas and Andrew also share the white tufted eyebrows, they are handled differently. Antipas has a more smoothed-down look versus the way the white bristles are spread out below the brows on the face of Andrew. Furthermore, the eyes of Antipas are smaller and more oval, compared to the larger, rounder eyes of Andrew and John. Again the hands are different, thinner, with the fingers more convincingly posed in a Greek blessing with Antipas, compared to the more ungainly treatment with Andrew and John. Finally the draperies are also quite different, again more clearly defined in linear terms with more complex white highlights on Antipas, compared to the less defined, less clearly legible draperies on the other two figures. The highlights of Antipas are important to note furthermore for their chrysography-like patterns and white dot and white dash designs, which will be found in a number of other icons in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style to be discussed later.

In sum, it appears that the Antipas figure is clearly painted by an artist different from that of Andrew and John the Baptist on the panels now in Correr Museum. Moreover it appears this artist, although closely related to the painters of the bilateral icon (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568) and the iconostasis beam, is distinct from either one. He seems to be interested in a very strongly characterized face, with intense modeling to express both the age and the venerability of this special saint. Although it is not exactly a portrait in realistic terms, it is clearly an icon in terms of its likeness, the title saint for one of the chapels in the church in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai.

To return to the question that we posed at the start of this discussion, how are the iconostasis beam and the icon of St. Antipas to be distinguished from the two Correr panels as works of Crusader artists? In the first instance we have argued they were done by different artists, so it is not the case of a single hand doing all of these icons. The style we see in the two Crusader works is rooted in the Venetian formal tradition expressed in the Correr panels and equally strongly Byzantine related, but merged with certain Crusader and even Gothic features we do not find in the images of Andrew and John. We have noted the interesting colorism and Gothic arches in the beam. What also makes these works Crusader is their function. In the case of the beam, it is a liturgical icon apparently especially tailored for a specific chapel at Sinai, quite possibly that of St. Catherine of the Franks, as Weitzmann proposes.[552] He makes this attribution in light of the fact that scratched on the beam is a graffito that says, "Fra Ludov[ico] di Luxina [?] fuit hic."[553] In the case of Antipas, it is his icon in relation to the chapel in his honor at Sinai.[554] The fact remains, however, that the inscriptions for both of these works are in Greek, apparently reflecting the context of their intended setting, in terms of either patronage or partial audience. So, once again what is Crusader about these works is very clearly rooted as much in their special style as in other important factors.

In fact, what is the touchstone for this group as the work of Crusader painters is the bilateral icon with its many Crusader features. Not only is his Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style

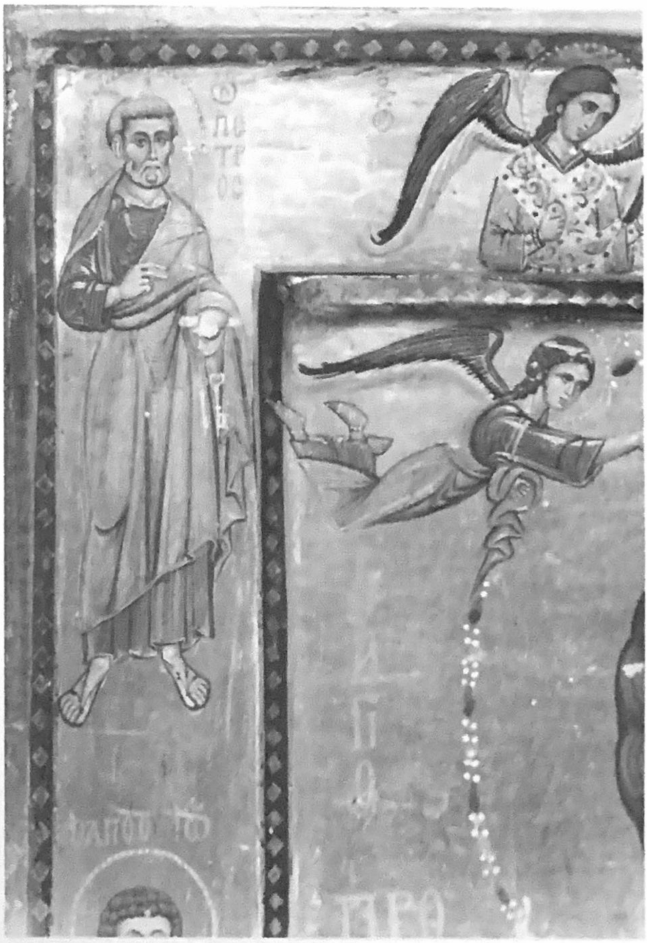


273. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of Christ and two angels. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

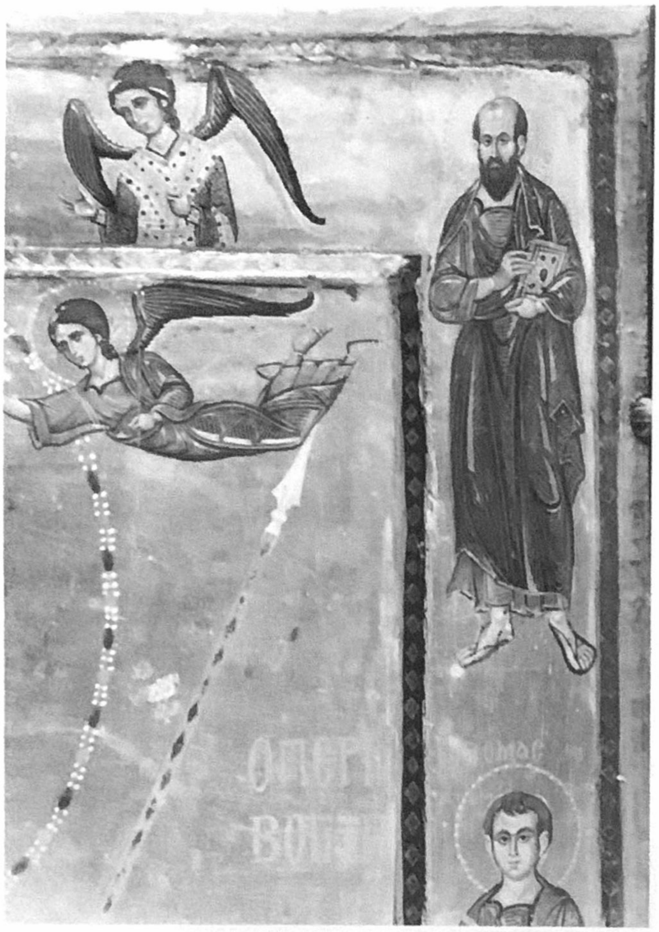
tightly linked with these icons, but also his techniques and imagery are distinctively Crusader. Besides the Latin inscriptions on this icon, we have also the remarkable colorism, especially the salmon-pink of the mandorla and the robes of certain figures in the Anastasis image. There is also the raised gesso on the haloes of many figures as noted earlier, the golden stars on the reverse, and the three-nail crucifixion with the strongly three-dimensional beveled cross on the obverse. The other work that anchors this group of icons done in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style is the equally famous diptych of the Virgin *Kykkotissa* and St. Procopius.

Diptych of St. Procopios and the Virgin Kykkotissa (Figs. 271–288, App. no. 110/1783): Important questions of iconography, style, patronage, function, and audience are also raised by the remarkable diptych with the Virgin *Kykkotissa* and St. Procopios.[555] This is arguably one of the finest Crusader icons; it is executed in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style and ranks along with the bilateral icon of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis in quality. This work has been discussed by more persons than any other Sinai icon in the "Western-influenced" or Crusader group, and the debate has raised the issue of the relationship of painting at Acre, at Sinai, and on Cyprus, which must be addressed as part of our discussion that follows.

The diptych itself is characterized by an extremely elegant representation of St. Procopios on the left wing (Fig. 271) and the Madonna of St. Luke, known as the Virgin *Kykkotissa*, from the Monastery of Kykko on Cyprus, on the right wing (Fig. 272). St. Procopios holds a red spear decorated with golden lozenges in his right hand, a sword lavishly decorated with pearls in his right, and there is a sumptuously jeweled parade shield behind his left shoulder. He wears impressive armor, with brocade and exotic floral designs on his right arm; he is being given the crown of martyrdom by two angels. Aspra-Vardavakis accounts for this lavish dress by the fact that he had been appointed duke of Alexandria. The angels crown him as his reward for the terrible ordeals he suffered as a martyr.[556] He is surrounded on the frame with a series of holy figures, including bust-length figures of Jesus and the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, at the top (Fig. 273). On the sides are full-length paired figures of Sts. Peter (Fig. 274) and Paul (Fig. 275) at the top, then Sts. John the Theologian (Fig. 276) and Thomas (Fig. 277), and at the bottom the fellow soldier saints, Theodore Strateletes (Fig. 278) and George (Fig. 279). Finally, along the bottom are the bust-length figures of Sts. Cosmas and Damian,



274. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. Peter. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



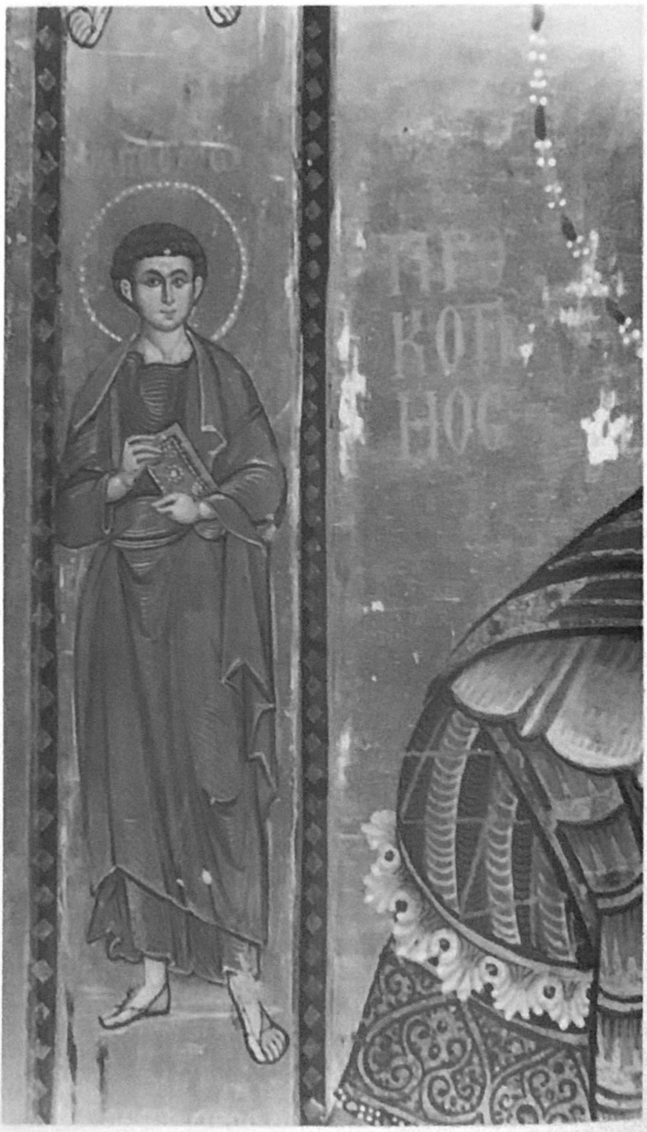
275. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. Paul. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

paired left and right, and in the center is the figure of St. Christopher (Fig. 280).

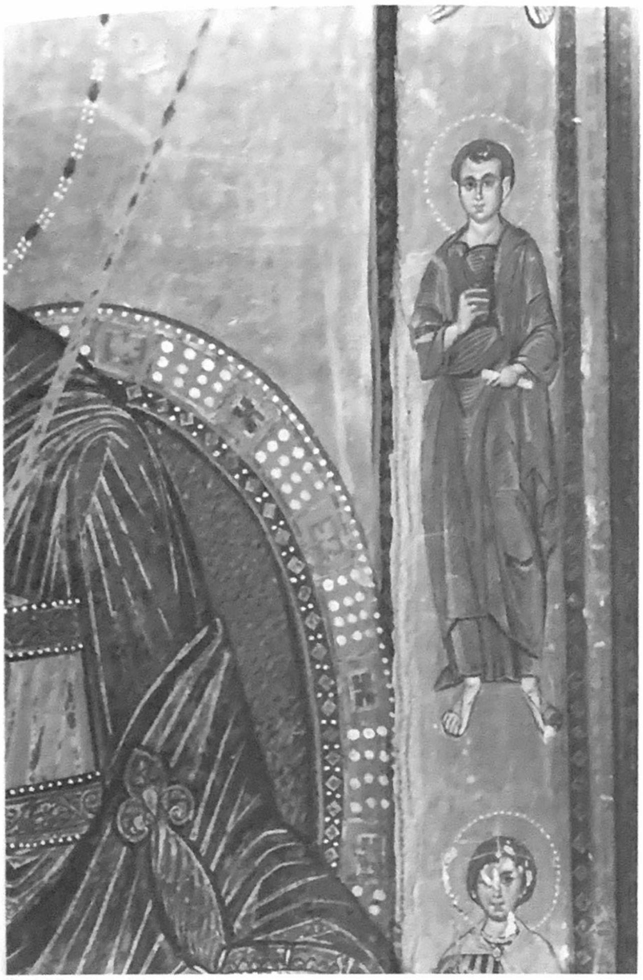
The diminutive holy figures in the frames of both panels all have the characteristic white dot on red circle haloes we have noticed in many other icons, both on panels of the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style and primarily on those of Italo-Byzantine Crusader origin. What is particularly notable here are the very special haloes of the Virgin and Child and St. Procopios, made up of segments consisting of a double row of pearls, alternating with red and very dark blue (or black) precious stones along the outer circle.

The vivid image of the Virgin *Kykkotissa* features Mary with a splendid jeweled hem scarlet silk veil, on which are lovely golden decorations, including the same heart-shaped design with flourishes found also on the silk draping the Virgin's bier in the Dormition icon discussed earlier (Fig. 266, App. no. 87/1394). The child also wears a jumpsuit of extraordinarily sumptuous white silk with leafy and lozenge designs, with jeweled hems at the neck and sleeves, and with brocaded panels on the arms and at the ankles, outlined in pearls. His silk suit is partly covered by a dark red silk harness typical of a number of images of Christ in the *maniera cypria*.[557] At the top of this frame, we find the Virgin *orans*, *n tns Batou*, together with Joachim and Anna, her parents, all bust-length figures (Fig. 281). Three pairs of full-length figures are found on the sides of the frame. At the top there are two prophets, a fully bearded Moses at the left (Fig. 282) and an emaciated John the Baptist at the right (Fig. 283). In the center we find two Fathers of the Church, Sts. Basil (left, Fig. 284) and Nicholas (right, Fig. 285), and below are two ascetics, Sts. John Klimachus (left, Fig. 286) and St. Onouphrios (right, Fig. 287). In the lower part of the frame we see the royal bust-length figures of Sts. Constantine and Helena flanking the title saint, Catherine, in the center (Fig. 288).

As a type, this image of the Virgin and Child is somewhat comparable to the beautiful twelfth-century Sinai icon of the Virgin and Child with Prophets.[558] We can recognize this in terms of the central holy image, in this case a full-length enthroned image of the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa*, surrounded by a selection of holy figures emphasizing prophets, which with regard to the diptych focus instead on the incarnation and on the holy site of Sinai. As for the central image, our icon panel (Fig. 272) makes two major revisions in the iconography of the



276. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. John. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



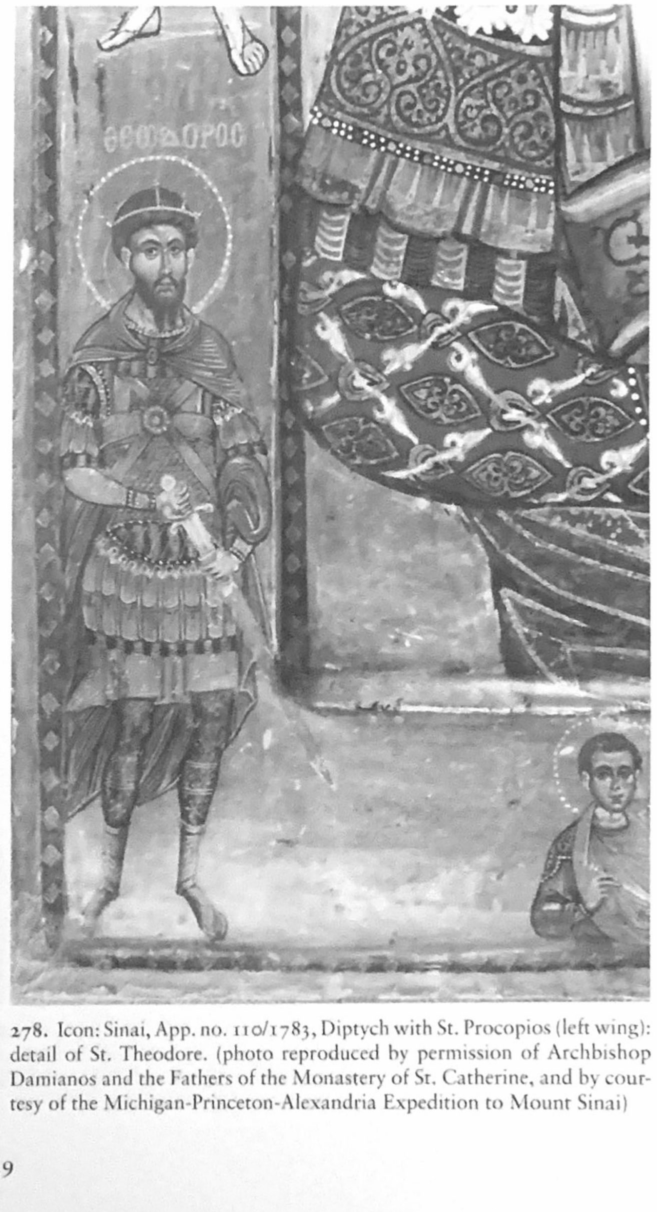
277. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. Thomas. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Kykkotissa, namely, the introduction of the scarlet silk veil on the Virgin's head and shoulders, and the omission of the scroll that the Virgin gives to the Child in the earlier example. Weyl Carr has, of course, discussed how that remarkable veil seems to derive from a double-sided icon from Paphos, the miracle-working icon of the Virgin *Theoskepaste* of the early thirteenth century whence it became part of the traditional imagery for the Virgin *Kykkotissa*.[559] Weyl Carr also points out that both the Paphos icon and the diptych also feature the Mother of God with her child paired with a military saint, a relatively rare combination in Byzantium.[560] We can apparently see in this program for the diptych the same interest in the imagery of holy soldiers found in the output of the earlier "Workshop of the Soldier Saints." These earlier artists also worked in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in the 1260s.[561]

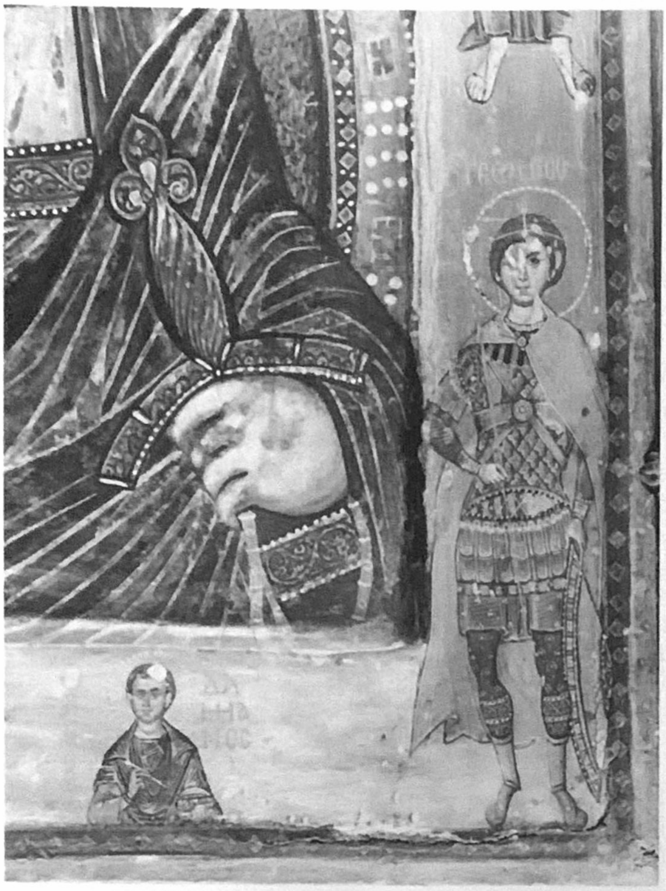
The inscriptions on these two panels are all in Greek, but some of the saints names are ungrammatically inscribed, and the epithet for Procopios has been read differently by Weitzmann and Aspra-Vardavakis. Sotiriou and Weitzmann read the Greek, "'ο Agios πρOKOπIOS O' πERρIBOLITEηS" even though the last word is πERρIBOLITEηS.[562] Aspra-Vardavakis, however, thinks "'ο Agios πρOKOπIOS O' πERρIBOLITEηS" is the correct interpretation.[563]

The question is whether the artist, who also incorrectly handled the spelling of some of the other inscriptions for the saints, as Aspra-Vardavakis points out, might have made a mistake in writing "πERρIBOLITEηS," but meant to inscribe "πERρIBOLITEηS." In any case, what does this inscription mean? With either version, the importance of Procopios is paramount; the issue is whether the relationship of the image of the saint to the epithet is explained primarily with regard to a famous icon of the saint in Jerusalem (Weitzmann) or primarily to Cyprus where the saint was widely venerated (Aspra-Vardavakis and Mouriki). The question can also be posed as to whether these differing interpretations have to be seen as mutually exclusive.

The iconography of the saints on the frames of the two panels is interesting from the point of view of imagery and attributes and in terms of the basic selection. Peter, for example, is remarkable because he holds in his proper left hand not only a cord from which hang his keys, but also a scroll and a cross staff. This is an unusual concentration of attributes for Peter to hold in one hand in a Byzantine icon.[564] It is remarkable that St. John the Theologian has been rendered beardless in Western fashion[565] along with Thomas, and that both standing



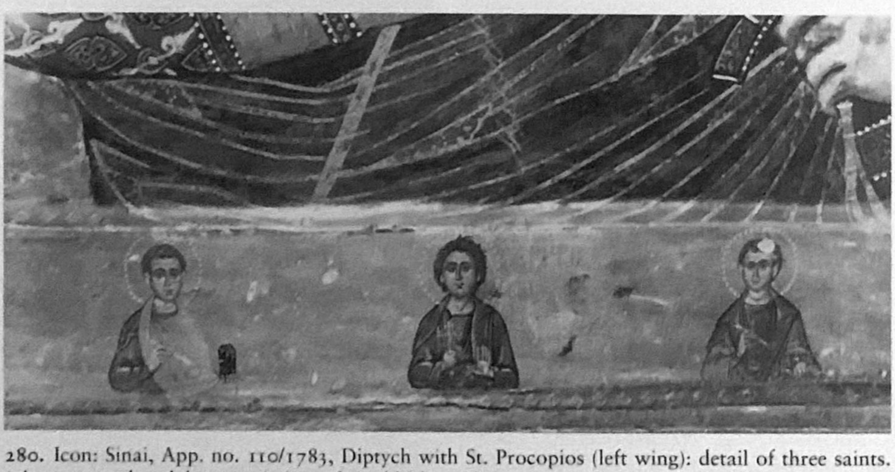
278. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. Theodore. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



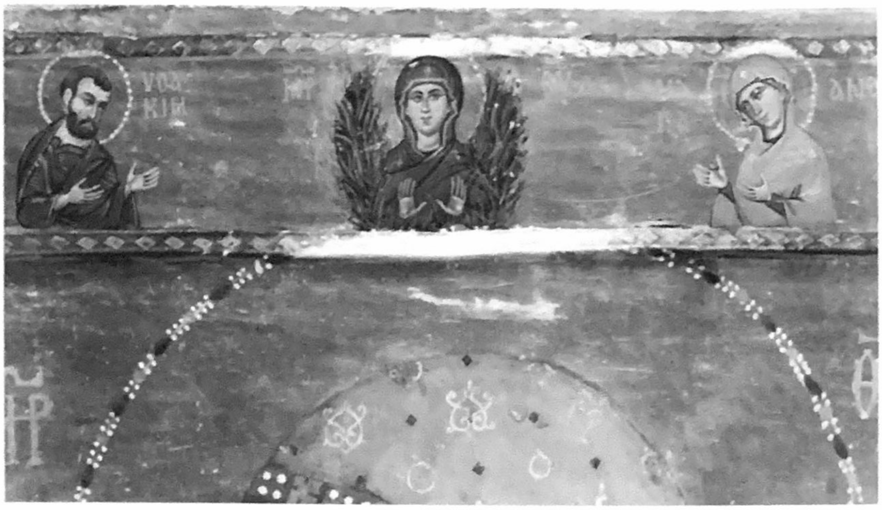
279. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of St. George. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

soldier saints below wear notably complex and elegant parade armor. Aspra-Vardavakis also proposes that the program of saints chosen for the frame of the Procopios panel is largely based on the *synaxarion* of St. Procopios.[566] On the Virgin and Child panel, the appearance of the Virgin as a praying figure *in* the Burning Bush is new imagery, and both Weitzmann and Aspra-Vardavakis refer to its first appearance here. Moses has of course a strong Sinai link, but it is unusual for him to appear with a full dark beard as we see him here in Byzantine art, and this must be traced to Crusader images of Moses, as we saw in icons (e.g., the Crucifixion, Fig. 152, App. no. 104/1732) and in the Arsenal Bible, both works done in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style.[567] Weitzmann notes that both Basil and Nicholas also had special chapels devoted to them at Sinai, and that both ascetics were also connected to Sinai so that therefore the Sinaitic theme was continued, despite the artist's occasional struggle to paint Byzantine costumes correctly.[568] Finally, Weitzmann noted the redundancy of having both Constantine and Helena hold a jeweled reliquary of the True Cross – which are, incidentally, decorated in precisely the same formulae as the haloes given to Mary, Jesus, and Procopios. This idea would have been acceptable for the Crusaders who were accustomed to a tradition of many reliquaries of the True Cross, but in Byzantine iconography Constantine and Helena regularly hold only one cross – the True Cross itself, not an image of a reliquary of the True Cross. He also pointed out that whereas St. Catherine holding a cross of martyrdom was a traditional Byzantine symbol, in Byzantine iconography she is not known to hold an orb as here, which seems to have been an invention of the Crusader painter to emphasize her royal status.[569] We can see, in sum, that there are numerous indications in the program that the iconography was quite unusual, prepared for a Crusader patron, and executed by a Crusader as opposed to a purely Byzantine painter.

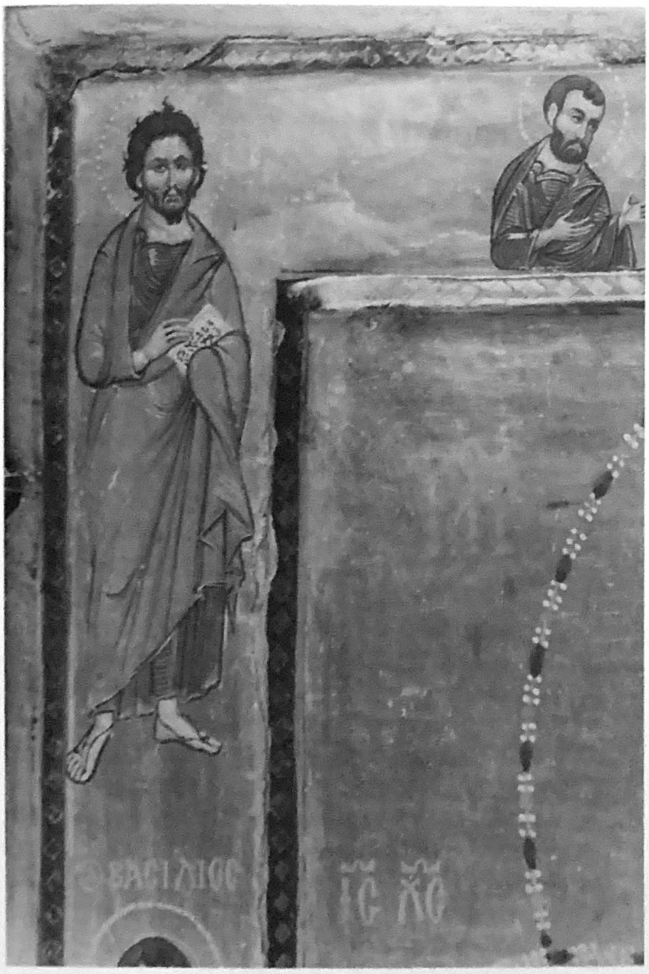
The style of these panels also provides evidence of a Crusader painter. We can readily see in the facial types of the three main figures, in their technique and handling, strong parallels with other icons in this group. I refer to the bilateral icon of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568), as well as the iconostasis beam (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003) and the Dormition panel (Fig. 266, App. no. 87/1394), but there is also a link with earlier icons in the Veneto-Byzantine group, such as the Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and Moses (Fig. 194, App. no. 43/428). What distinguishes this diptych from the other examples is the precise and elegant chrysography found on most of the figures on the two panels. Chrysography is clearly an expensive and highly desireable aspect of many of the very finest icons, which we see here at its very best.[570]



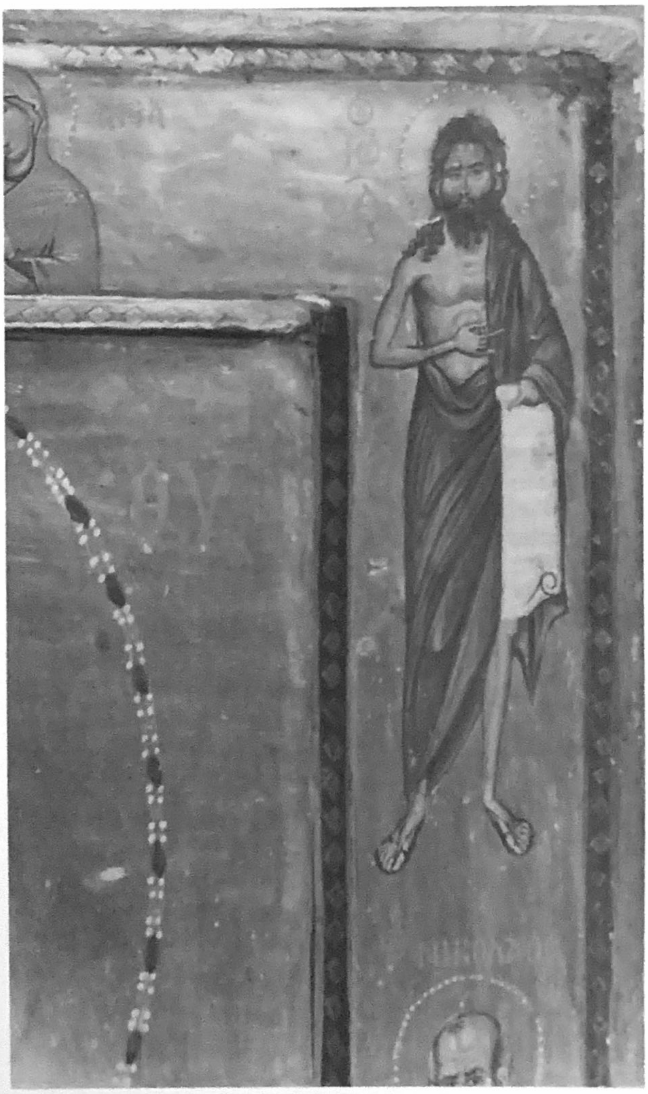
280. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with St. Procopios (left wing): detail of three saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



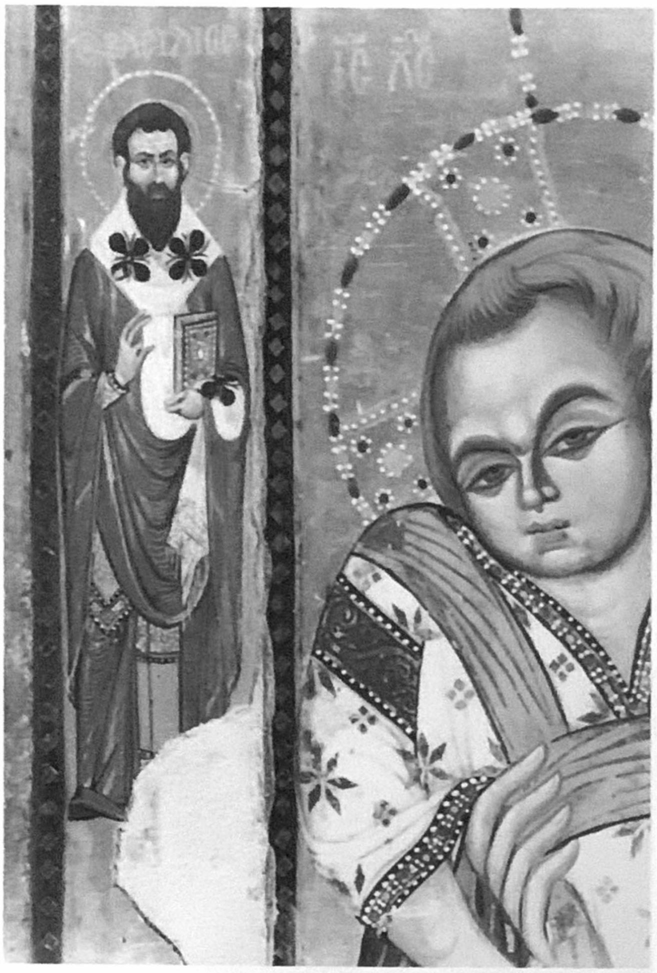
281. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of the Virgin “n tns batou” with Joachim and Anna. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



282. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of Moses. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



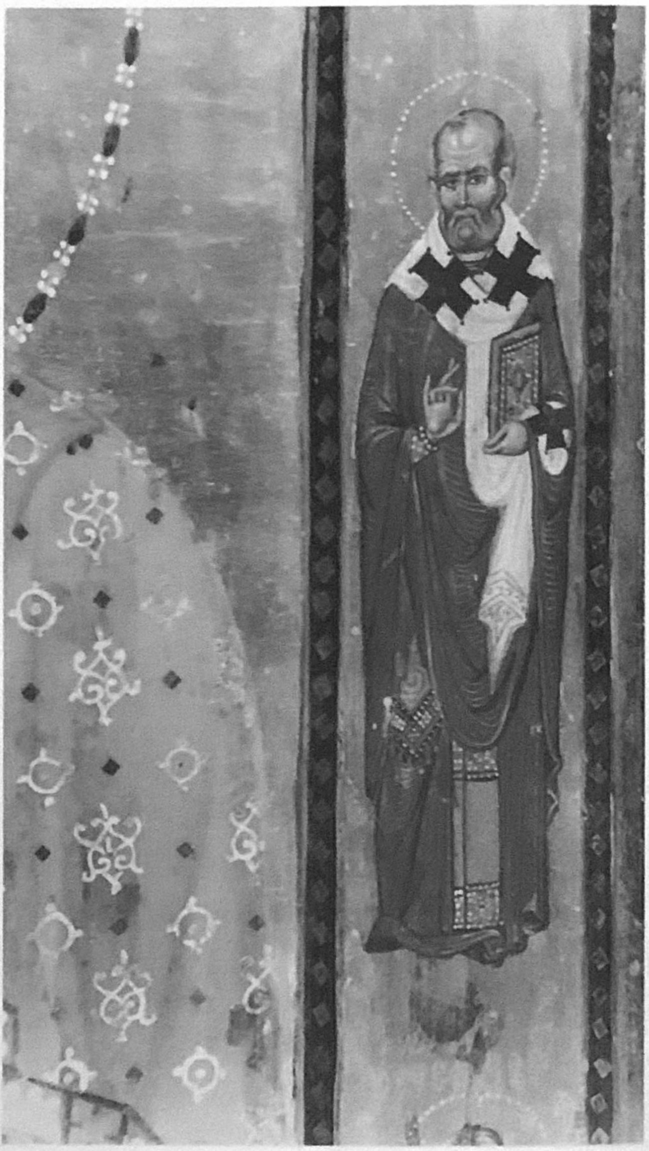
283. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. John the Baptist. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



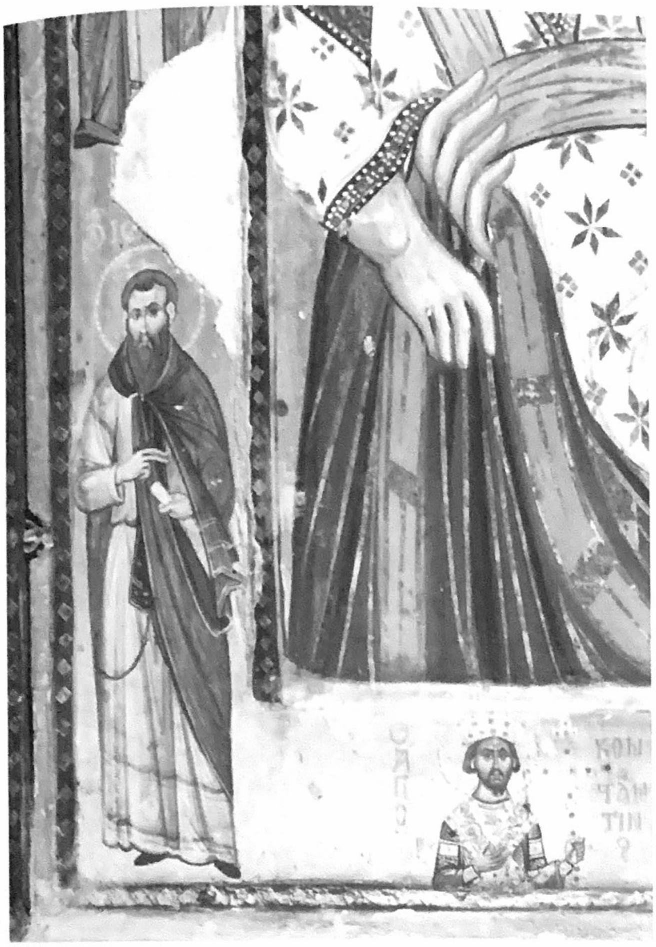
284. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. Basil. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

The elegant painting style found in these panels provides a remarkable example of how Crusader painting of top quality often seems to possess an "international" character, a way of bringing together many formal traditions in one work. This diptych, which more than most Crusader works suggests an artistic *lingua franca* of sorts, is characterized by links to the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of Acre,[571] royal Armenian style,[572] *maniera cypria* icon style linked with Syria from Cyprus,[573] and icon painting from the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. Weitzmann makes his case for the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in his discussion of the group of icons of high quality that he groups together in the mid-1280s. He also is mindful of the Cypriot connection with the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai that ties this diptych to painting of the *maniera cypria*. In his view, "the affinity between our Crusader group and the Cypriote paintings can most easily be explained by assuming that a good many of the Byzantine models which the Venetian [sic= Crusader artists working in Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style] artists copied were actually works from Cyprus, which the Crusader artist may well have studied and even sometimes have copied on this island."[574] Others, however, such as G. Soteriou and D. Mouriki, think this artist is a Cypriot, and Mouriki even suggested that "it is likely that this diptych was made in one of the organized workshops in Nicosia."[575] Aspra-Vardavakis argues that the ethnic origin of the artist may explain some of the special and unusual stylistic features, and she suggests that "he was a Christian monk of Syrian origin who had some connection with Cyprus and Sinai."[576] Both Weyl Carr and Aspra-Vardavakis see links also to painting in Cilician Armenia at the royal court present here. I myself still think the notion of a "Crusader painter" working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style is basic to the understanding of this icon. I also think that the various indications of Cypriot, Armenian, and even Syrian formal ties are part of the remarkably rich repertory that this artist commanded and which he was stimulated to paint in the center where he worked.

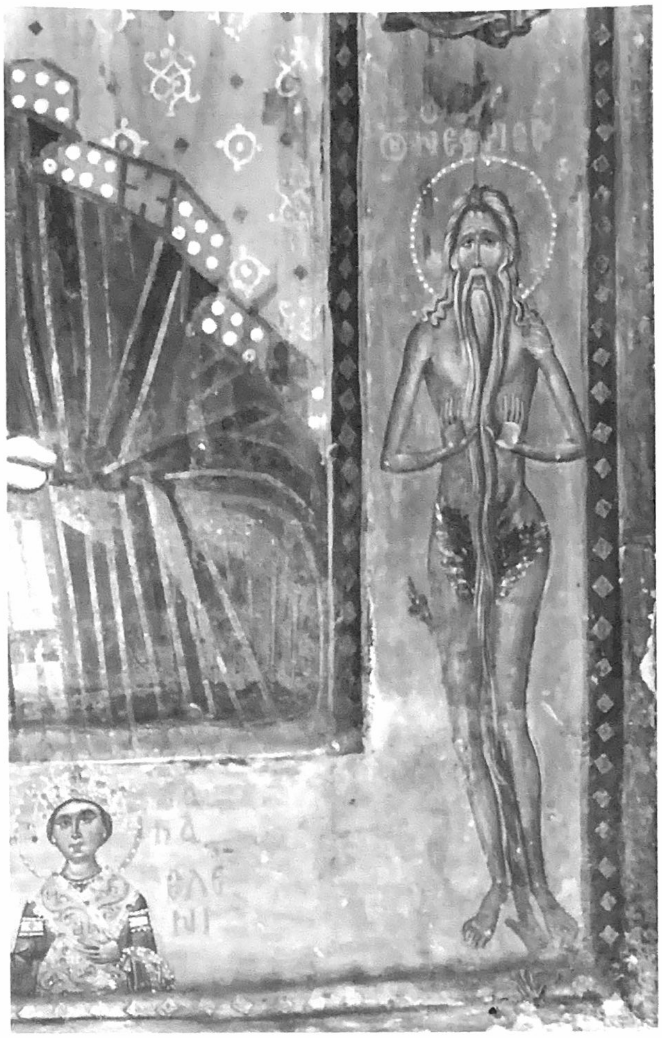
As to just where the icon may have been done, it is difficult to say. In light of the strength of the Sinaitic iconography, it is certainly possible that this project was commissioned and executed in the Monastery of St. Catherine's itself, but one could



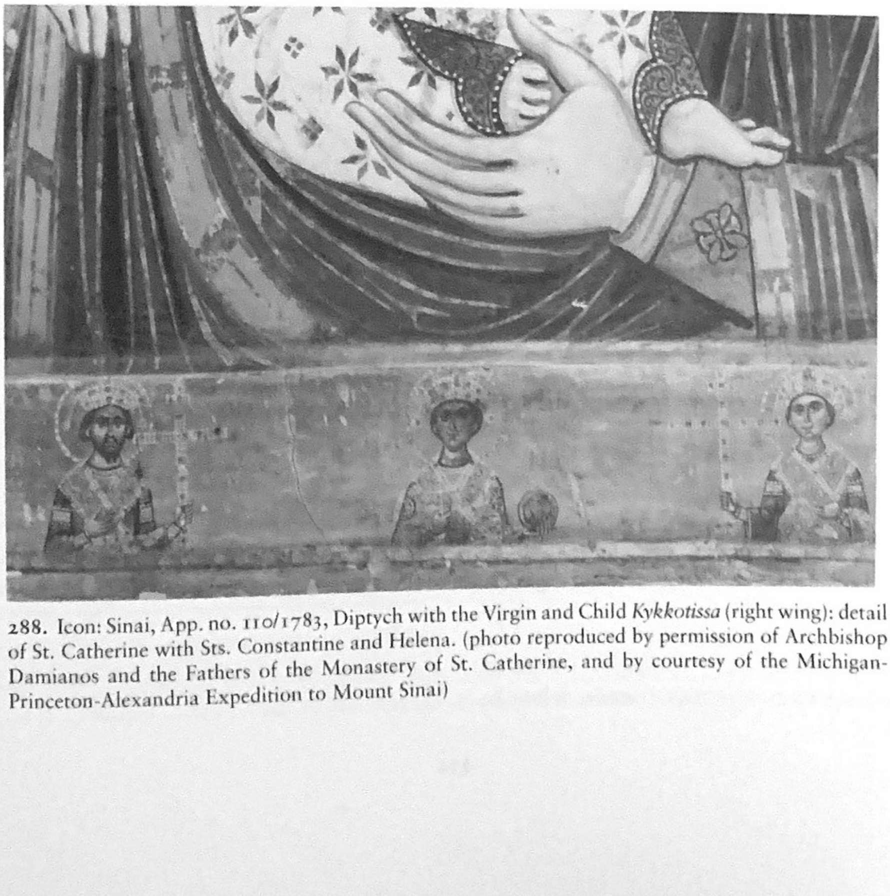
285. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. Nicholas. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



286. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. John Klimachus. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



287. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. Onouphrious. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



288. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 110/1783, Diptych with the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing): detail of St. Catherine with Sts. Constantine and Helena. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai) make a case for the commission being made in Acre and carried out in Sinai, or all the work being done in Acre. Unfortunately we do not have any definitive evidence to clarify these possibilities.

Sad to say, there is no documented evidence to indicate who the patron might have been, but clearly this work was done for a special commission that required work of remarkably high quality. In the absence of a documented historical figure, however, perhaps I may be permitted to speculate on who might conceiveably have ordered such an extraordinary work, linking my putative patron to the special features of the panels and their imagery. The remarkable style and unusual features of this icon suggest a special patron, who might have been Venetian. I propose to see this patron as a pious Venetian pilgrim to Sinai who was able to commission this remarkable diptych for a member of the high clergy at the Monastery of St. Catherine's. He commissions the diptych to make visual reference to the sumptuous silks that were an essential part of his business, and to Cyprus and the Armenians, where he did business from his home office and who were his trading partners, respectively. Perhaps the holy figure of Procopios was his namesake, a saint specially honored on Cyprus and honored with a famous icon in Jerusalem, the former of which was where one of his most important commercial offices was located. Perhaps he had a special devotion to the Virgin *Kykkotissa* because of the importance of this Madonna not only for himself and his family, but also because of her devotional significance to some of his most important clients on Cyprus. Perhaps this Venetian patron discovered the work of this impressive artist when visiting Acre on pilgrimage to Sinai. Perhaps this Venetian pilgrim had the diptych made as a gift for a high cleric, possibly even for the abbot himself, which he presented along with a gift of silk intended for the monks to use to decorate the tomb of St. Catherine. Whoever the patron was, this diptych is clearly one of the great accomplishments of Crusader painting in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

The Crucifixion Icon in Veneto-Byzantine Crusader Style (Fig. 267, App. no. 9/56) and Chrysography: The diptych of St. Procopios and the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (Figs. 271–88, App. no. 110/1783) is, as we have just mentioned, one of the most famous of the works done in what Weitzmann has called the Veneto-Byzantine (Crusader) style, but there is one more work, comparatively little-known, that belongs to this group of high-quality icons. The diptych is linked with this other icon also in terms of its elegant Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. It is a handsome image of the Crucifixion (Fig. 267, App. no. 9/56).[577] Besides the style of the figures, it is the chrysography that also ties these two works together. However, consider first the iconography of this Crucifixion icon.

A slender image of Christ is crucified on a strongly beveled cross. It is a three-nail crucifixion and the figure of Jesus has unusually long arms. His loincloth with the familiar pointed fold on the left side characteristic of this group – see also the Crucifixion on the bilateral icon (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568) – is a rich deep blue with elegant chrysography. St. John to the right stands in the usual pose of mourning, but his sorrow is emphasized by the expression of his knitted brows and the sharp inclination of his head. To the left the Virgin swoons, held up by two female friends, while behind her Mary Magdalene has bared her breast and throws her hands in the air in grief. The heightened emotional temperature of this icon is completed by the dramatic gestures of the diminutive flying angels above the cross. Despite the luxurious high quality of the icon, it is somewhat incongruous to note that the usual inscriptions in Greek were apparently written somewhat later in a not very accomplished, not to say messy, hand.

Mouriki notes the characteristic Crusader features of the iconography, as well as the typical white dot on red circle haloes for the main holy figures and the golden lozenges on a black ground for the outer frame. The other special feature she refers to is "the chrysography on the loincloth of Christ and on the garments of the Virgin and John," "elements which may be attributed to a Venetian atelier."[578] I assume that she meant by this a Crusader atelier in which the artist was working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.

The issue of the chrysography seen here and in the diptych discussed previously is important because it links a number of important icons of very high quality from the 1280s together. In Figure 267, the chrysography is notable as a linear patterned network that covers the loincloth of Jesus and the garments of the Virgin and St. John. There does not seem to be any idea of a consistent light source, nor does the golden highlighting follow the three-dimensional contours of the body. Rather it has its own designs, which follow the flow of the drapery and also articulate the parts of the body to some extent. The forms of the chrysography include both small triangular patches and broad elongated swatches from which thin linear rays spread and flow in various directions. As the chrysography lays evenly over the drapery, it tends to flatten it out.

On the diptych in Figures 271–88, the chrysography appears in two versions. The larger version is found on the figures of the Virgin and St. Procopios, where gold highlighting selectively appears on her maphorion and his cloak; it is composed of comparatively thick linear elements with few larger geometric elements. In general the linear gold highlights flow with the drapery, cover the surface, and tend to flatten rather than model the figures. There is no chrysography on the Child Jesus except on his scarlet red harness, where certain triangular swatches are visible. The smaller or finer version of the golden highlighting is found on the garments of most of the saints who appear on the frames. Only the Virgin *n tns Batou*, St. John the Baptist, and the two ascetics, John Klimachus and Onouphrios, have none. The chrysography on the rest of the figures, visible especially on Sts. Peter and Paul, John the Theologian and Thomas, and Moses, Basil, and Nicholas, is the same elegant linear network with slender swatches and small triangular patches found in Figure 267.

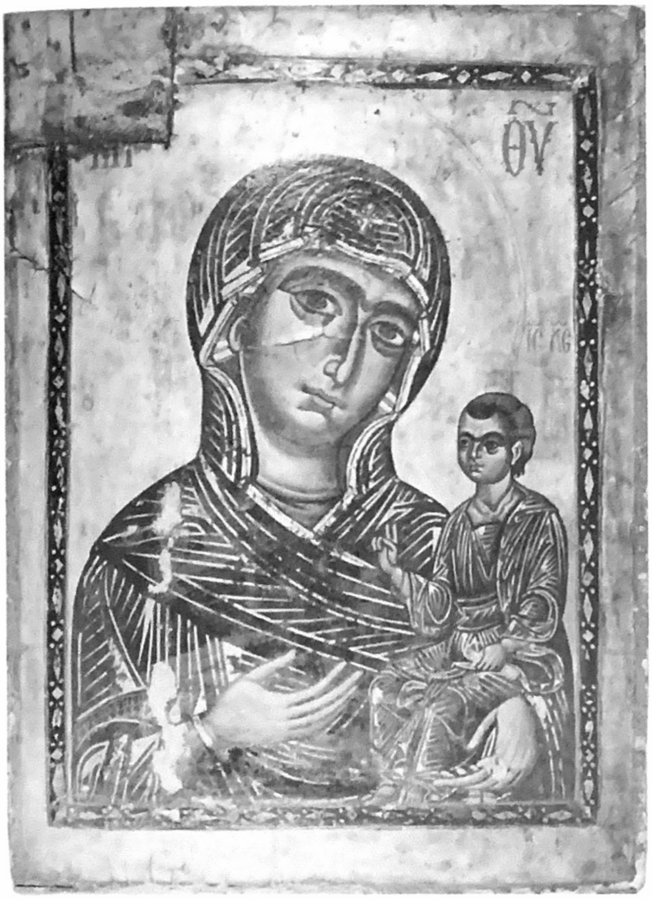
The other icon with well-executed chrysography is the Dormition icon (Fig. 266, App. no. 87/1394). This mode of ethereal highlighting is found here on the garments of Jesus, on the cloth covering his hands, on the footstool below the bier, and on the borders of the silk hanging on the bier. This chrysography is interesting because on the garments of Jesus in this case, it seems to reinforce the three-dimensional modeling of his body, while also articulating its parts. This technique seems to be one hallmark of a workshop that had artists working in the Veneto-Byzantine style of the very highest quality on these three icons at least.

Relatively few Crusader icons display any chrysography, which is an expensive luxury technique, usually appearing only on icons of very special quality. In most cases, white highlights would be used with perhaps gold hems indicated for certain important figures, as seen in the earlier icon of the Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and Moses (Fig. 194, App. no. 43/428). On the iconostasis beam (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003), no gold is used but the highlights are rendered in white and pastels of the basic color of the garment in shapes that sometimes resemble the patterns of chrysography. On in the bilateral icon (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568) is there rich highlighting, but no chrysography.

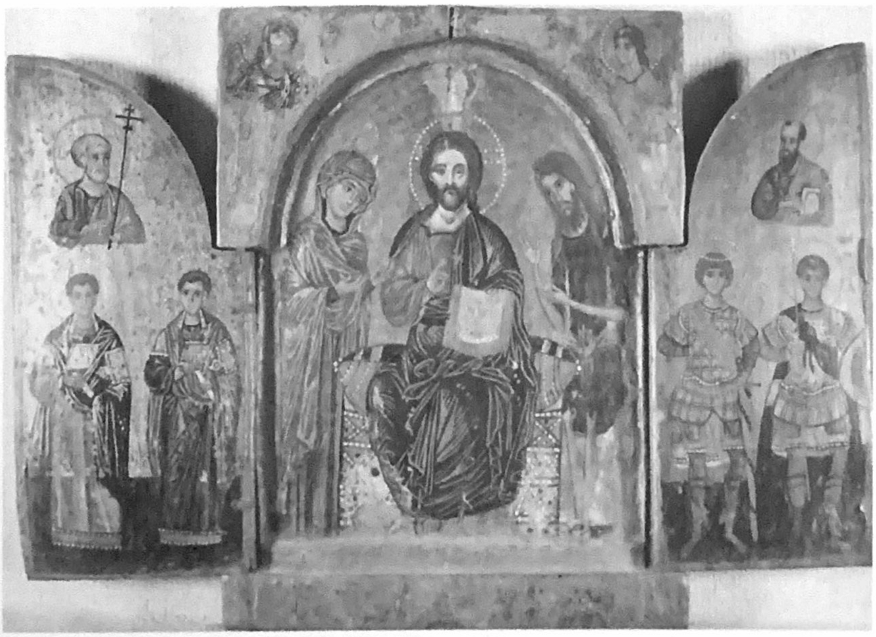
Among the few Crusader icons at Sinai that display genuine or simulated chrysography, we can mention the following:

Crusader icons with chrysography:

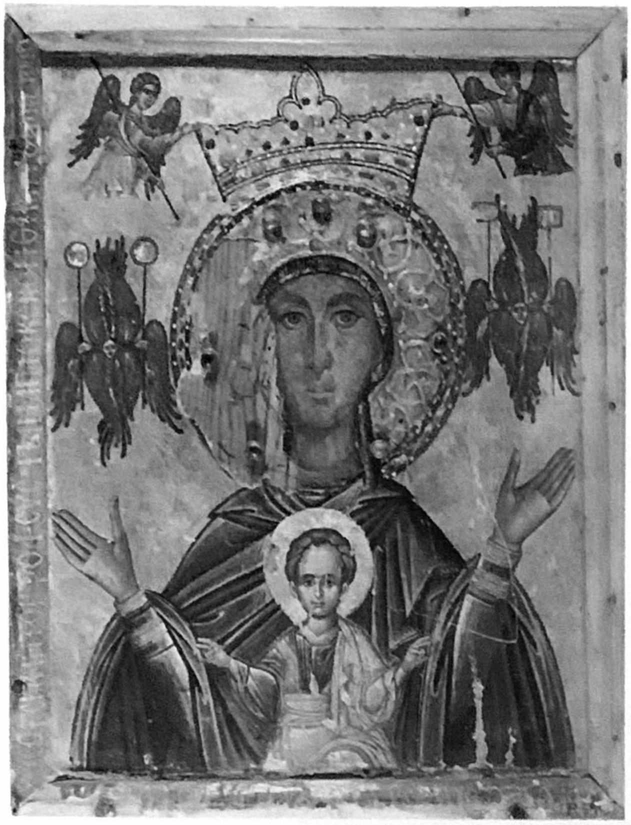
1. Virgin Hodegetria (Fig. 289, COLOR PL. 10, App. no. 22/200), garments of both Virgin and Child.[579]
2. Deësis Triptych with Saints on the wings (Fig. 290, App. no. 28/248), vigorous chrysography but somewhat undisciplined.
3. Virgin and Child Blacherniotissa (Fig. 291, App. no. 42/427), chrysography on the coif only, otherwise simulated on the highlights of the drapery.
4. St. Catherine (Fig. 292, App. no. 53/581), very damaged.
5. Virgin Galaktotrophousa (Fig. 293, App. no. 59/710), with chrysography on the Virgin's maphorion under the veil (parts repainted ?).
6. The Acre Triptych (Fig. 156, App. no. 66/753), on the Christ Child of the central panel only.
7. Simeon with Jesus (Fig. 294, App. no. 84/1352) (partly repainted ?).
8. Virgin Galaktotrophousa (Fig. 295, App. no. 100/1680), with chrysography on the Virgin's garment under the veil (parts repainted ?).



289. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 22/200, Panel with bust-length Virgin Hodegetria and striking chrysography. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai) See COLOR PL. 11.



290. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 28/248, Triptych with the Deësis on the central panel and two angels on the spandrel of the arch, and four standing and two bust-length saints on the interior surfaces of the wings. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



291. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 42/427, Panel with the bust-length Virgin and Child *Blacherniotissa*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

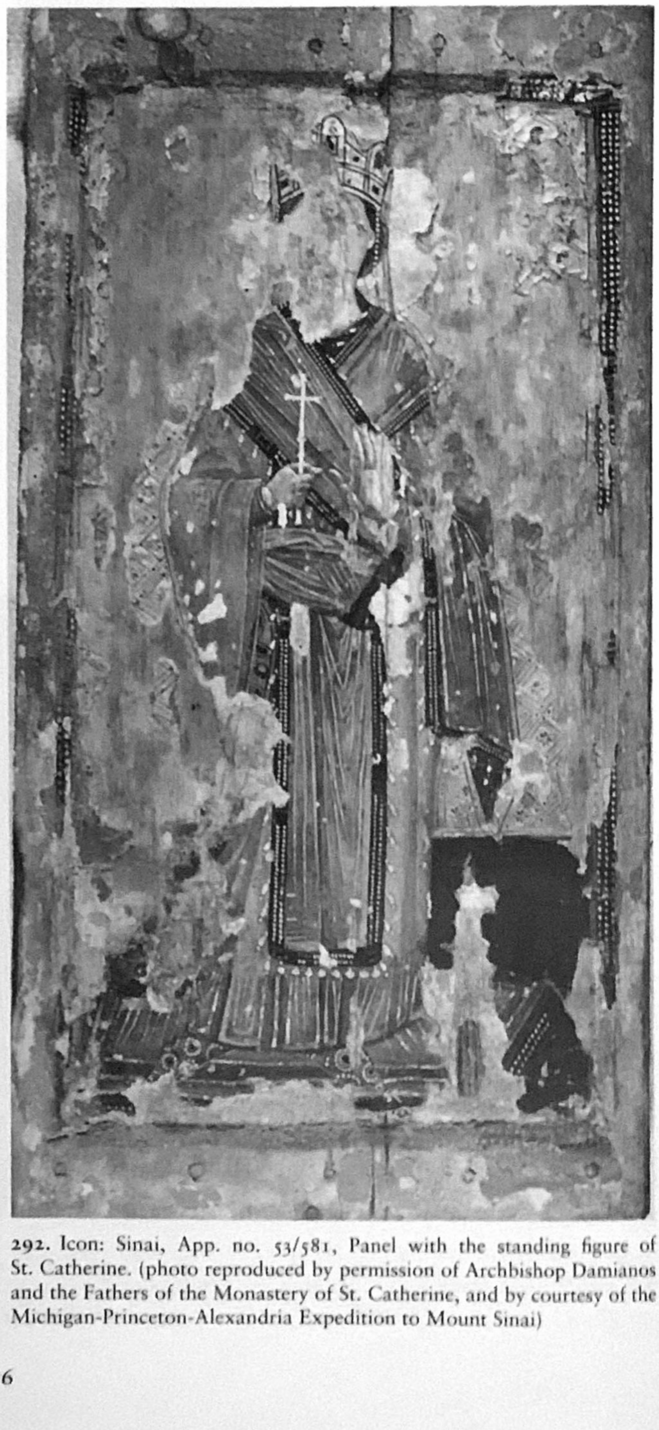
9. Two Mounted Soldier Saints: George and Theodore (Fig. 74, App. no. 94/1463), with chrysography on their garments and cloaks.
10. Dormition (Fig. 296, App. no. 103/1731), very splotchy chrysography (?).

Simulated Chrysography:

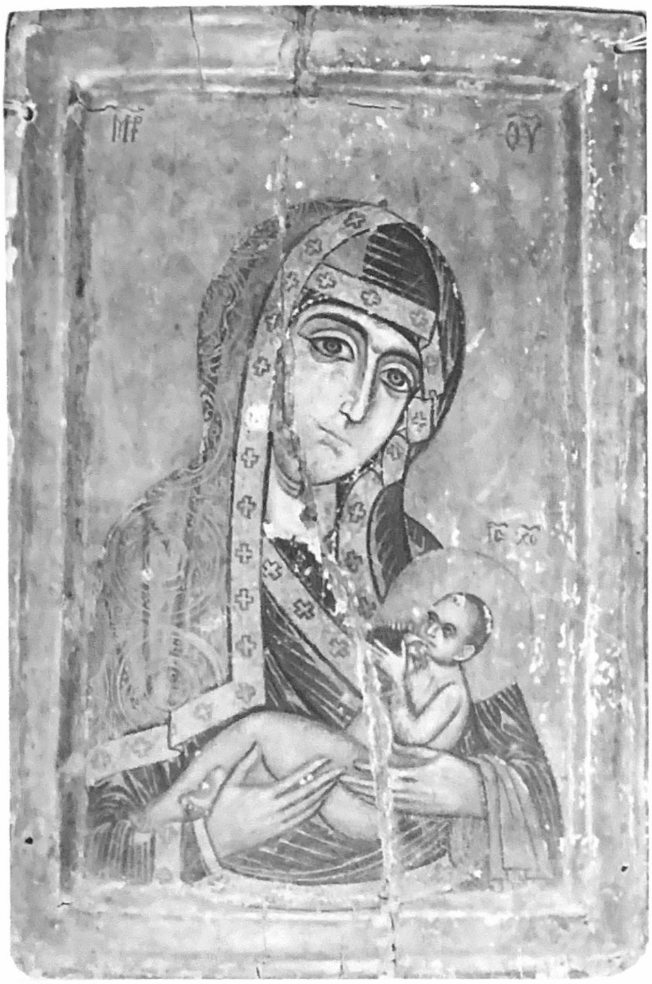
1. *Maestas Domini* (Fig. 51, App. 34/no. 308), with red chrysography-like highlights on Christ's cloak.
2. Virgin Hodegetria (Fig. 297, App. no. 56/671), chrysography simulated on the Virgin's garments (repainted).
3. Crucifixion icon (Fig. 298, App. no. 61/729), with chrysography-like yellow highlights only visible on the angels wings,
4. Christ Pantokrator (Fig. 130, App. no. 77/1025), with very sketchy, what appears to be simulated chrysography.
5. Intercessing Angel Gabriel (Fig. 124, App. no. 121/1998), simulated patterns on the right-side garment and along the top of the wings.

It is interesting in looking at this group of icons that most of them are Crusader icons done in one or other version of the Italo-Byzantine Crusader style. It is not possible to date most of them very specifically, with the exceptions of the *Maestas Domini* (Fig. 51, App. no. 34/308), the Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no. 66/753), and Sts. George and Theodore (Fig. 74, App. no. 94/1463), all discussed earlier. However, all of the icons appear to date in the thirteenth century, and mostly the second half of the thirteenth century, although in some cases important later repainting must be taken into account in evaluating their original date. It is notable, however, that even on the well-known and important Acre Triptych, which has work done by three Crusader artists, the chrysography is on the central panel only, done in an Italo-Byzantine Crusader style by an artist with links to Tuscany where chrysography appears on the image of the Christ Child. Thus the use of chrysography in the Crusader East seems to be a feature of artists in workshops that employ the Italo-Byzantine Crusader style, and the very best examples are done by artists working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.

With this in mind it is remarkable that certain icons and fresco painting done in the *maniera cypria* on Cyprus in the years around 1200 and in the last quarter of the thirteenth century also demonstrate the use of equally sophisticated chrysography.



292. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 53/581, Panel with the standing figure of St. Catherine. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



293. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 59/710, Panel with the bust-length veiled Virgin and Child *Galaktotrophousa.* (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

With these icons it is not a question of works done in Acre or in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. They are all works done, so far as we know, in Cyprus. Consider the following well-known works:

From the twelfth century we have these works:

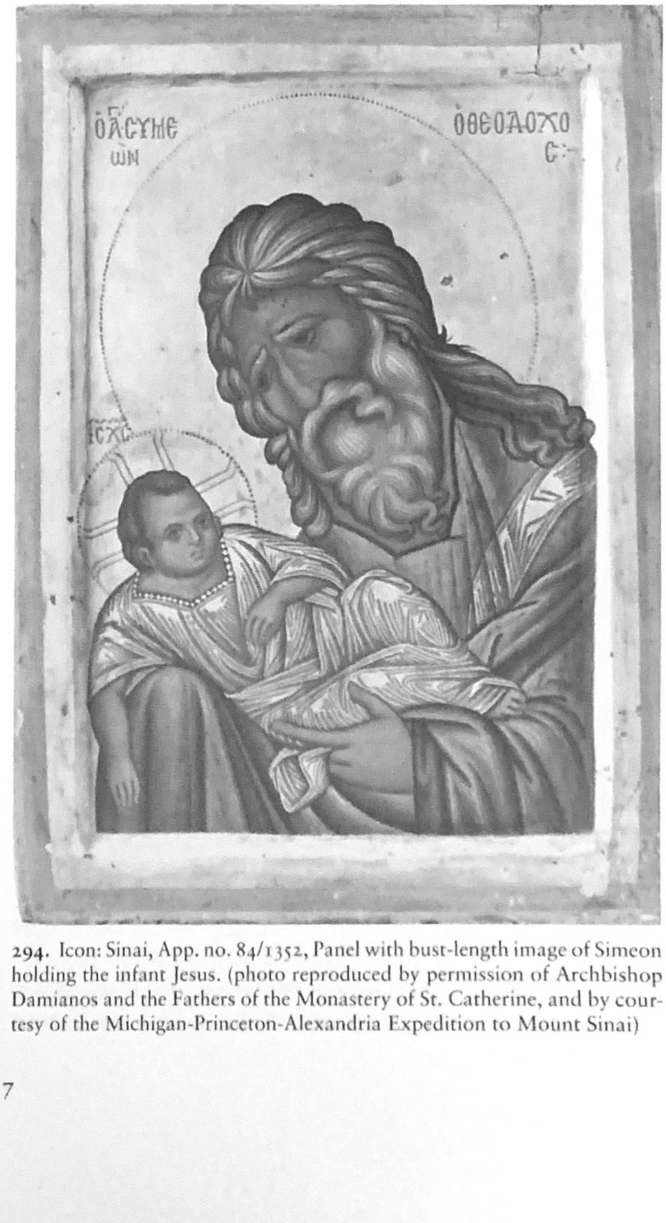
1. The Virgin *Eleousa*, from the Church of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa in Nicosia, *c.*1100–50.[580]
2. The Virgin *Arakiotissa*, from the Church of the Panagia tou Arakos Lagoudera, c.1192.[581]
3. The Virgin and Child, from the Church of the Panagia Theoskepasti, Kato Paphos, c.1200.[582]

These icons demonstrate that use of chrysography was well-known in certain important icons made on Cyprus already by 1200.

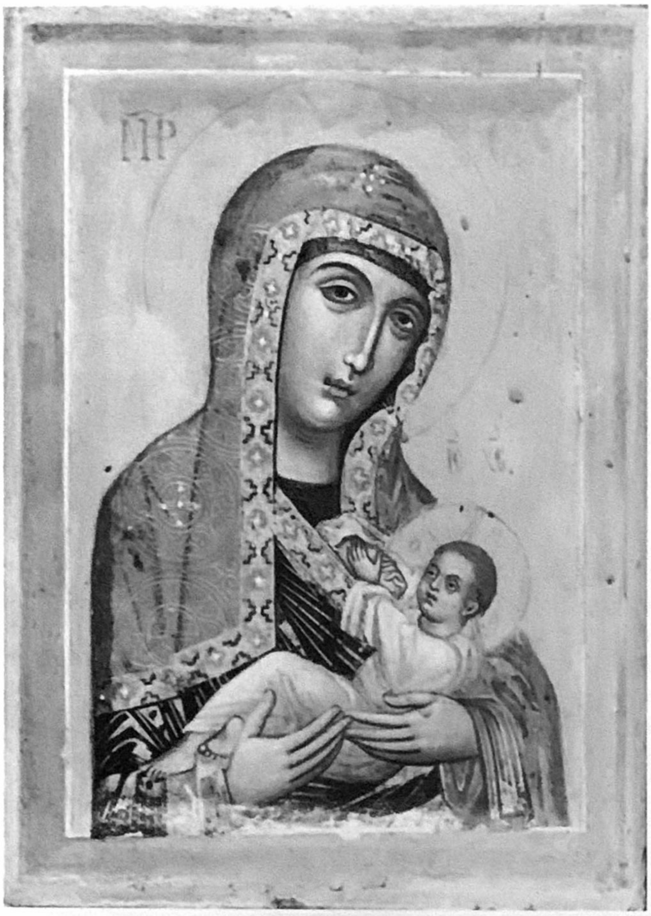
There are also several important icons, both Orthodox and Crusader, with impressive chrysography done on Cyprus in the second half of the thirteenth century:

1. The Virgin of *Kykkos*, from the Church of the Panagia *Kivotos* in Agios Theodoros, *c.* late thirteenth century.[583]
2. The Virgin Hodegetria in a fresco of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, 1280.[584]
3. The Crusader icon of St. Nicholas from the Church of Agios Nikolaos tis Steyis, Kakopetria, c.1280s, done for the Ravendel family (Fig. 343).[585]
4. The Crusader icon of the Golden Virgin and Child Enthroned, from the Church of Agios Kassianos, Nicosia, c.1284–90, done for the Carmelites (Fig. 344).[586]

The other interesting parallels to these works are found in the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas, both now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. I have argued elsewhere that the Kahn Madonna (Fig. 299) was done in Constantinople c.1260,[587] and that the Mellon Madonna (Fig. 300, App. no. 132) may represent a version of the *maniera cypria* executed by a Crusader artist of Italian heritage and Byzantine training working c.1280.[588] One of the features of this remarkable work, besides its extraordinary colorism, and the throne curved at the back, which seems to be an iconographical reference to the Throne of Solomon, is surely the lavish chrysography that falls on the garments of the Virgin and Jesus, and on the cushion and the footstool of the throne. In the character of its chrysography I have argued that the Mellon Madonna relates to the altarpiece of St. Nicholas from Kakopetria (listed above as no. 3 under the thirteenth-century works).[589] We would also note that the gold ground above the throne, including the haloes



294. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 84/1352, Panel with bust-length image of Simeon holding the infant Jesus. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



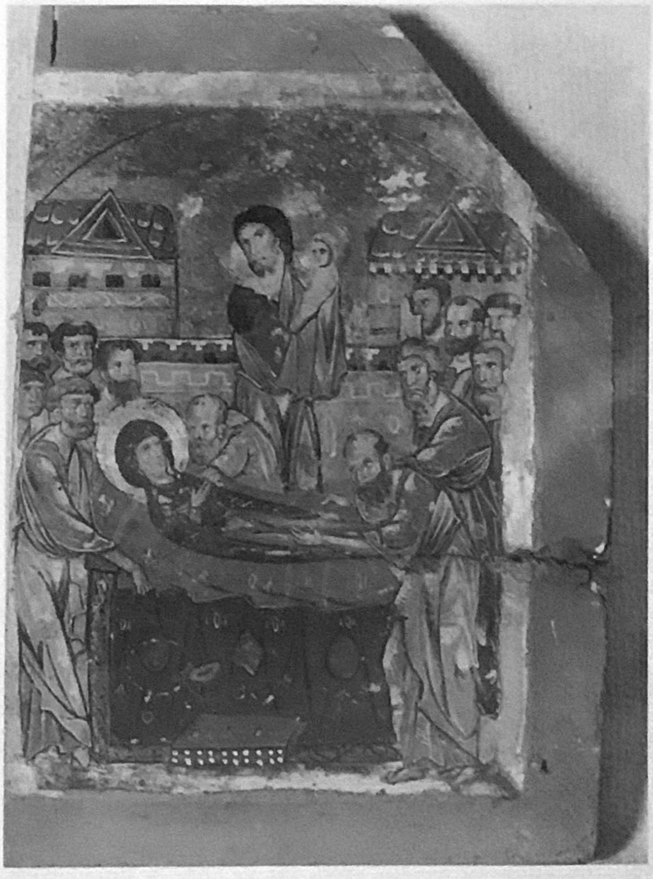
295. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 100/1680, Panel with the veiled Virgin and Child *Galaktotrophousa*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

of the Virgin and Child, and the angels in their medallions are all modern restorations, with incised decoration on the Virgin's halo modeled on Italian work of a slightly later date (*c.*1300 ff.). However, noting the parallel in the chrysography between this icon and the two contemporary altarpieces now in the Icon Museum in Nicosia – those of St. Nicholas and the Golden Madonna (Figs. 343, 344) – we might also wonder whether originally the haloes of the Virgin and Christ were not executed in raised gesso and gilded, as we see it in these other handsome examples. Whatever we may eventually determine about this possibility, it appears that the Mellon Madonna forms part of the flourishing development of Crusader icon painting on Cyprus in the later thirteenth century, which is closely related to the Crusader icons done in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in Acre and/or St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai in the 1280s.

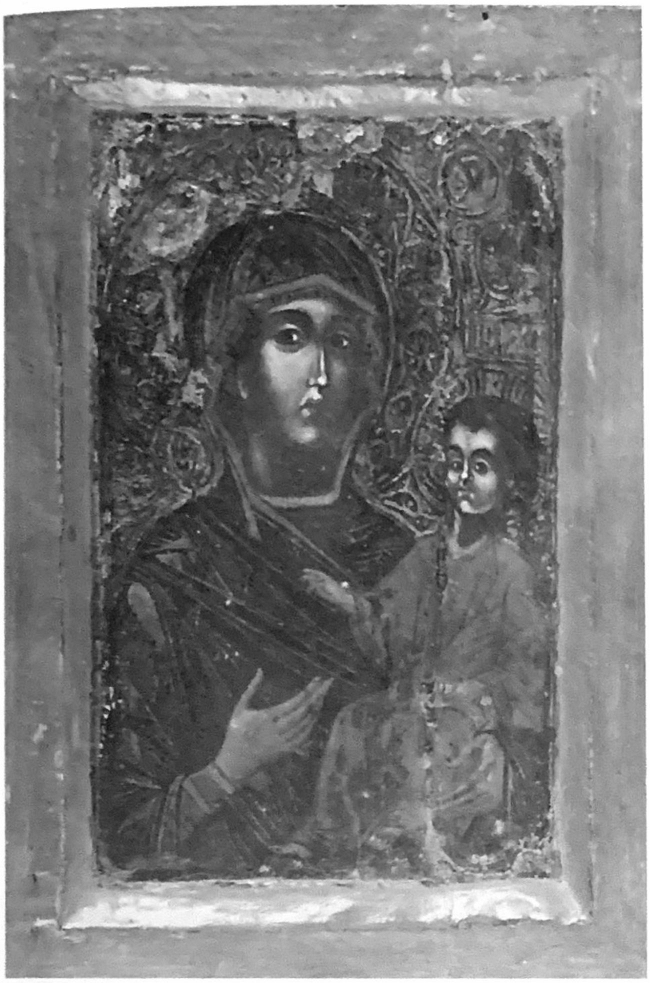
The Later Group of Icons in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader Style: Besides the extraordinarily high-quality icons of the diptych with St. Procopios and the Virgin *Kykkotissa* (Figs. 271–88, App. no. 110/1783), the bilateral icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (Figs. 269, 270, App. no. 97/1568), the iconostasis beam (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003), and the Dormition (Fig. 266, App. no. 87/1394), there is another group of icons also loosely linked to the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style at about the same time. We noted earlier when discussing the icon of St. Antipas (Fig. 268, App. no. 98/1645) that his figure style and the style of his draperies were distinctive and that they relate to another group of icons, which we might characterize as both of mixed quality and more painterly and less linear in their handling. They seem to have been done by a series of different painters who may have all worked in the same workshop in Acre, or in a very closely related set of workshops.

The icons that belong to this group of works that were apparently done in the 1280s are the following:

1. Panel with Two Standing Figures: Aaron and Moses (Fig. 209, App. no. 12/76).[590]
2. Triptych with the Deësis in the center, and three Saints on each inner wing (Fig. 290, App. no. 28/248).[591]
3. St. Nicholas (bust length) with Christ and the Virgin above (central panel of a triptych) (Fig. 301, App. no. 41/408).[592]
4. Panel with the Transfiguration (Fig. 302, App. no. 64/742).[593]
5. Panel with Three Standing Figures: Ephrem, John the Evangelist, and Daniel (Fig. 303, App. no. 80/1144).[594]
6. Triptych with the Deësis and seven standing Saints on the central panel, and the Annunciation on the inner wings (Figs. 304–6, App. no. 81/1177).[595]
7. The Virgin and St. John, panels for a painted Cross (Figs. 307, 308, App. nos. 82/1207, 83/1208).[596]
8. Panel with Three Standing Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Fig. 309, App. no. 92/1453).[597]



296. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 103/1731, Fragmentary panel with the image of the Dormition. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



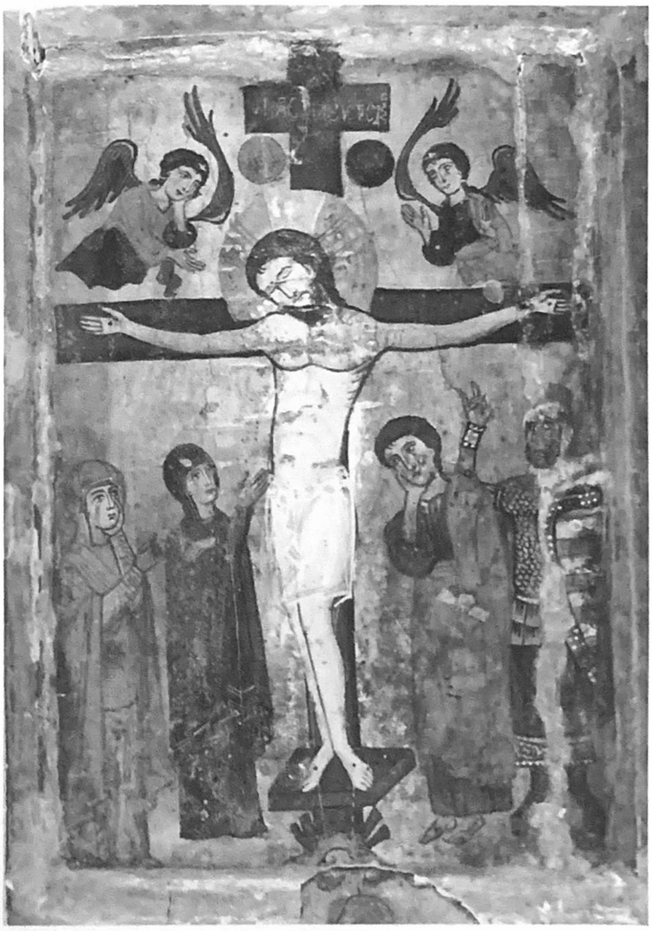
297. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 56/671, Panel with bust-length image of the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

9. Panel with the Virgin and Child *n tns Batou*, with St. Stephen, and a youthful, beardless haloed figure in tunic and cloak, holding a scroll (Fig. 310, App. no. 95/1482).[598]
10. Standing Figures on Triptych Wings (?): Aaron and Moses (Fig. 311, App. no. 115/1857).[599]
11. Panel with the Three Hebrews with the Angel of the Lord above (Fig. 312, App. no. 119/1966).[600]

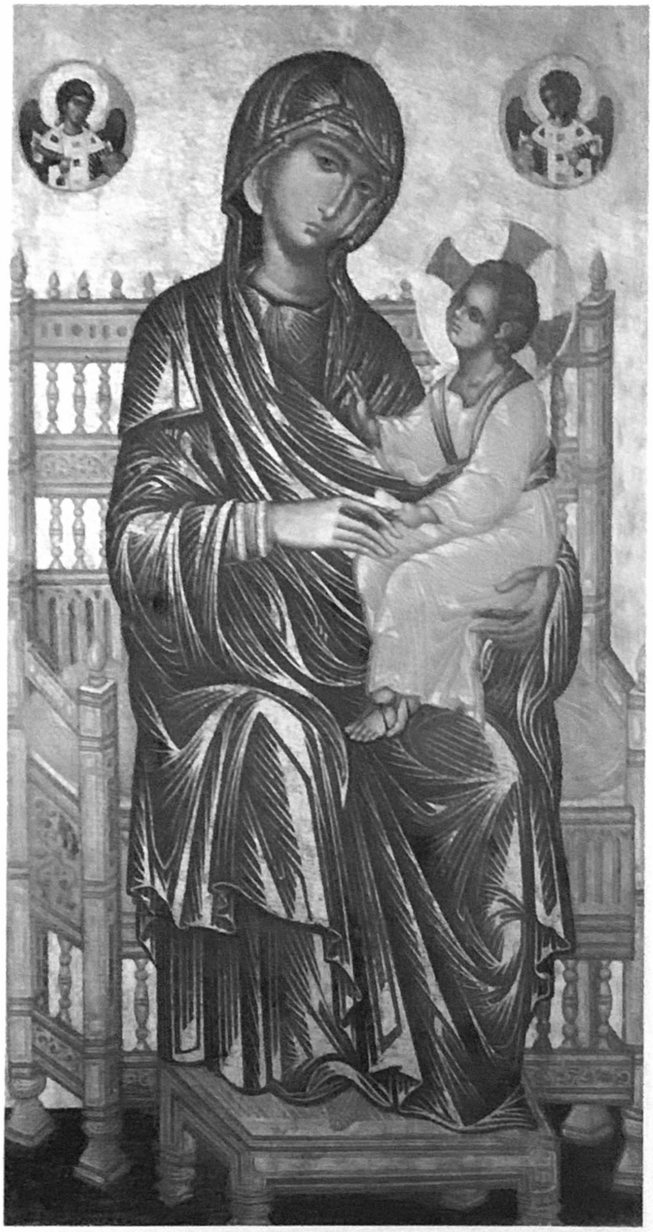
This is obviously a large and variegated group, including icons of very mixed quality, but I think the panels are stylistically, formally linked together, however loosely in some cases. Mouriki included a few of these icons as a subgroup of the Veneto-Byzantine style work related to what Weitzmann called the "Master of the Knights Templar," what we are now calling the "Master of the Soldier Saints."[601] It is much less clear who the artists are and where the panels may have been painted.

The core of this group of icons consists of a series of panels with Old Testament figures, including Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and the Three Hebrews. The icon with the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Fig. 309), is an excellent example, with important characteristics that pertain to the group to which it belongs and to the tradition of its earlier predecessors in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. In terms of the linear definition of the faces and heads, the proportions of the figures, the handling of the draperies, and the white dot on red (or black) circle haloes, this panel relates to earlier icons from the 1260s such as the Sts. Catherine and Marina (Fig. 195, App. no. 90/1418), as well as certain other examples such as Sts. Sergios and Bacchus (Fig. 313) and possibly the panel with the Virgin and Child *n tns Batou* with Sts. Nicholas and Basil (Fig. 314). However, what differentiates these three Old Testament figures from those earlier versions of the style are strongly defined draperies with dark outlines and fold lines with vigorously decorative patterns on the draperies partly consisting of firmly rendered highlights with triangular and streak or ray patterns across the surface zones, and the unusual employment of white dot highlighting as a decorative motif. We find the white dots arranged mostly three in a row placed along outlines and fold lines or inserted on the surface of parts of the drapery for enrichment. They are mostly positioned vertically with a few horizontal or diagonal exceptions. They strike a note of elegance that links the white dot haloes with the body of the holy figure, which is unique to this group of icons.

Other panels in this group show the work of what appear to be different painters, but they all use a closely related version of this type of drapery style with the decorative white dot highlighting. For example, the panel with the figures of Aaron and the youthful, beardless Moses (Fig. 311) shows



298. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 61/729, Panel with the image of the Crucifixion. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

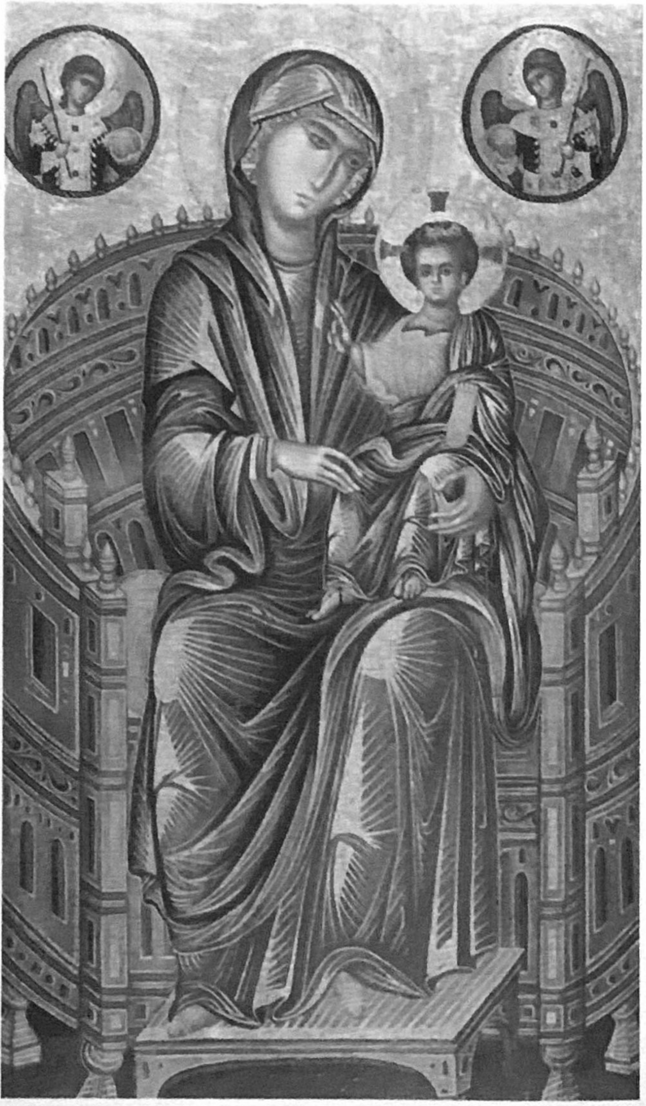


299. Icon: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., App. no. 132, the Kahn Madonna. (photo by courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

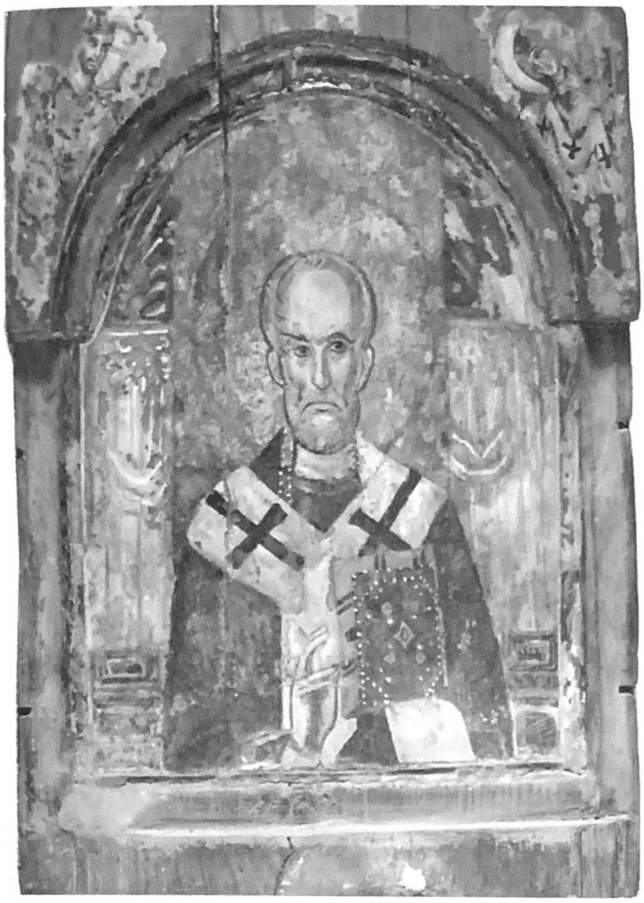
figures with slightly different proportions – larger heads, hands, and feet – but very similar drapery style that includes, especially on Moses, the white dot highlighting. Although these two figures do not have the white dot on red circle haloes seen on the three Patriarchs (Fig. 309), they do share with the three Old Testament figures the same vigorous if lightly applied painted linear highlights on the faces and necks. Another related work is the icon with the standing frontal figures of Ephrem, John the Evangelist, and Daniel (Fig. 303). This unusual grouping of holy figures must have been commissioned for some special reason, but the style of the three figures is very comparable to the three Old Testament figures (Fig. 309). The differences are that there are only red circle haloes on no. 1144 (Fig. 303) and that the three figures all hold their hands differently, whereas on no. 1453 (Fig. 309) they all bless in the "Western" manner. Ephrem holds a cross in his proper right hand, whereas John is blessing in the Western manner, but Daniel blesses in the Greek manner. This is indeed unusual iconography, which may pertain to the mixed Latin and Orthodox for which this icon was intended.

A fourth icon is that of the Three Hebrews with the angel of God above (Fig. 312). Here the figures again have very robust drapery with strongly defined highlights, some of which include the white dot variety arranged vertically. These are contrasted with the cape over the central figure, which is bright red with the three-white-dot decoration in triangular designs as a decorative motif. The painting of these faces seems simpler with less highlighting, but the use of the Acre convention for the definition of the eyes is ably followed.

Finally we can examine two different versions of this style as exemplified by a set of panels including the Virgin and St. John (Figs. 307, 308) executed for a crucifix and a small panel with Aaron and Moses (Fig. 209). In the first case, we see two figures rather more broadly proportioned and rendered in a more painterly style with nonetheless drapery designed and executed in a manner very comparable to what we found in the



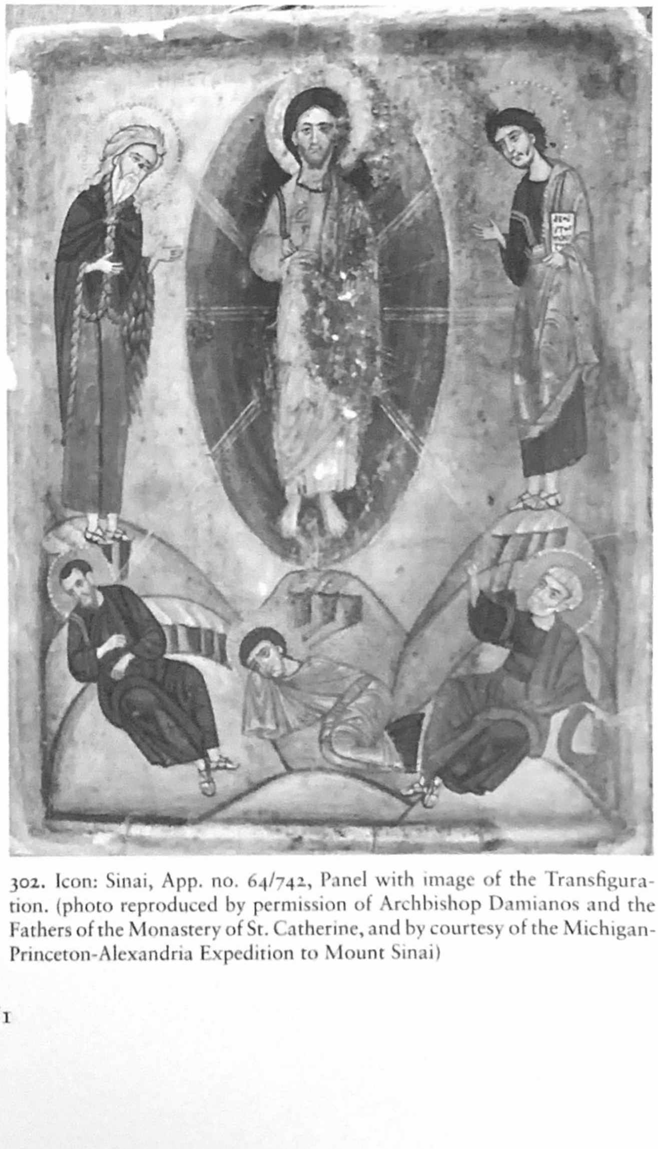
300. Icon: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., App. no. 133, the Mellon Madonna. (photo by courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)



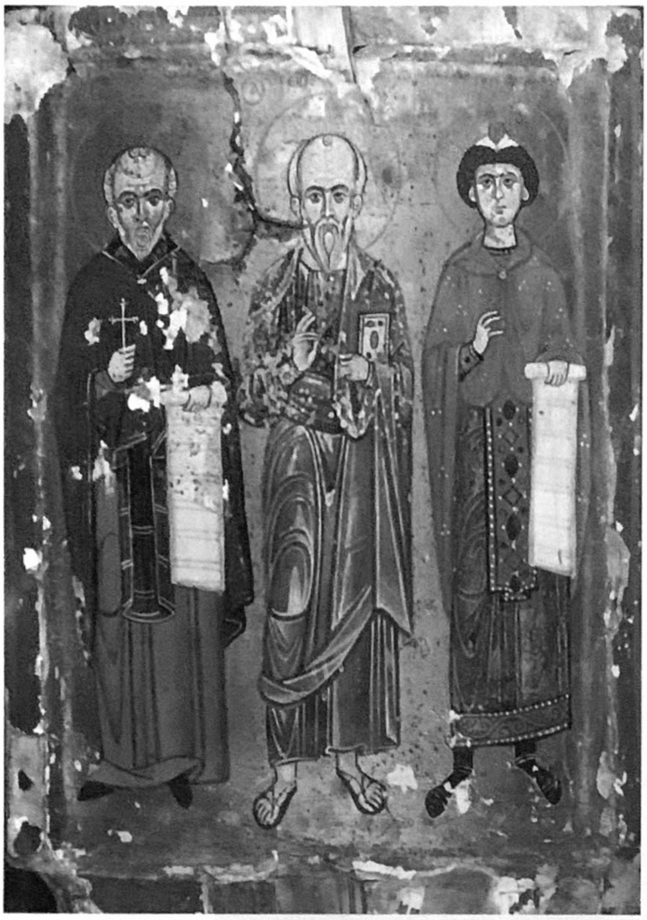
301. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 41/408, Central Panel from a Triptych with bust-length image of St. Nicholas and diminutive images of Christ and the Virgin above. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

icon with the three Old Testament figures (Fig. 309) and the two wings with Aaron and Moses (Fig. 311). The Virgin and John both have white dot on red circle haloes as we see with in Fig. 309, but are somewhat broader in conception like the figures in Fig. 311, but in their colorism and in their breadth and painterly bulk, Mary and John exceed the other panels in this group. Mary, for example, wears somber colors of brown-maroon over dark blue green and no highlights. John is in pastel colors with vigorous highlights and liberal use of the white dot decoration mostly in a vertical configuration. What distinguishes these two figures from other figures on the icons in this group is the handling and especially the shading of the faces. Mary and John have longer, bulkier noses and deep shading down their faces below the eyes. In the case of John, this produces a distinctive triangular effect not duplicated on the other panels. The large outlines, generous proportions, and vigorous fold lines – and highlights on John's drapery – as well as painterly highlights on their faces give these two figures a more folksy look perhaps than the other icons in this group. Clearly they must have belonged to an impressive painted crucifix for which the image of Christ has now been lost.[602] This must have been an interesting commission because the other painted crucifixes known from the collection of icons in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai are quite small.[603] These figures of Mary and John are more in the spirit of the painted crucifixes with figures in side fields, which form such an important part of dugento Italian painting.[604] What is unusual about these panels, in contrast to the side panel figures or the panel figures placed at the ends of the cross arm of the cross on Italian crucifixions, is that they have floral carved wood sculptural decoration along both sides of each panel.

The other panel of interest to us for this group is one that Weitzmann commented on in 1963, a small icon only 20 cm high that contains very impressively painted figures of Aaron and Moses (Fig. 209). This panel stands at one extreme among the works in our group, because although it is painted in the same vigorously highlighted style, quite painterly and even quite three-dimensional in the volumetric representation of these two figures, it does not exhibit the use of either the white dot highlighting explicitly or the white dot on red circle haloes so frequently found otherwise. It does include some passages of the brocade design we referred to earlier, however, thereby linking it to yet another cross-section of the icons at Sinai. Moreover Weitzmann observed, "there is something particularly impressive about the Moses figures of our group, all of which have a passionate and soulful look in their eyes."[605] In making this reference he was comparing this Moses to what I have dated as earlier examples of this Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. However, this diminutive Moses is very impressive, very finely painted in a hand that could also easily be at home in the small-scale work required in miniature painting.



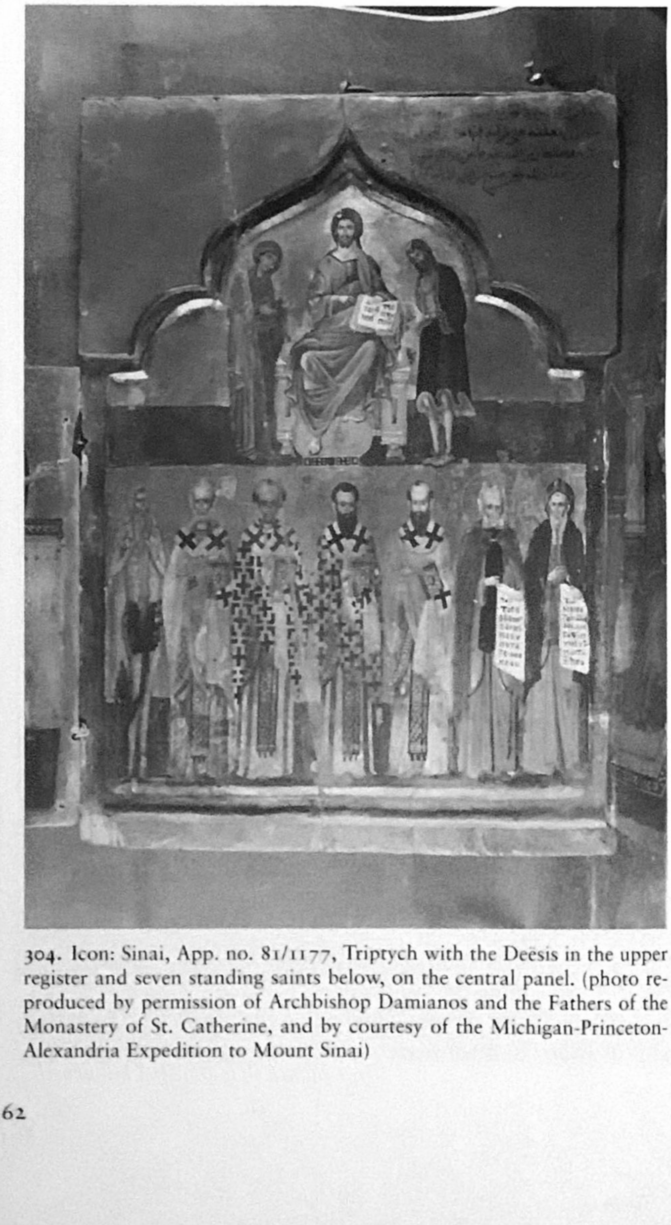
302. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 64/742, Panel with image of the Transfiguration. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



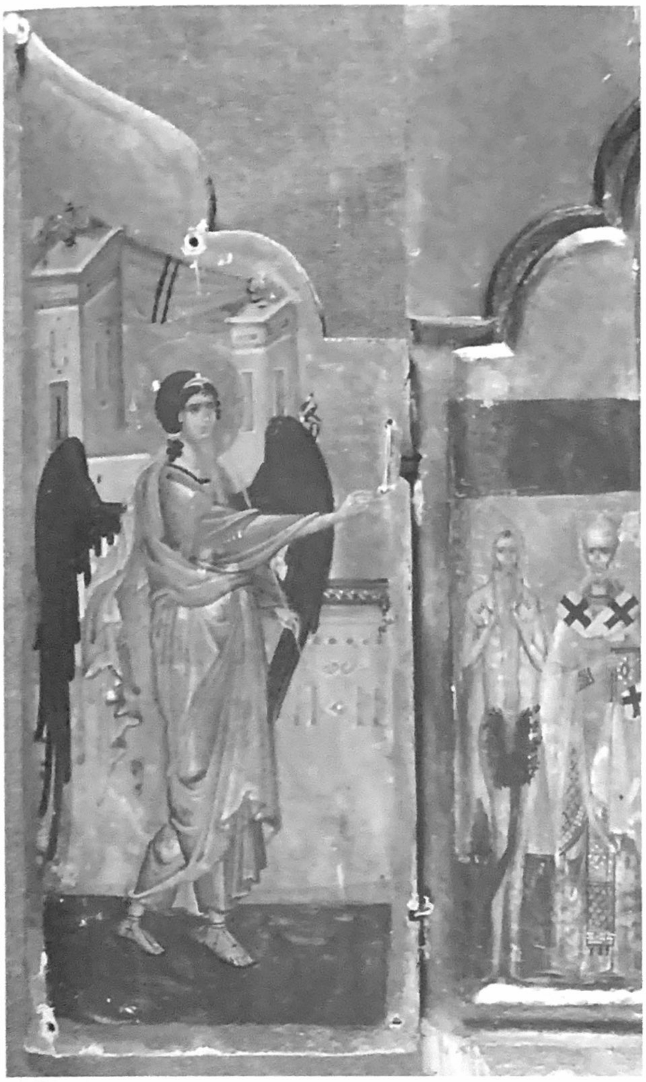
303. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 80/1144, Panel with images of three standing holy figures: Ephrem, John the Evangelist, and Daniel. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

The other panels that appear to belong to this group are more loosely related to the main formal characteristics as exhibited by the panel of the three Old Testament figures (Fig. 309), and they will need to be evaluated further when the opportunity to examine them firsthand can be realized. At this point I would only call attention to one of these panels because of certain unusual features. The image of the Virgin *n tns Batou* with two standing beardless saints (Fig. 310) is interesting for several reasons. Although we have seen several other similar panels with this Sinaitic iconography of the Virgin all probably done for personal devotional use, dating earlier, this icon has some new features not seen previously. Among the earlier panels we have introduced, there is the Virgin and Child with Moses, Elijah and St. Gregory Nazianzen (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54) in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style from the 1250s, and the Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist and Moses (Fig. 194, App. no. 43/428) in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style from the 1260s, as two excellent examples for *comparanda*.

The choice of saints standing with the Virgin and Child in Figure 310 is unusual in the person of St. Stephan to the left and unclear because of the lack of inscription to identify the equally youthful and beardless figure at the right. The style of these figures follows in the tradition of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, as does the format of the representation, with the Virgin standing on a formal podium or footstool, as in Figure 194. However, the details of the handling of the figures are plainly different and feature greater elongation, tiny heads, hands, and feet, and a somewhat crowded composition, with more room for the saint to the left than for the figure to the right. What is of the greatest interest, however, is the extensive tooling done to the frame of the icon, in the form of large and small medallions with floral decorations on the front surface, and the punch work to the inner beveled surface, the haloes of the three large figures – but not Jesus – with punch work on the outer ring and vine scroll floral motifs on the inner parts, and a low wall dado zone behind the figures with lozenge and punch work decoration. We have noted already how interested some artists were in producing icons with raised gesso decorations, as for example, with the Virgin and Child and three saints (Fig. 182, App. no. 7/54) referred to earlier. However, this is the first time we find incised and punched work decoration as here. This is interesting with reference to the production of icon painting of course, but it is also interesting with regard to the flourishing metalwork trade, which produced exquisite pieces such as the Freer Canteen from the mid-thirteenth century and the Freer d'Arenberg Basin from the 1240s, as well as the famous Baptistère de Saint Louis (Fig. 323) dated variously from the last third of the thirteenth century to the early fourteenth century.[606] These remarkable brass objects as top quality



304. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 81/1177, Triptych with the Deësis in the upper register and seven standing saints below, on the central panel. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

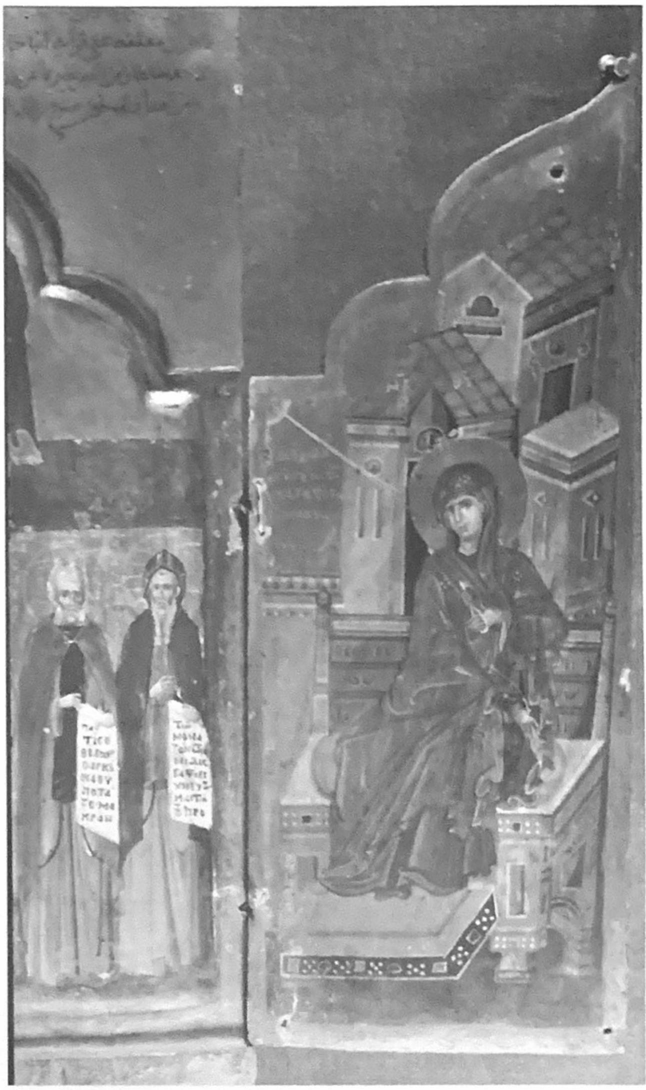


305. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 81/1177, Triptych with the angel Gabriel of the Annunciation on the left inner wing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

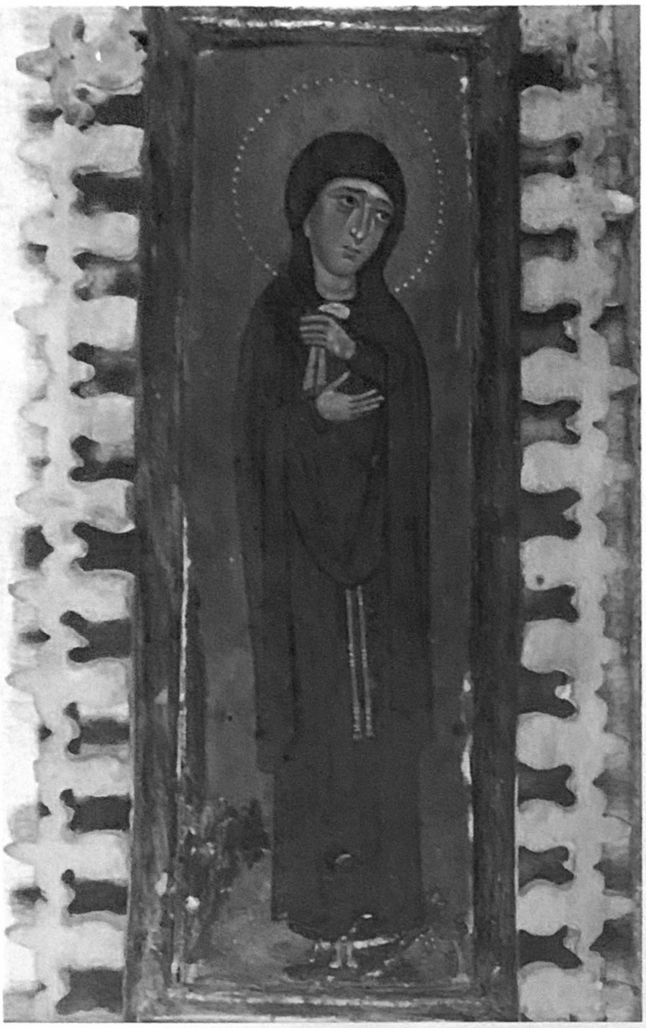
examples of what artistic metalwork was being produced feature incised decoration that is *mutatis mutandis* comparable to the effect that the artist of this icon was attempting to create. We may wonder what the relationship may be between the icon and the metalwork, but there is no doubt that the metalwork was being produced contemporaneously. The question, of course, is, is this tooled work on the panel contemporary with this icon, the painting for which was presumably done about 1275 or 1280? Detailed study and careful firsthand examination will be necessary to determine whether the incision and punchwork were done at the same time or might have been done later.[607]

The other, final work (Figs. 304–6) worth commenting on among these icon paintings is a remarkable triptych, which has a complex and what might at first glance might appear to be a much later shaped frame, no. 1177.[608] On the central panel it has a Deësis group with Christ seated on a very substantial carpentered bench throne. He is dressed in bright red with a medium blue cloak! The Virgin and St. John are in darker colors: Mary in blue green and dark red; John in a dark blue hairshirt. Below we see seven ecclesiastical saints including, left to right, Onouphrius, Nicholas, John Chrysostom, Basil in the center, Gregory of Nyssa, Sabas, and Anthony; so, two ascetics, two bishops, and three doctors of the Church. On the inner wings we find the Annunciation set against architectural backgrounds, with a tall and very elegant angel Gabriel in pastel orange over green, advancing slowly and gesturing at the left. Mary is seated at the right also on a substantial wooden throne with a straight back; she is envelopped in a cascade of drapery, wearing red over a green undergarment!

The very painterly style of this handsome triptych is obviously only distantly related to the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style of the other icons grouped together as described, but this icon is worthy of mention for three reasons. First, it too has incised and punched decoration on the central panel, only on the haloes of the holy figures. Second, the shape of the triptych with its complex pointed arch forms is most unusual among these icons, which are almost uniformly some kind of rectangular panel. Judged by Western standards this type of arch suggests



306. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 81/1177, Triptych with the Virgin of the Annunciation on the right inner wing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



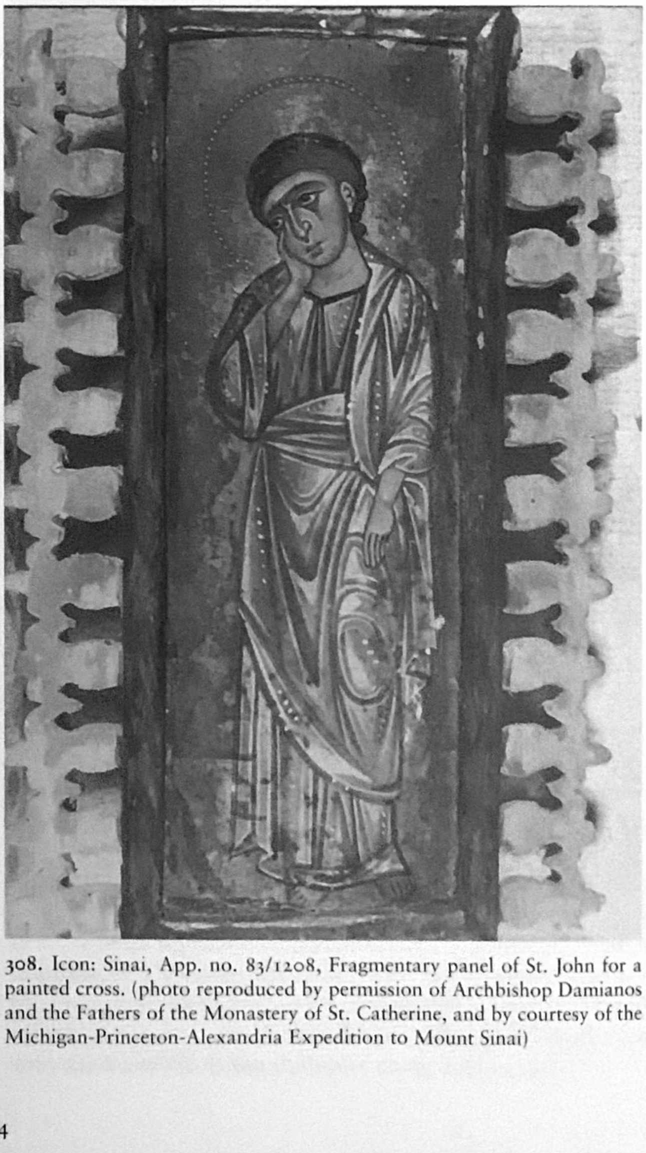
307. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 82/1207, Fragmentary panel of the Virgin for a painted cross. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

later developments in the progress of panel painting in Europe or in the Gothic architecture of Venice.[609] Here in the Crusader East, however, this type of arch is already present in metalwork from the middle of the thirteenth century, as we see especially in the famous Freer basin as well as in the fine metalwork candlestick from Syria, now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs.[610] Third, the style is very painterly and appears to be strongly influenced by Palaeologan painting, but it is not clear just when it might date. Very tentatively we propose an attribution to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, mindful of the questions raised earlier with regard to all three features.

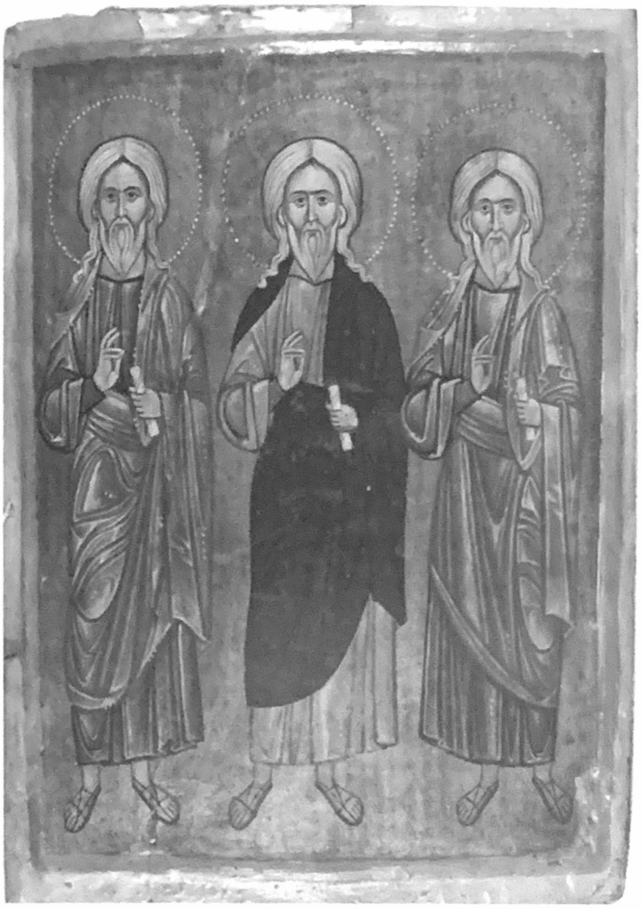
Conclusions

It is evident from our discussion of the icons that major changes occurred in the production of "Crusader" icons during the years from 1268 to 1289. Despite the interest in French and Franco-Byzantine Crusader styles in manuscript illumination during this period, in icon painting we find very few examples. As we have seen it is overwhelmingly the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style that dominates and forms the focus of production on several levels: on the level of major icons of high quality and large format, on the level of the high-quality icons of small format, and on the level of good-quality icons of small or medium format. It is notable furthermore that three of the icons in Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style that appear to date from the period 1268–89 rank among the very finest panel paintings we have among the "Western-influenced" group, namely the large Diptych with St. Procopius and the Virgin Kykkotissa (Figs. 271–288, App. no. 110/1783), the large bilateral processional icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (Figs. 269 and 270, App. no. 97/1568), and the iconostasis beam (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003). Finally we notice that whereas the interest in small-sized panels presumably for devotional use continues, the commissions for icons of military saints drop off precipitously.

Our findings indicate that icon painting continues to exhibit iconographical links to Sinai, with the production of a number of works including the Virgin and Child *n tns Batou* and saints and holy men connected with Mount Sinai. However, compared to the period 1250–68, these links seem less strong. By contrast the emergence of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader high style seems to be a very important development growing out of the work done in this style before 1268. These features make the attribution of works to Acre or Sinai even more



308. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 83/1208, Fragmentary panel of St. John for a painted cross. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



309. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 92/1453, Panel with three standing Old Testament Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

difficult than before 1268. Presumably production continued in both places, but it is very problematic to decide on where any particular icon was done as yet.

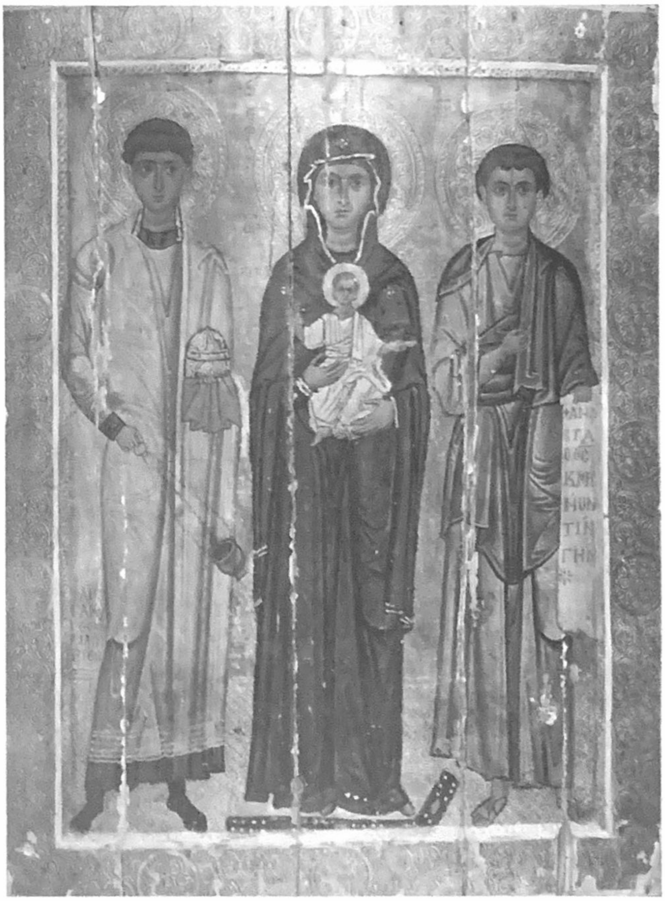
The fact that some of the icons in Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style seem to have ties to other traditions such as are found on Cyprus and the icon painting of the *maniera cypria* and Armenian manuscript illumination also suggests that as manuscript illumination grew more Franco-centric, the icon painting was becoming more cosmopolitan and more representative of artistic ideas in the Near East. Finally, the rich development of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in these later years also raises questions about the relationship of panel painting in Venice, where very little has survived from the second half of the thirteenth century, and these icon paintings from Acre and Sinai, where Crusader artists with certain ties to Venice were painting numerous and, in some cases, exceptional works. The prominence of the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in these later years parallels the prominence of the Venetians in terms of commerce and economic power in Acre at this time. This suggests that many of these icons, if not most, were done in Acre. There is also the likelihood that some Venetian pilgrims to Sinai may account for some of these icons, and we shall look for future research to shed light on their role as patrons of these paintings.

COINS AND SEALS

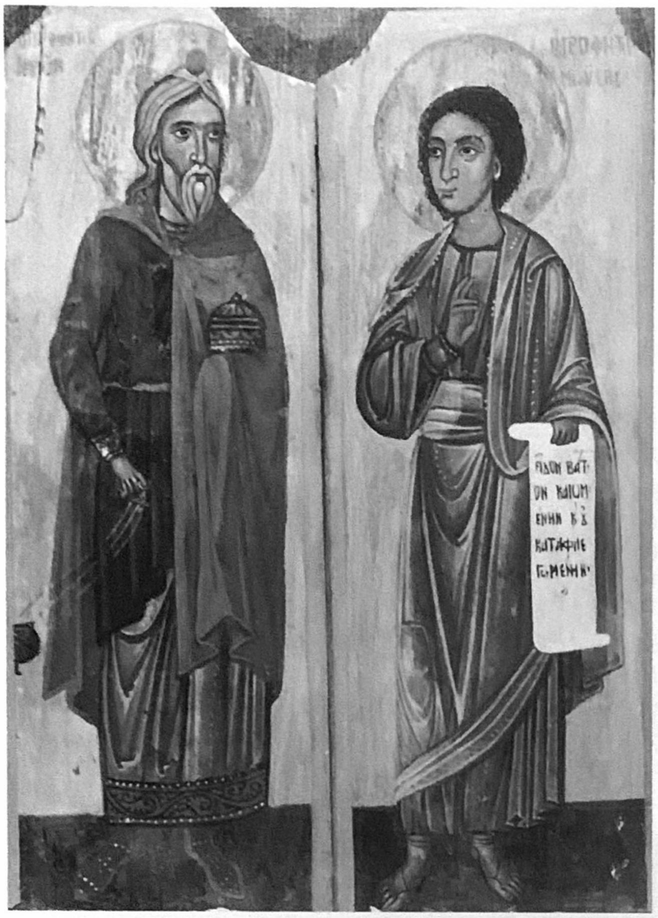
Coins

In the previous period, 1244–68, we found relatively few new coin types issued by the royal mint or by feudal lords. Not surprisingly this situation does not much change during the years 1268 to 1289. Acre seems to have continued to have issued a full range of coin denominations through this period. That means a full gamut from "copper pougeoises and pieforts, to billon deniers, both Islamic and Latin-type dirhams, and imitative Islamic gold dinars."[611] However, even so royal and princely coinage was relatively meager and by comparison, baronial coinages "seem scanty" according to John Porteous.[612] Even though, or perhaps because there were no major new royal coin types introduced during this period, there was an increase in the circulation of coins from abroad. The coins of Cyprus play a role of growing importance. Coins from Italy and the kingdom of Sicily are also widely available.

Among the coins minted by feudal lords of the Latin Kingdom and those from the other Crusader States, we can mention two developments. The lords of Montfort controlled Tyre during this period; they issued copper deniers until the death of John of Montfort in 1283.[613] Philip of Montfort (1243–70)



310. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 95/1482, Panel with standing figures of the Virgin and Child "n tns batou," St. Stephen, and an unidentified youthful male saint. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



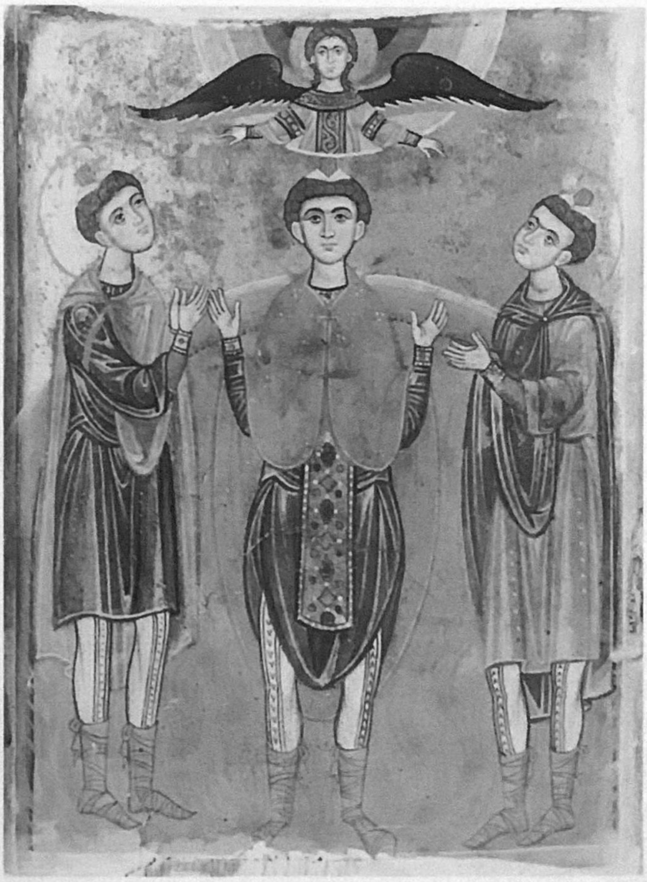
311. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 115/1857, Images of standing figures on triptych wings: Aaron and Moses. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

minted two types of coppers, one with a Gothic tower that we have seen previously and one with a temple façade. The latter has been interpreted as the great cathedral of Tyre with its four famous columns, St. Mary of the Sepulcher of Our Lady of Tyre.[614] John of Montfort (1270–83) continued this latter type. When Antioch fell in 1268, obviously its Crusader coinage ended, but Bohemond VI (1252–75), who carried on in Tripoli, succeeded by his son Bohemond VII (1275–87), produced what have been characterized as the finest Crusader coins in this period. At Tripoli there are two new types of coins to consider. (We have already discussed in Chapter 6 the controversial *Agnus Dei bezant*, which may have also been struck by Bohemond VI during his reign.)[615] There is the silver *gros* and the half-*gros*, with different types issued by Bohemond VI (Fig. 315) and Bohemond VII (Fig. 316).[616] Much controversy surrounds the relationship between these Tripolitan *gros* types and the new *gros tournois* initiated by Louis IX in France in 1266, as we have discussed in Chapter 6. As we noted there, Porteous thinks "the possibility has to be taken seriously that the larger Tripolitan *gros* was the prototype for the *gros tournois* and not vice versa."[617] As for the Tripolitan silver *gros*, the star *gros* of Bohemond VI is an extremely handsome coin, one of the finest from the Crusader States in the thirteenth century (Fig. 315). Porteous thinks the silver *gros* issued by Bohemond VII is even finer (Fig. 316). He says, "the castle coins of Bohemond VII, whose design, the castle and the cross, is so traditional to crusader coinage and so symbolic of crusading life, are among the finest of all the coins ever struck by the Franks in Syria and Palestine." He goes on. "They are also the last. Part of their beauty today lies in the fact that they mostly survive in fine condition. They were not in circulation for long before Tripoli surrendered to the onslaught of the Mamluks" in 1289. Finally, he concludes, numismatically speaking, "Tripoli is the only one of the Latin states which went down with its colors flying."[618]

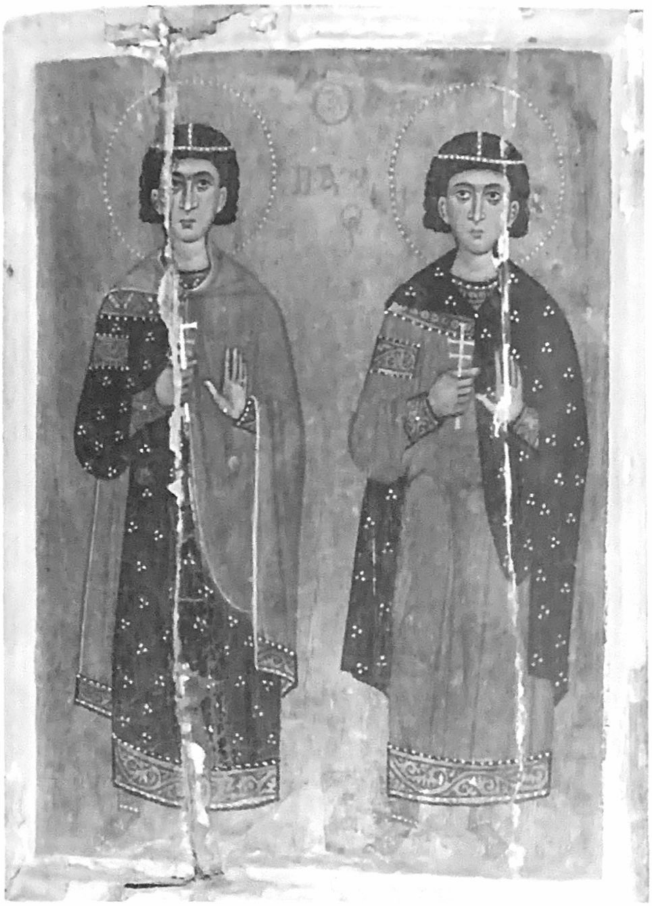
Whatever we may think of the aesthetic merits of the Tripolitan *gros* compared to the coppers of Tyre issued in these years between 1268 and 1289, one thing is certain. The motifs of a Gothic tower symbolizing the fortifications of Tyre, a temple façade symbolizing the Cathedral of Tyre, and a massive three-tower castle symbolizing the fortications of Tripoli are entirely in keeping with the established mainstream of Crusader coin design. Starting in the twelfth century with the royal issues containing images of the Holy Sepulcher or the Tower of David, the Crusaders showed great partiality toward architectural imagery on their coinage. This tradition is given a final manifestation with these coins from Tyre and Tripoli in the late thirteenth century.

Seals

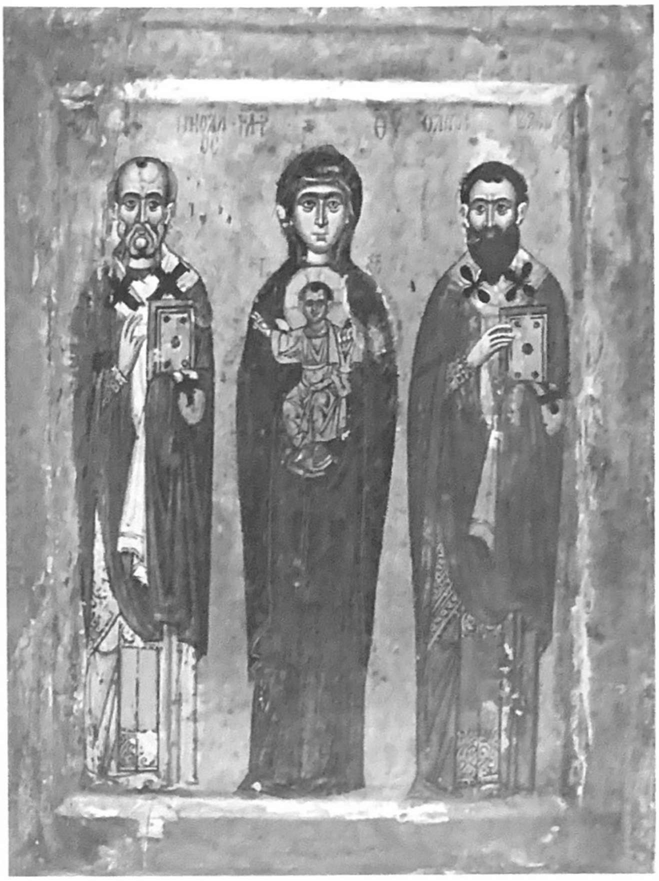
In the case of the seals from the years 1268–89,[619] the military orders have a certain continuity in their issues, unlike the royal



312. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 119/1966, Panel with images of the Three Hebrews and the Angel of the Lord. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



313. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 91/1426, Panel with images of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos standing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



314. Icon: Sinai, App. no. 93/1454, Panel with images of the Virgin and Child "n tns batou," St. Nicholas and St. Basil standing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

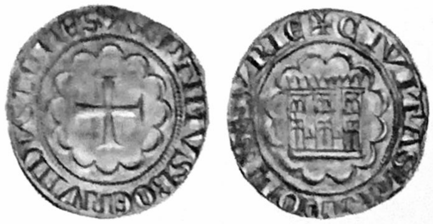
seals, and there are no new institutional types employed by the Hospitallers or the Templars, neither for the master nor for the convent.[620] One slight change is noted in the Hospitaller masters seal of Nicholas de Lorgne (1277–85), however (Fig. 317). We find under the patriarchal cross on the obverse a representation of the skull of Adam has been added. King explains this imagery as follows:

> The addition of the skull of Adam beneath the patriarchal cross is a reference to the famous medieval legend concerning the origin of the Holy Cross. The story runs that Adam was buried in the cavern beneath the hill of Golgotha, and that Seth placed in his mouth a seed, brought from Paradise. So out of the skull of Adam grew the tree from which the Holy Cross was afterwards made. The tree on Lebanon survived the flood, and was cut down by Solomon, and used in the construction of the Temple bridge. Here in ignorance of its sacred destiny it was trampled underfoot by men, until the Queen of Sheba came and recognized and adored it. At the crucifixion the tree, now become the Holy Cross, was once more planted on Golgotha over Adam's skull, on to which it is said that our Saviour's blood fell through an earthquake chasm in the rock.[621]

This story, which is told in the Golden Legend, by Jacobus de Voragine, written sometime before 1267, may have now made its way to the Holy Land.[622] Here in Acre, the Hospitaller master, Nicholas of Lorgne, apparently embellished his seal with the skull of Adam, giving additional depth to the imagery of the Hospitallers with the representation of the True Cross. When the Hospitallers were installed in their great hospice before Jerusalem was lost in 1244, they were located across from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where the shrine of Calvary and the great relic of the True Cross was found. It is not clear why Nicholas de Lorgne had the skull of Adam introduced on his seal.

With regard to the Templars, the extant seal used by Guillaume de Beaujeu in 1286 depicts the Dome of the Rock on the obverse with the inscription, "+ : S TVBE TEMPLI XPI :" (Fig. 318b).[623] It is a traditional type for the Templars, once again directing our attention to architectural motifs established in the twelfth century, in this case used by Templar masters stretching back to Bertrand de Blanquefort (1156–69). The

315. Tripoli: silver star *gros* of Bohemond VI. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)



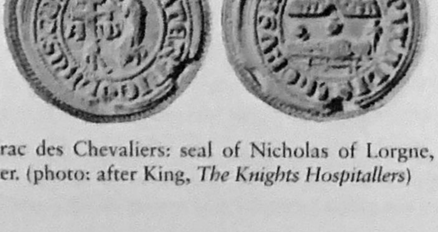
316. Tripoli: silver castle *gros* of Bohemond VII. (photo from Hazard, Harry W. and Norman P. Zacour, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. VI, copyright 1990, reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press)

contre-sceau for Guillaume de Beaujeu contains his personal arms, *d'or au lion de sable, armé et lampassé de gueules*, and the inscription, "+ S' : FRATRIS : G : BELLI : IOCI" (Fig. 318a).[624]

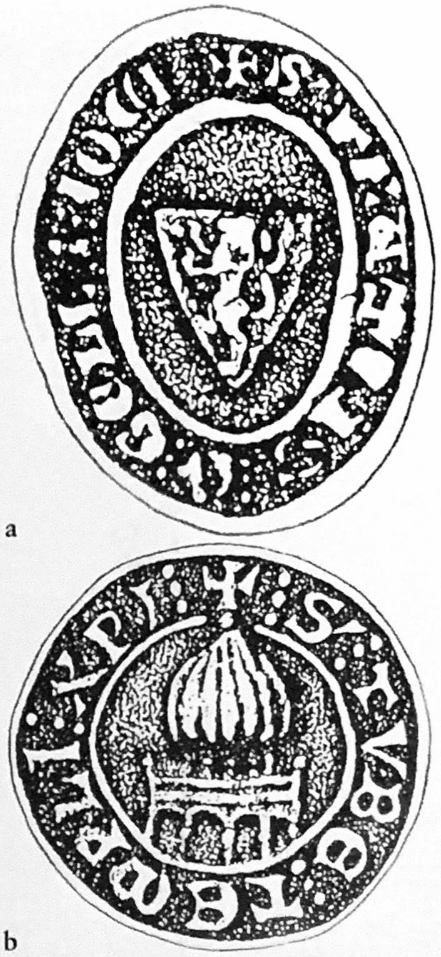
The seal type of the grand master of the Teutonic Knights varied, but the basic imagery was focused on the important cult image of the Virgin and Child enthroned. There exists a good example on an act dated 27 June 1286 that carries the inscription, ": S. MAGRI. HOSPIT. SCE. MARIE. TEVT. IRLM" (Fig. 319). The Virgin and Child sit on a carpentered rectangular back throne. The Virgin holds the child seated on her proper left knee. He blesses and she holds a scepter topped with a fleur-de-lis.[625] This iconography is interesting and timely in light of icons of the Virgin and Child enthroned from approximately this same time, such as the Mellon Madonna. Even though the specific iconography is different, the basic image of the Virgin and Child enthroned is a comparable variant to this important imagery in the Crusader East in the latter part of the thirteenth century.[626]

Compared to the orders, the patriarchs of Jerusalem employed more varied seals in the thirteenth century, which could depict a scene from the Holy Sepulcher, such as the Holy Women at the Tomb, or a patriarch enthroned, or, as was the case with Thomas Agni de Lentino (1272–7), the seal could carry their personal coat of arms (Fig. 320).[627] Otherwise there are very few examples of seals from the high clergy of the various surviving bishoprics in the Crusader States. Only the seal of the archbishop of Tyre, Bonacours de Gloire (1277–90), exists from the final years of the Latin Kingdom as an image of the fortified city, a very typical Crusader architectural type (Fig. 321).[628]

The royal seals of Charles of Anjou follow those of his brother, Louis IX, in type and appear with inscriptions designating him as the king of Jerusalem and Sicily as follows: "KAROLVS. SCDS. DEI. GRA. REX. IERL'M. SICIL'." For his successor as king of Jerusalem, Henry II of Cyprus, we have only a notarial description of the seal taken from an act dated in January of 1286 from Nicosia. By this act Henry founded a daily requiem Mass for his uncle, Baldwin of Ibelin, in the Church of Saint Sophia.[629]

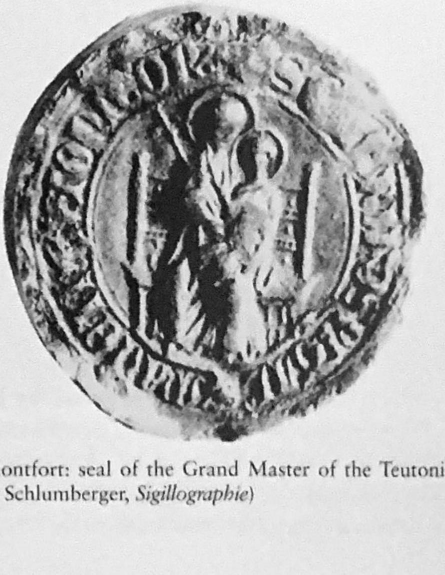


317. Acre/Crac des Chevaliers: seal of Nicholas of Lorgne, Hospitaller Grand Master. (photo: after King, *The Knights Hospitallers*)

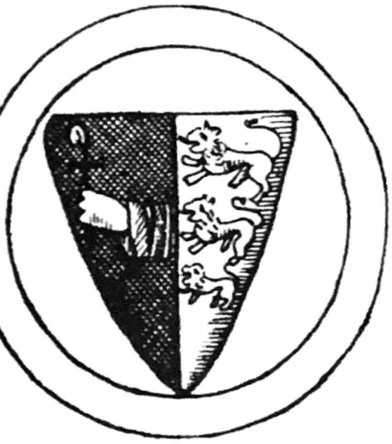


318. Acre/'Atlit: seal of William of Beaujeu, Templar Grand Master. (photo: after P. de St.-Hilaire, *Les Sceaux Templiers*)

Although few seals from the patriarchs or the bishops of Acre survive from the thirteenth century, we do have a seal from a relocated order in Acre that is extant during the reign of Adam (1281–9), abbot of the Augustinian canons of Notre Dame of Mount Sion. This handsome lead seal combines the



319. Acre/Montfort: seal of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights. (photo: after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*)

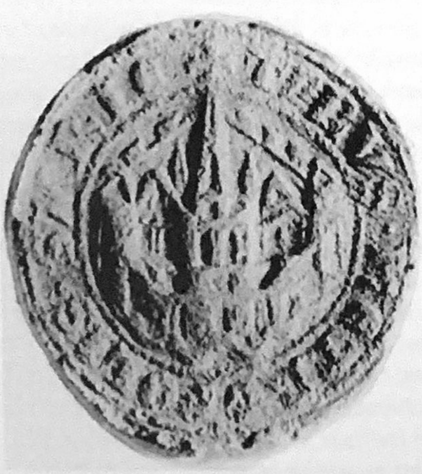


320. Acre: seal of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas of Lentino. (photo: after Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico*)

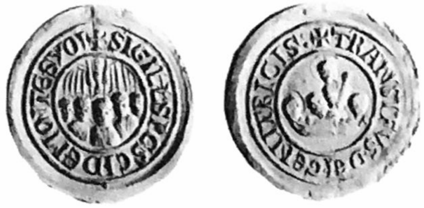
iconography of the two major events associated with Mount Sion, namely the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles at Pentecost on the obverse, with the Dormition of the Virgin on the reverse.[630] The inscriptions are very handsomely done and well-preserved (Fig. 322): Obv.: "+ SIGILL' SPC. SCI. DE. MO'TE. SYO." R.: "+ TRANSITVS. DEI. GENITRICIS :." The scenes are clear but quite abbreviated due to the comparatively small size of the seal.

There is also the seal of an abbot of the *Templum Domini* of Jerusalem relocated to Acre. It belongs to Martin Gobbé, one of the delegates sent in June 1286 to Eudes Poilechien by the king of Cyprus on the momentous occasion when King Henry demanded that the citadel of Acre be turned over to him. On this seal *en navette* we find a frontal image of the abbot standing holding his crozier and carrying a book. The inscription reads "+ S. MARTI. ABBIS. SACRL. TEPLI. DNI. I. IHRLV."[631]

It is evident that during this period there are many more seals extant from ecclesiastical sources, including the military orders, than there are from royal or aristocratic figures. This is a somewhat unexpected reversal of what we found to be the case with the seals during the preceding period, 1244–50 to 1268, discussed in Chapter 6, and a reversal of what we find, for example, in the production of illustrated manuscripts between 1268 and 1289, but it simply underscores the fragmentary survivals in both media. It may be that the number of surviving examples decreases as we move closer to 1291, but be that as it may, we hope to identify more extant examples in both categories as research continues. Once again, as in the preceding period, the design of the seals is rather conservative, but the work is high-quality. Unlike in those earlier years, we cannot obviously discern any particular growth in the Italian influence, which becomes so important for the icons, as distinct from the French influence, which plays such a major role with regard to the manuscripts. Indeed, were we only to look at the imagery of these seals as our only source of knowledge about the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land for the period 1268–89, we might well remark on the colonial nature of the work, which shows remarkably little impact from the Near Eastern circumstances of the Crusaders, other than what the inscriptions refer to. The situation is much different with regard to the icons, some of the manuscripts, and much of what survives in the minor arts.



321. Tyre: seal of Archbishop Bonacours de Gloire. (photo: after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*)

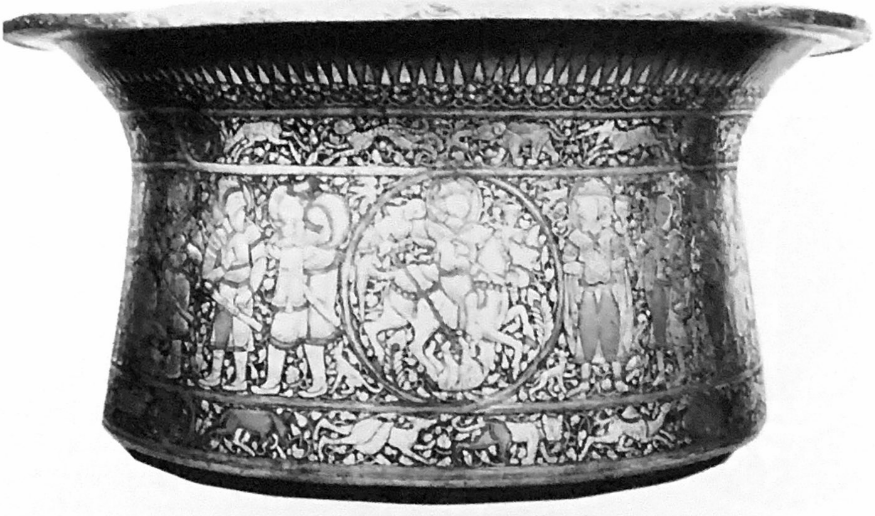


322. Acre: seal of Abbot Adam of Notre Dame of Mount Sion. (photo: after Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*)

CRUSADER MINOR ARTS

In his remarkable study entitled, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, Camille Enlart focused mainly on architecture as his subtitle indicated, *Architecture religieuse et civile*. He published hardly any minor arts other than metalwork, and most of that was from the twelfth century.[632] Earlier scholars had paid more attention to the minor arts, but again mostly from the twelfth century, especially Hans Prutz.[633] It has only been since Near Eastern archaeological work in the medieval area has flourished in the second half of the twentieth century that more works have been discovered and interest has grown. Hence, certain recent works have placed a great deal more emphasis on the minor arts, especially B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion?*, who also obviously focuses on the twelfth century, and A. Boas, who of course approaches his Crusader material as an archaeologist and not an art historian, but deals with both the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[634]

Looking for the minor arts such as metalwork, glass, pottery, and textiles in the late thirteenth century, even though we might expect this period to be rich with plentiful examples, we are hard-pressed to find works precisely dated to the years 1268–89 that can be linked directly with the Crusaders. Obviously, partly this situation is due to the destruction that follows the defeat of the Crusaders in 1291, and partly this is due to the fact that with the loss of Crusader holdings between 1268



323. Syria: Paris, Louvre, *Baptistère de Saint Louis*. (photo: after Esin Atil, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*)

to 1289, there were fewer venues for trade and manufacture under Crusader control. Nonetheless there are important indications of production in Levantine markets not controlled by Crusaders but accessible to them, for which important works were done.

Metalwork

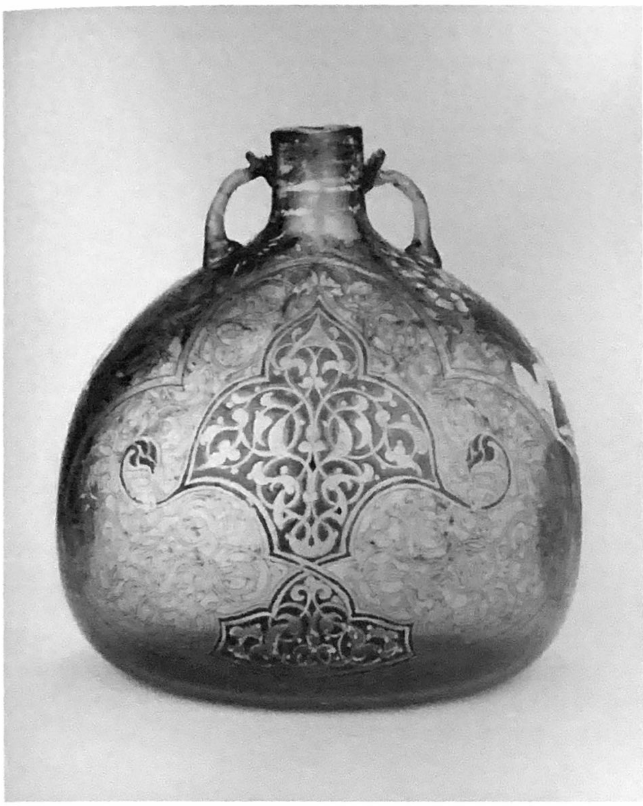
Just as we have found in the years after 1250, few religious objects in metalwork, glass, or pottery can be identified with direct Crusader connections between 1268 and 1289 from the Holy Land, at least as yet. It is likely that some pilgrim's ampullae may date from this time, but precise dating is difficult.[635] In the West, there is documented reference to over twenty relics of the True Cross dated between 1268 and 1289, but none of these can be directly linked to metalwork or ivory carving made in the Holy Land.[636]

However, just as we saw in the period 1244 to 1268, there exists a considerable market for secular objects, that is, metal vessels, as well as glass and fine pottery that are part of a luxury commodities trade in the Levantine marketplace. For these objects, a few were no doubt done to meet specific commissions, but most were done in such a way as to appeal to the consumer in the marketplace, including Christians and Muslims, whoever they were.[637]

Clearly the most remarkable example of high art metalwork, obviously done for a specific Muslim client whom we no longer know, by a master named Muhammad ibn al-Zayn, who signed the work six times but did not date it, is the famous *Baptistère de Saint Louis* now in the Louvre (L.P. 16) (Fig. 323).[638] Until recently scholars have generally dated this work in the years around 1300, that is, *c.*1290 to 1310, but since 1989 there has been one proposal to date the Baptistère to the reign of Baybars I (1260–77) and one to date it in the 1340s.[639] Although we do not know for sure whether it was done before 1289 or 1291, it is certainly possible. Nonetheless, it is one of the great masterpieces of metalwork from the Levant at this time and can serve as a standard of the very best work that was done by Mamluk artists for the Levantine market. It is a basin covered with engraved designs inlaid with gold and silver. The basin depicts many scenes of court life, hunting, and battles. It is particularly interesting for the detailed representations it provides of arms and armor, Mamluk and possibly other blazons, contemporary Muslim and other Near Eastern costumes, animals and special objects. Although it is clearly done by a Mamluk artisan whose name we know, and its association with St. Louis and the French royal family is a completely post-medieval development,[640] it is still a remarkable masterpiece of metalwork belonging to the same tradition as the Freer Canteen and the Freer basin, referred to in Chapter 6 as similar but slightly earlier examples of Levantine luxury goods production. The recent proposals that this work may date to the reign of Baybars I (1260–77), that the original coats of arms may have been intended for a European patron or recipient, and that some of the figures depicted are Mongols are all worth further serious consideration.[641]

On the basis of the *Baptistère de Saint Louis*, we might be led to think that the production of these metalwork objects with figural scenes and even Christian imagery was a growth industry, with promise for expansion in the future. However, Oleg Grabar has characterized the *Baptistère* as a "major exception" at the time of its manufacture in terms of its representational repertoire, and one that belongs to Muslim private art. We may, therefore, do well to heed his caution about overemphasizing the cross-cultural dynamics of the Levantine marketplace in Syria-Palestine, even while examining further the evidence for the existence of this market and the works associated with it.[642]

Part of this evidence can be found in certain private collections, such as that of Nuhad Es-Sahid,[643] where a number of works relevant to the "Levantine market" can be mentioned in this connection. Some of the works appear to come from the Jazira region, places such as Mosul and Siirt. One example is a candlestick done in the early fourteenth century, for Muhammad Ibn Sadr al-din Yusuf Ibn Salah al-Din, decorated with elaborate geometric strapwork and four-petal rosettes. It appears to be "an object made in Siirt in the northern Jazira for a member of an Ayyubid family proclaiming allegiance to a



324. Syria: London, British Museum, glass canteen: front view. (photo: by courtesy of the British Museum, London)

Mamluk ruler of Egypt and Syria."[644] This work, although dated slightly later than the Crusader period, raises similar problems and is related in decoration and quality to other works dated to the late thirteenth century or the early fourteenth century, some also from Siirt, some from elsewhere in the Jazira, some from Syria, and some from Egypt. See the examples listed in the following:

1. Ewer from Siirt, from the late thirteenth or the early fourteenth century, decorated with roundels containing geometric star patterns, joined by interlace bands.[645]
2. Cylindrical box from the Jazira, mid-thirteenth century, decorated with medallions containing, alternately, double-headed eagles and arabesques.[646]
3. Basin from Syria, *c.*1240–60, decorated with Nashki inscriptions above and below twenty-eight small medallions containing musicians, drinkers, and dancers.[647]
4. Candlestick from Cairo, *c.*1270, decorated with four octofoil medallions with huntsmen, musicians, and a dancer. These large medallions are linked by Nashki inscriptions and set against a background of "double-Y" pattern. Small paired round medallions appearing above and below the inscriptions separate the large medallions.[648]
5. Incense box from Egypt or Syria, made for Sultan Muhammad Ibn Kalavun (1294–1340), decorated with Nashki inscriptions and medallions with inscriptions or confronted birds.[649]
6. Incense burner from Egypt or Syria, made for Sultan Muhammad Ibn Kalavun (1294–1340), decorated with circular Nashki inscriptions, regular Nashki inscriptions, small inscriptions in medallions, and bands made of silver leafy vine-scroll designs.[650]

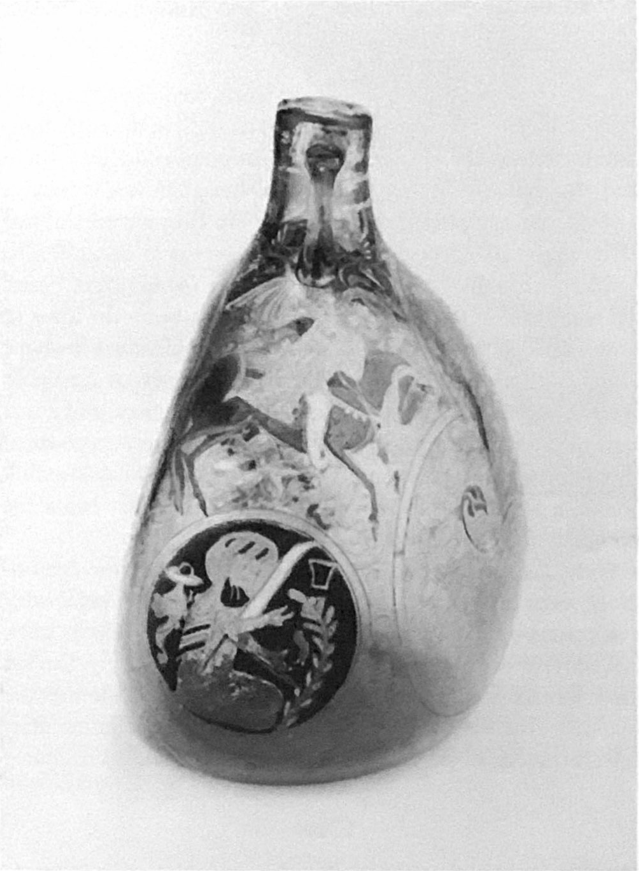
Forming another part of that evidence, we know of equally high-quality works done slightly later as well, in the early fourteenth century, for members of the Lusignan court on Cyprus that are also worthy of note. The two Lusignan works include a basin and a platter now in the Louvre that were exhibited in the Leventis Municipal Museum in Nicosia in 2000.[651] The basin was acquired by the Louvre in 1951 (MAO 101)[652] and the platter (MAO 1227) in 1999. The basin bears the arms of King Hugh IV of Cyprus and his wife; it is identical in shape to the *Baptistère of St. Louis*. The platter also bears Lusignan arms along with the representations of seated figures, and it was probably commissioned for or given as a gift to a prominent person in the Lusignan family. There is also a third Mamluk object, a smaller basin now in private hands, that bears the Lusignan arms and belongs with this group.

These Lusignan works are important because they demonstrate, even after 1291, that such luxury Mamluk metalwork was commissioned by and/or given to Frankish lords as gifts. Collectively these objects demonstrate what a lively market there was for luxury metalwork, and strongly indicate that the Crusaders did have access to luxury objects in Levantine markets, including works made by the very best Mamluk artisans.

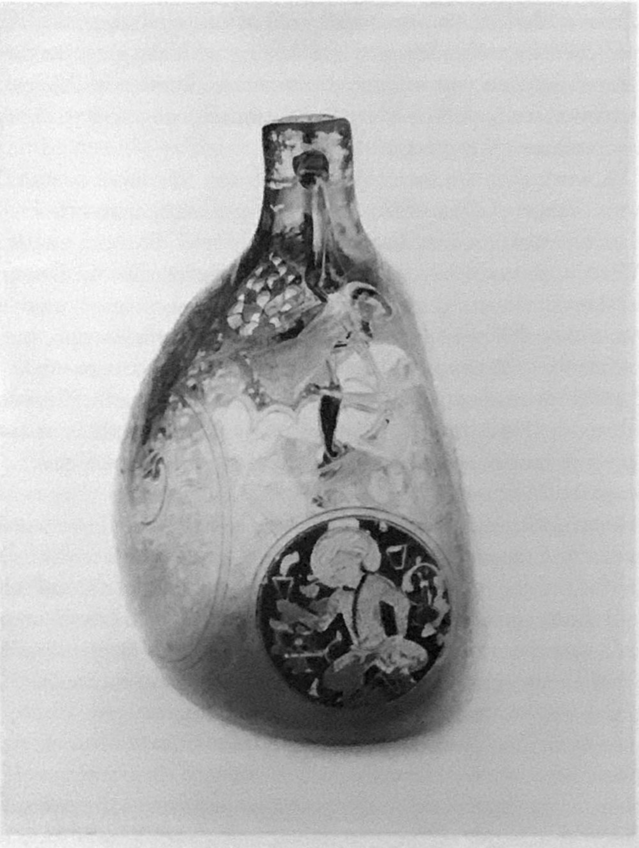
Glass

The same marketplace that supplied the metalwork apparently also provided luxury glass, especially enameled glass, produced by various artists for the Crusaders after 1268, just as it had before 1268. The same problems currently found in the study of the metalwork in regard to place of origin, dating, artists, and clients are also found when dealing with the glass. In the case of the glass, however, a serious reconsideration of the fundamental study published by C. J. Lamm in 1929 and 1930, in two volumes, is required.[653]

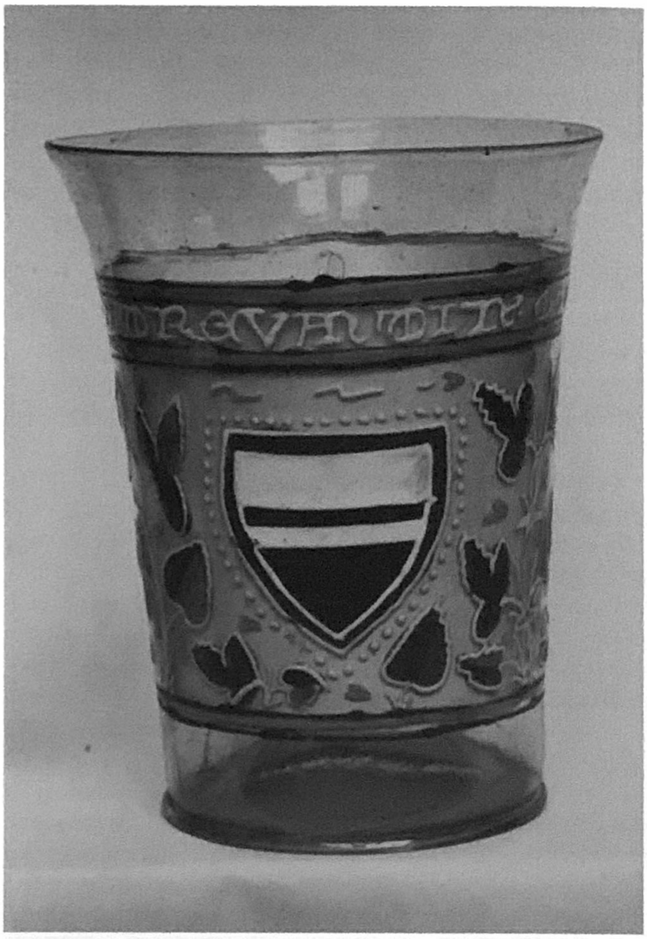
A work that dramatically demonstrates this issue contains some imagery of possible Christian origin along with other Islamic material. It was discussed recently by S. Carboni and R. Ward, a glass canteen done in Egypt or Syria, said by Lamm to date in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, 1250–60, a date followed by Carboni, and to be from Aleppo, but redated by Ward to the mid-fourteenth century, 1340–60.[654] This work, a glass canteen, is now in London at the British Museum (Figs. 324–6). The possible Christian subject matter is primarily seen in the depiction of mounted knights or hunters. "The riders are unmistakably identified as Christian by their clothing and headdresses (the so-called kettle helmets worn by Crusader infantrymen) as well as by details in the caparison of the horses, such as the scalloped flaps of the saddle and the flanged bands at the neck and breast."[655] Carboni says we know the artists were local glass painters who knew about Christian imagery from monumental painting and icons, but it is not known for whom these vessels with mixed iconography were done. The customers could have been affluent Muslims or Christians. Ward differs in regard to some of these interpretations of the figures and their sources, in addition to the dating. Another example of this exact same type of problem is found in the case of the well-known Aldrevandinus beaker now in



325. Syria: London, British Museum, glass canteen: side view. (photo: by courtesy of the British Museum, London)



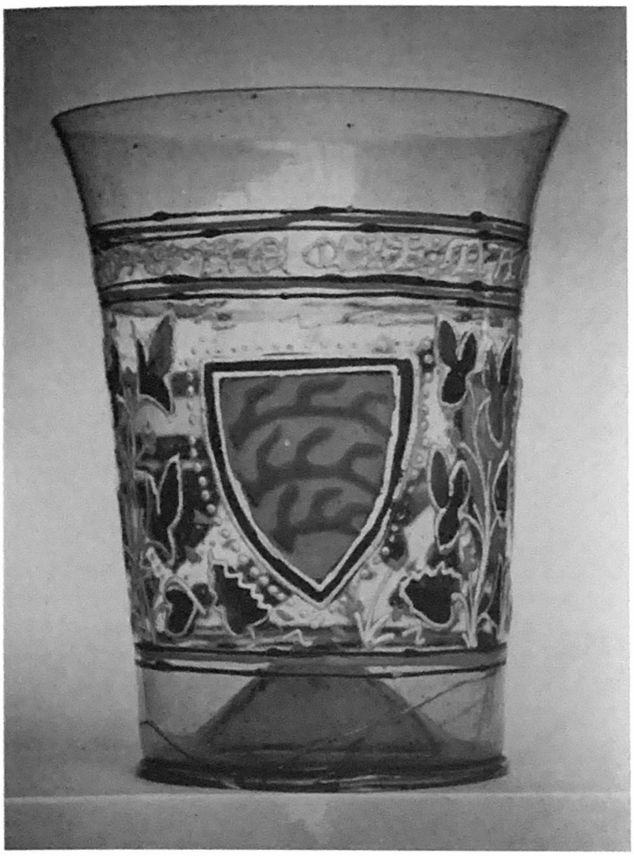
326. Syria: London, British Museum, glass canteen: side view. (photo: by courtesy of the British Museum, London)



327. Syria: London, British Museum, Aldrevandinus Beaker: view. (photo: by courtesy of the British Museum, London)

the British Museum in London (Figs. 327–8).[656] Lamm called this beaker "Syro-Frankish" and dated it in the later thirteenth century, but recent scholars have interpreted it to be the product of Western glassmakers, either Italian or German, working in Venice or in Germany under the influence of Muslim design and technique in the early fourteenth century.[657]

In light of these major issues being debated and investigated by the experts in this field, it behooves me to tread carefully in attempting to offer important examples of glass possibly made for and/or acquired by Crusaders from Mamluk sources in the period from the 1240s up to the fall of Acre. Finding relevant work dating exactly to the years 1268 to 1289 by consensus seems unrealistic at the present moment. Nonetheless there are two objects worth our attention here. One handsome example of luxury enameled glasswork is a bottle painted with four architectural and four agricultural scenes. The bottle is characterized as "the least known of all the extant Islamic enameled and gilded vessels in private collections." It "truly stands apart for its artistic accomplishment, its complex yet balanced composition, and the successful incorporation of a large variety of colored enamels."[658] It is comparable in importance and quality to the Baltimore beakers discussed in Chapter 6, and in better condition. It appears to be the only other extant work with predominantly Christian scenes made by these Syrian glassmakers.[659] The imagery deals with depictions of Christian buildings, including at least one church,



328. Syria: London, British Museum, Aldrevandinus Beaker: view. (photo: by courtesy of the British Museum, London)

defined by the cross on its façade, alternating with scenes of wine making. Although it has been attributed simply to the "mid-thirteenth century" and cannot be more precisely dated at this time, it is another excellent example of the work done for the Levantine market and presumably aimed at Christian customers, whether they might be Crusaders, Italian merchants, Frankish settlers, or Eastern Christians of one denomination or another.

A second example is a remarkable specimen known as the "Luck of Edenhall" beaker now in the Victoria and Albert Museum and usually dated simply to the thirteenth century (Figs. 329–30).[660] Not only is this work of enameled glass beautiful as an object, in its form and in its colorism, but also it has a special story connected with it that bears summarizing here.

The "Luck of Edenhall" beaker is a luxury drinking glass characterized by a graceful flaring shape. On the basis of this shape, one scholar, S. Kenesson, proposes to date the work to the mid-thirteenth century, 1225–50.[661]

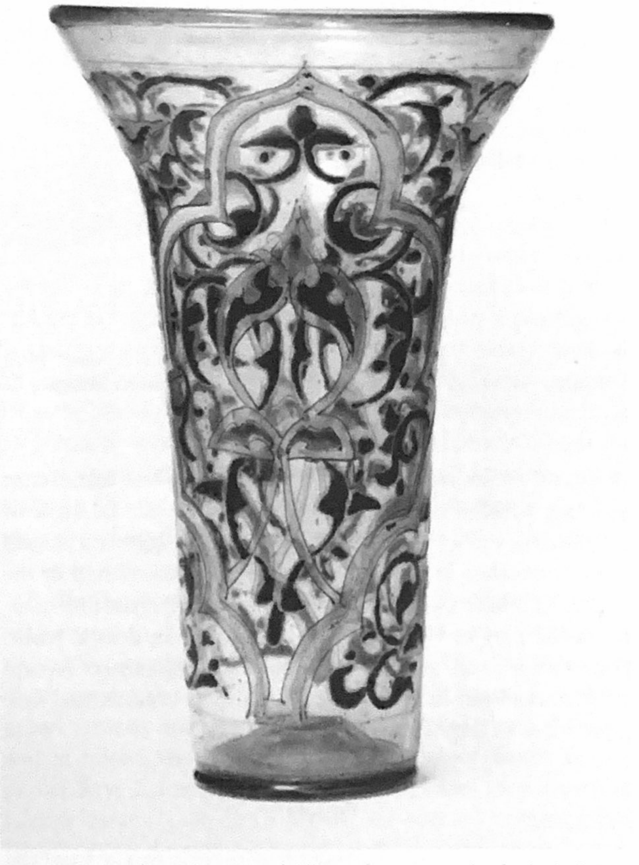
Its colorism is exquisite and its technique is refined. The glass is translucent with a slight orange tinge. Intersecting arch motifs and arabesque leaves are painted on it in red, blue, and white enamel; the linear work is outlined in gold and fine red lines.

No explicit documentation is available about this beaker, but it seems possible it was acquired by a Crusader in Syria, perhaps in the second half of the thirteenth century, who then brought it back to western Europe. Eventually the beaker came into the possession of the Musgrave family, of Edenhall in Cumberland, England, where it became known in the eighteenth century. At Edenhall it gained a reputation as a fairy cup, abandoned by fairies who had been interrupted while drinking at St. Cuthbert's well in the garden of Edenhall. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow translated the poem by Johan Ludwig Uhland about "The Luck of Edenhall," including the couplet with the curse of the fairies:

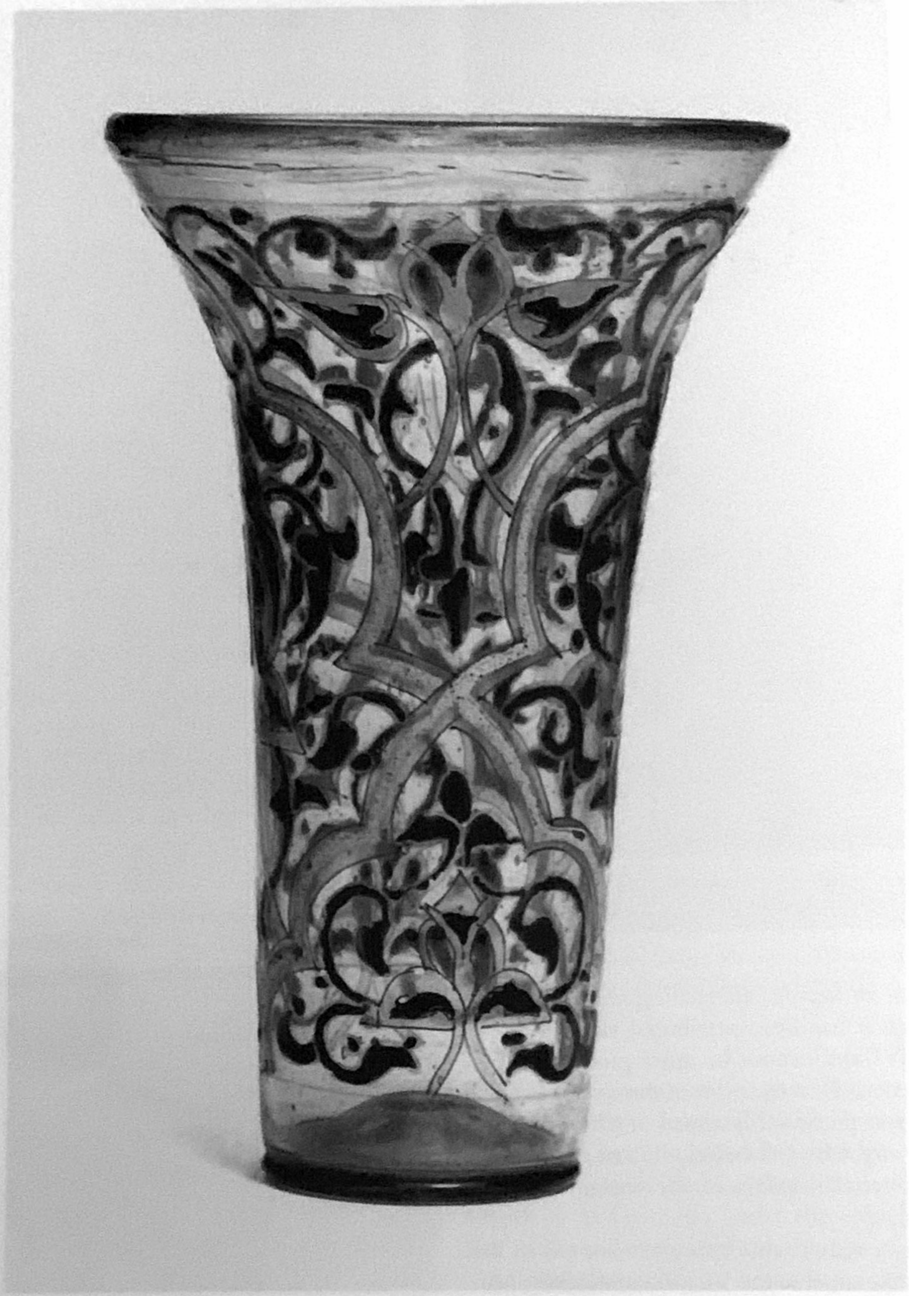
> If this glass doth fall,
> Farewell then, O luck of Edenhall!

This extraordinary beaker is now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, where it was given by the Musgrave family in 1958. There are other luxury enameled glass works of outstanding quality and striking appearance from the Near East *c.*1250–*c.*1350, but none has a more romantic story attached to it than the "Luck of Edenhall" beaker.

There is much we would like to know about these remarkable objects in metal and glass with their fascinating figural decoration. From the point of view of the years 1268 to 1289, indeed from mid-century to 1291, they seem to represent a shift in the center of gravity of the marketplace in Syria-Palestine that reflects several developments. First, we see a new cross-cultural openness whereby Mamluk artisans can do work for clients they perceive to be both Muslim and Christian. Second, this production may indicate a growing interest on the part of non-Muslim clients to acquire these kinds of objects. Third, whereas



329. Syria: London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Luck of Edenhall Cup: front view. (photo: by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, copyright V&A Images)



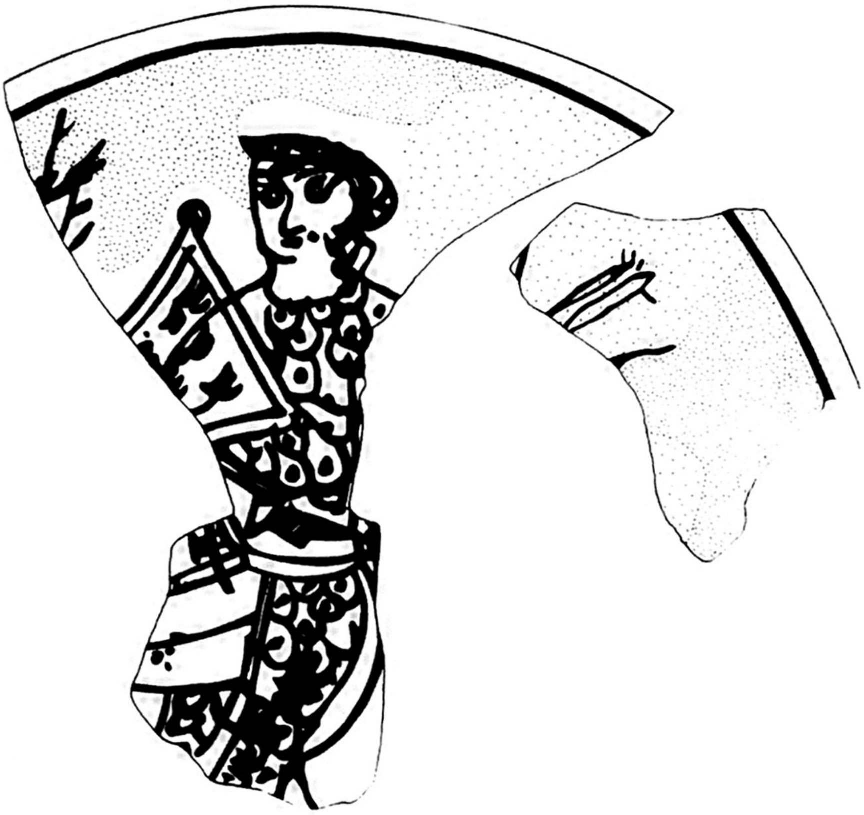
330. Syria: London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Luck of Edenhall Cup: side view. (photo: by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, copyright V&A Images)

Christian artists continued to focus on icon and manuscript painting, Muslim artists developed their own special areas of outstanding work in the minor arts, which suggests a certain division of labor in the marketplace in the second half of the thirteenth century, as well as recognition of expertise and quality on the part of Christian clients for Muslim artistic work. The exact sources and dating of these luxury objects remain to be worked out in light of new finds, new criteria, and new approaches to their study.

Pottery

With regard to the pottery, there is very little to say from the point of view that, as with other minor arts, few works can be specifically dated in the years 1268–89.[662] Since most major Crusader sites along the coast had their own pottery industry, the heavy losses to the Mamluks including Caesarea and Haifa (1265), Antioch and Jaffa (1268), Crac des Chevaliers and Montfort (1271), Margat (1285), and then Tripoli (1289) meant that "Crusader" production was greatly reduced. However, Boas points out, "the vast majority [of ceramics] were manufactured by local, non-Frankish potters. The second source were the neighboring Islamic states, particularly Syria and Egypt. The third source were countries under Christian rule: Cyprus in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the north-eastern Mediterranean and southern Europe."[663]

With the loss of Antioch and its port, St. Symeon, the important production of incised, polychrome glazed pottery usually



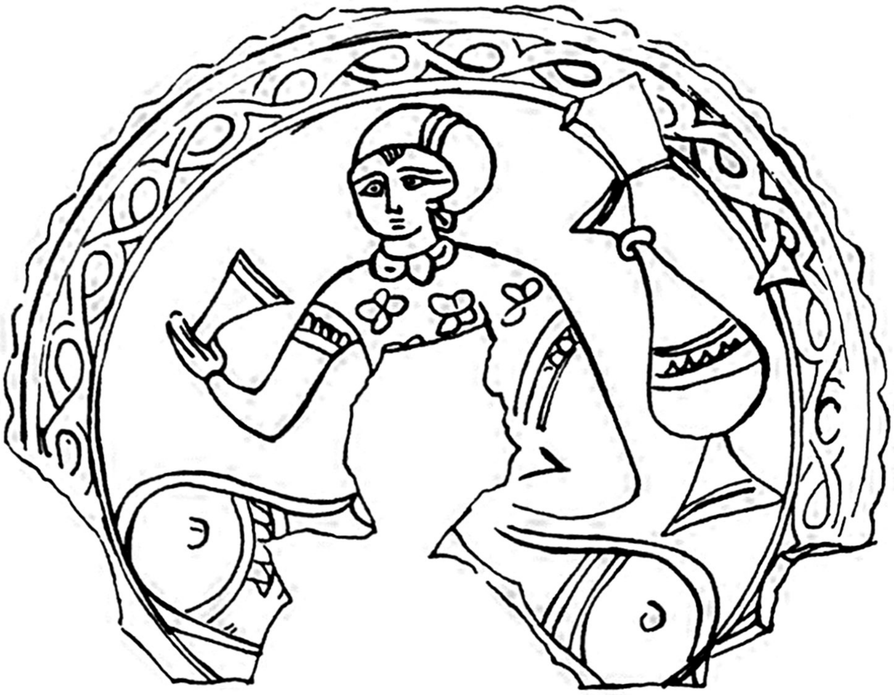
331. Syria, Kinet: Drawing of polychrome sgraffito bowl depicting mounted knight with a shield, late thirteenth century. (photo: by courtesy of Scott Redford)

called St. Symeon or al-Mina ware was now outside of Crusader control, and this probably put more emphasis on imports from Cyprus and of proto-maiolica from Italy in these later years of the thirteenth century. However, no doubt the importation of Islamic pottery from sources close at hand continued and may have even increased as part of the Levantine market that the Crusaders drew on grew.

The site of Turkish Kinet, called Hisn al-Tinat or al-Tinat by the Mamluks, and known as the Templar stronghold of Calamella by the Crusaders is a case in point. Tinat or Calamella is located on the Gulf of Alexandretta north of Antioch and due east of the port of Ayas on the opposite side of the gulf. Calamella was captured by the Mamluks in 1266 and burned, but it continued to produce pottery after this date until it was burned a third time and abandoned in the early fourteenth century.[664] Excavations have produced rich finds, attesting to the fact that even a small fortified port like Calamella was part of the booming Levantine commerce along the littoral of Syria-Palestine. Among the finds at Calamella are proto-maiolica from southern Italy or Sicily, ceramics from Venice, Zeuxippus and other Aegean wares from Cyprus and/or the Aegean, and "underglaze" painted ceramics from Egypt, Tripoli, Lebanon, and Crusader Palestine. Along with these products there are also enameled and other glass vessels from Syria. This demonstrates, as Redford argues, that Calamella was an active participant in the commercial life of the eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, "it was also a manufacturing center in its right, producing textiles, iron implements, and ceramics."[665] Redford argues that the evidence indicates Calamella produced glazed sgraffito ceramics, what is known as St. Symeon ware, in locally run kilns (Figs. 331–3). Thus he argues St. Symeon ware is a type of ceramic produced around the Levant, especially along the northeastern Mediterranean littoral.

The other point he makes that is relevant here concerns the artistic quality of St. Symeon ware compared to other "luxury wares." Essentially he proposes that certain technical factors and the fineness of the drawing style may justify placing the St. Symeon ceramics slightly below the finest wares, such as Zeuxippus ware from the Byzantine world, luster ceramics from the Islamic world, and proto-maiolica ceramics from Italy. However, he sees an important change in the production of the luxury wares caused by decentralization and imitation, especially on Cyprus, that results in the possibility that St. Symeon ware grows much closer to these other wares in quality during the thirteenth century.[666]

Redford proceeds to discuss the Port St. Symeon-type wares with regard to their imagery of cup-bearers and other figures, decorative motifs, and possible heraldry. He concludes that these wares were not only produced and consumed in major urban centers, but also are found distributed along the coast and in inland sites. Although the cup-bearer motifs in particular have led scholars to think these wares were imitating Islamic ceramics, Redford points out that no contemporary Islamic examples can be found, and asks why all the extant examples seem to have been marketed to Christians. Finally,



332. Syria, Kinet: Drawing of a fragment of a graffito bowl with a representation of a cupbearer, late thirteenth century. (photo: by courtesy of Scott Redford)

he proposes to see that "by the thirteenth century, at least in the northern tier, the material culture of Latin and Levantine Christians on an archaeological level is indistinguishable. Not just Armenians participated . . . , but also the Arabic speaking Christians more prominent in the southern tier states of the Outremer."[667]

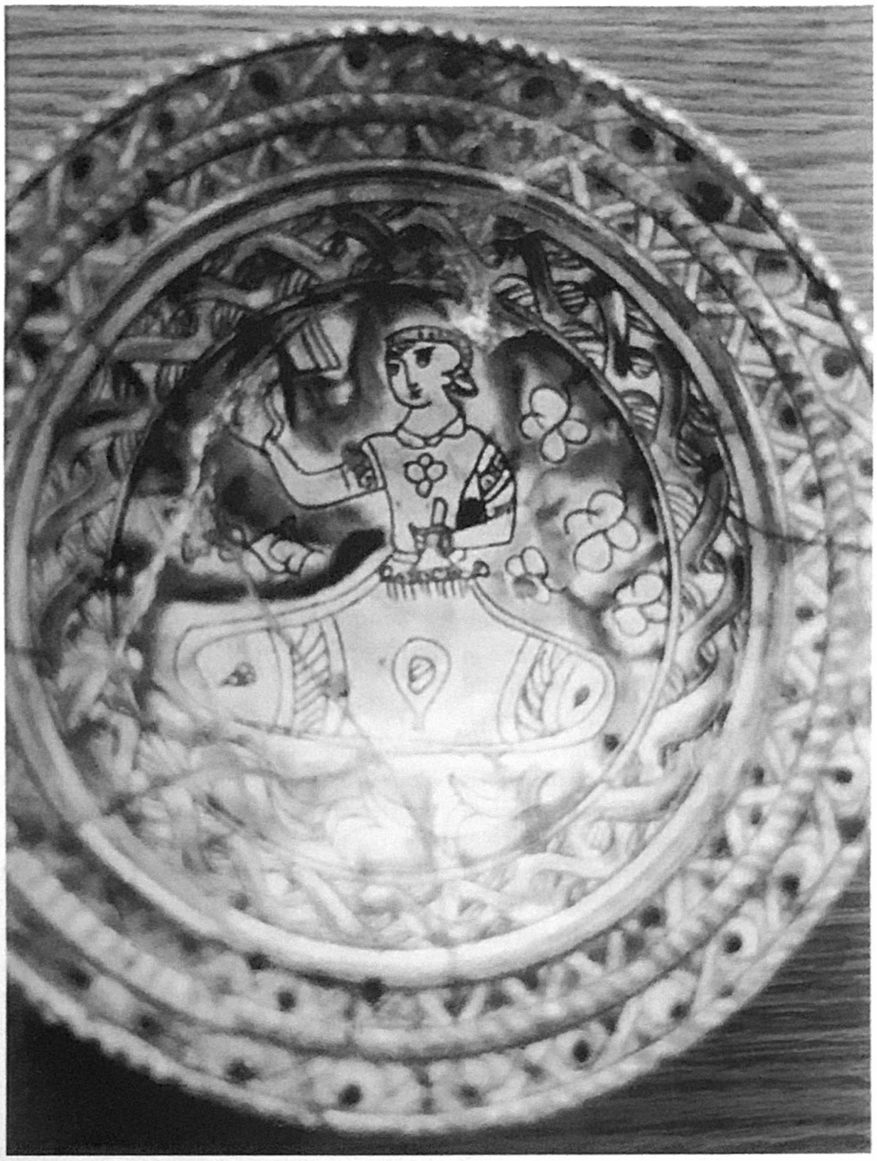
Seen in this way, I suggest that this pottery and its development forms what appears to be yet another aspect of the Levantine market that the Crusaders drew on during the later thirteenth century. Further study will clarify how ceramics relate to what happens with other minor arts such as metalwork, glass, and textiles.

Textiles

No doubt we could understand the points raised about metalwork, glass, and pottery better if we had documented examples of the textiles from this period, including luxury as well as more utilitarian specimens. Boas has referred to the excavated work found mostly on the Ile de Greye, at Caesarea, and Montfort. Furthermore he notes that "written sources frequently mention trade in textiles, textile manufacture, dyeing and the cultivation of plants used for dyes. Amongst the items that passed through the Crusader ports – besides massive imports from Western Europe – were cotton and woolen cloth, carpets, silk and luxury textiles from Damascus, Baghdad (including *siqlatin* – silk interwoven with gold),[668] Mosul and Gaza. Egypt produced fine linen and woolen cloths. Raw silk from Syria was manufactured in Damascus, Tripoli, Tyre, Gaza and Ascalon. According to Burchard of Mt. Zion, in Tripoli alone there were 4,000 weavers of silk.[669] Tyre produced famous white silk. Al-Idrisi mentions the white *tafeth* of Tyre.[670] Beirut also produced and exported silk and cotton fabrics. Cotton was grown in the plain of Akko and Tiberias and wool came from the region of Ramla."[671]

He goes on to say that "because of the perishable nature of textiles there are few finds of medieval date, and at present it is difficult to determine whether any of the fragmentary remains of textiles found in the Latin East were manufactured there or imported." Thus the few excavated examples are of great interest. A series of excavations were carried out between 1975 and 1981 on the Ile de Greye in the Red Sea, published in 1994.[672] These finds were dated by stratification with ceramics and by carbon-14 analysis to the period *c.*1175 – early fourteenth century. Thus, out of the approximately 1,500 fragments found, some must date to the late thirteenth century, but it is difficult to say which. What this sample shows us, however, is what types of fabrics are found in the Latin Kingdom. He mentions cotton, linen, felt, woolens, cloth woven from goat hair, and some silk. There is also fabric made with a silk warp with wool, and a weft of linen or cotton. Decoration on these fabrics are mostly patterns, done by dyeing or woodblock printing, along with embroidery and brocading with colored silk threads.[673] At another site east of Jericho a smaller sample was found, consisting of 768 fragments.[674] Most of these samples are of cotton and linen pieces, along with thirty-eight fragments of luxury silk variously dyed cream, ivory, red, gold, and different shades of blue. These samples are dated to a larger range, from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, so here it is even more difficult to know what if anything may belong to the period 1268–89. Finally, a small but important find was made at Caesarea where a silk fragment was found in a tomb under the Cathedral of St. Peter. This silk cloth embroidered with gold threads is said to come from the West, not from the East, part of the evidence for imports from Europe.[675]

What we said earlier for the years 1244 to 1268 are basically also applicable for the period 1268–89. Although almost



333. Syria, Kinet: Sgraffito bowl with representation of a cupbearer, Adana Museum. (photo: by courtesy of Scott Redford)

nothing survives that can as yet be attributed directly to these years,[676] the fact is that commerce in textiles and silk was vigorous through Crusader ports during the entire thirteenth century up to 1291. Furthermore, it was especially silk that formed a main focus for one trading and production industry in which the Crusader ports were heavily involved. "The thirteenth century represented in many respects the heyday of the Mediterranean trading network, when expectations were still high, the return on voyages significant.... The products of the Near East – silks and spices, purchased on the voyages east – were redistributed in the western Mediterranean."[677]

Conclusions

The art of the Crusaders during the period 1268 to 1289 clearly focuses our attention on certain aspects of production that are vigorous and, to some extent, rather unexpected. The numerous manuscripts produced in Acre in the late 1270s and 1280s are a striking and distinctive example, and the icons produced in Acre and Sinai are another.

With regard to the manuscripts, the picture that we now have of production in Acre in the late thirteenth century is clearly different from the reservations expressed when Hugo Buchthal first published his study of *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* in 1957. At this point we have much more evidence, a certain amount of specific documentation, and a clear perspective on a much more complex and thriving industry in Acre than we had when Buchthal made his pioneering contribution. The reasonable concerns expressed by C. Mango, C. R. Dodwell, and L. M. J. Delaissé in reviews published between 1958 and 1962 can be provided with responses containing substantial evidence and argument.[678] The production of illustrated manuscripts in Acre can now be seen to be much larger in number than in 1958, and even larger than in 1976. We can also see that we are most likely not dealing with one scriptorium, but actually numerous scriptoria and many artists as we have argued earlier. The concern that the attribution of the manuscripts to Acre in the thirteenth century was somehow more tentative than that to Jerusalem in the twelfth century is now also less of a problem because of the additional direct links that can be established to Acre, not only by the Perugia Missal, but also by the work of the Paris–Acre Master and his commission to illustrate the *De Rhetorica* codex in 1282, as established in 1976, and argued further later. Finally, the distinction between the place of execution and the place the manuscripts were destined for is still an issue. However, now the problematic aspect is more the place for which the manuscript was destined – some seem not to have been done for patrons resident in Acre, as, for example, the *Histoire Universelle* signed by Bernard d'Acre and the *Histoire Universelle* thought to have been given to the new king of Jerusalem, Henry of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, in 1286. It is much less of an issue in most cases to demonstrate that the Crusader manuscripts were done in Acre or, in the case of the *History of Outremer* in the Vatican, in Antioch.

In icon painting, the situation is rather different. The dominant Crusader style in this medium was not a French-related Crusader style or a French Gothic style, but instead what Weitzmann called the Veneto-Byzantine style, and what we are calling the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. Some of the finest work in this style has been identified as having been done in the 1280s, including the bilateral icon of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (Figs. 269–70, App. no. 97/1568), the diptych with St. Procopios and the Virgin Kykkotissa (Figs. 271–88, App. no. 110/1783), and the iconostasis beam with the Deësis and eight saints (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003). Although this is unsurprising in relation to Acre and the Latin Kingdom, where Venice was pursuing such a vigorous commercial agenda, it presents problems with regard to the city of Venice itself, where so little panel painting is known to have been done in the second half of the thirteenth century.

It is remarkable that this situation has parallels to what we find in the metalwork and the glasspainting in certain ways. In the latter case, Carboni writes that "it should be remembered that Venice did not begin to produce enameled glass drawing upon Islamic techniques until the end of the thirteenth century; the transfer of glass making technology to Venice is often cited as dating from 1277, when near Eastern glass was sent there from Tripoli."[679] As an example of this new Venetian glass he and David Whitehouse refer to the Aldrevandinus Beaker (Figs. 327, 328), now in the British Museum in London.[680] At one time this beaker and several other closely related works, referred to as the Aldrevandinus group, were thought to be "Syro-Frankish" in origin, because "Carl Johan Lamm believed that they were produced for the Crusaders on the Syrian coast by European or Jewish glassmakers educated in the Islamic tradition.... After the group was cautiously attributed to Europe in the late 1960s, numerous new finds were studied, published and exhibited in 1988 that suggested, with some reservations, that Venice was the center of manufacture. The Venetian attribution is generally accepted at present, although some scholars suggest that other glassmaking centers in Europe may have been involved."[681]

This example in glasspainting is not exactly paralleled in icon painting because we cannot identify a direct connection between the panel painting in the Crusader East in terms of a technique taken over in Venice in the same way. It is, of course, hardly surprising to find a byzantinizing style of painting in Venice in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but the most prominent medium is that of mosaics. Nonetheless, we can imagine that Crusader panel painters with Venetian connections may have helped stimulate Venetian interest in the Byzantine tradition through the transfer of a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style in the Latin Kingdom to Venice, where it became part of a strongly byzantinizing style of Venetian panel painting in the hands of artists such as Paolo Veneziano in the early fourteenth century.[682]

There is no comparable phenomenon in metalwork, but there is a relevant aspect in the study of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century metalwork discussed earlier. Rachel Ward begins her recent article on the *Baptistère de Saint Louis* (Fig. 323) as follows:

> The importance of the European market to the Mamluk metalworking industry has not been fully appreciated because "Veneto-Saracenic" metalwork (inlaid brass vessels bearing European arms but decorated in Islamic style) was thought to be the work of immigrant craftsmen in Venice. Increasing evidence that this large group of metal vessels was actually produced in the Middle East must cause us to reappraise the significance of the export market.[683]

Ward proposes to see the *Baptistère de Saint Louis* as a work done in Syria, but produced for a European patron in the early fourteenth century. I have wondered whether we should not also consider that such works might have been done in the Near East, in Syria, or Egypt, for Crusader patrons in the late thirteenth century, as we find in the manuscripts and icon painting, and possibly for the works of enameled glass. Further research is needed to evaluate this counterproposal and to see whether we can further clarify the origins of Venetian glasspainting in the Muslim enamel technique, and the origins of Venetian panel painting in Crusader icon painting, in relation to the thriving production known in the Levantine markets of Syria and Egypt, and Crusader Acre or Sinai, respectively.

In sum, it is clear that the developments in the art of the Crusaders in the Latin Kingdom during the period from 1268 to 1289 were in some ways no less momentous than what we found to be the case in the earlier time, from 1250 to 1268. Acre did not experience the tremendous stimulation caused by Louis IX in the later period, but it did enjoy periods of considerable artistic activity in both the 1270s, after 1268, and in the 1280s about the time of the coronation of the new king of Jerusalem, Henry II of Cyprus. The body of painting we have studied is of the greatest importance partly because it includes some of the highest quality Crusader work we have, partly because it demonstrates how closely linked the Latin Kingdom was artistically to Paris and to Venice, and partly because the stylistic developments reflect a more cosmopolitan outlook and production on the part of the various artists in the several workshops, both in Acre for the manuscripts and in Acre and Sinai for the icons. This cosmopolitan outlook is also manifested by the Crusader participation in the Levantine market in the Near East, exemplified in their interest in the various minor arts.

The cross-cultural circumstances in the Crusader States seem to be epitomized by the quote that we placed at the start of this chapter. Abu 'l-Fadl, pronounced colloquially as "Ebu 'l Fazl," caused a Latin inscription to be made which said:

> O homines qui transitis per viam, in caritate rogo vos orare pro anima mei, megistri Ebuli Fazle, hujus ecclesie edificatoris.

As Claude Cahen, and now B. Z. Kedar has explained it, "we have here an Oriental Christian founding a Latin church, again probably after having embraced the Latin rite."[684] The interaction between the Eastern and Latin Christians in terms of their religious activities, between the Franks and the Muslims in terms of their commercial activities, and between the western Europeans, Franks, and Levantine peoples in terms of interactive cultural dynamics becomes an even more important factor with regard to how the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land develops in the years between 1268 and 1289. We are beginning to see this, but we need to carry on with our research in order to learn more about the specifics of what all of this meant in this important period.

8

THE FALL OF ACRE IN 1291 AND THE END OF THE CRUSADER STATES IN MAINLAND SYRIA-PALESTINE

Today too, the mistress of the nations, the princess of the provinces has been made a tributary, and the enemies of the cross of Christ reached out their sacrilegious hands as far as the most noble limb, the inner organs and the pupil of the eye, attacking and conquering the city of our redemption, that is the mother of faith....

Jacques de Vitry

When Acre was despoiled
  And all Syria laid waste,
The world longed for some good thing
  In the midst of great evils....

But they were torn apart by greed
  Into great discord and argument
And so they were greatly diminished
  And injured and brought down....

And so the land is lost
  And great harm done, as you well know.
There is great danger in their discord
  If God does not bring them to agreement.

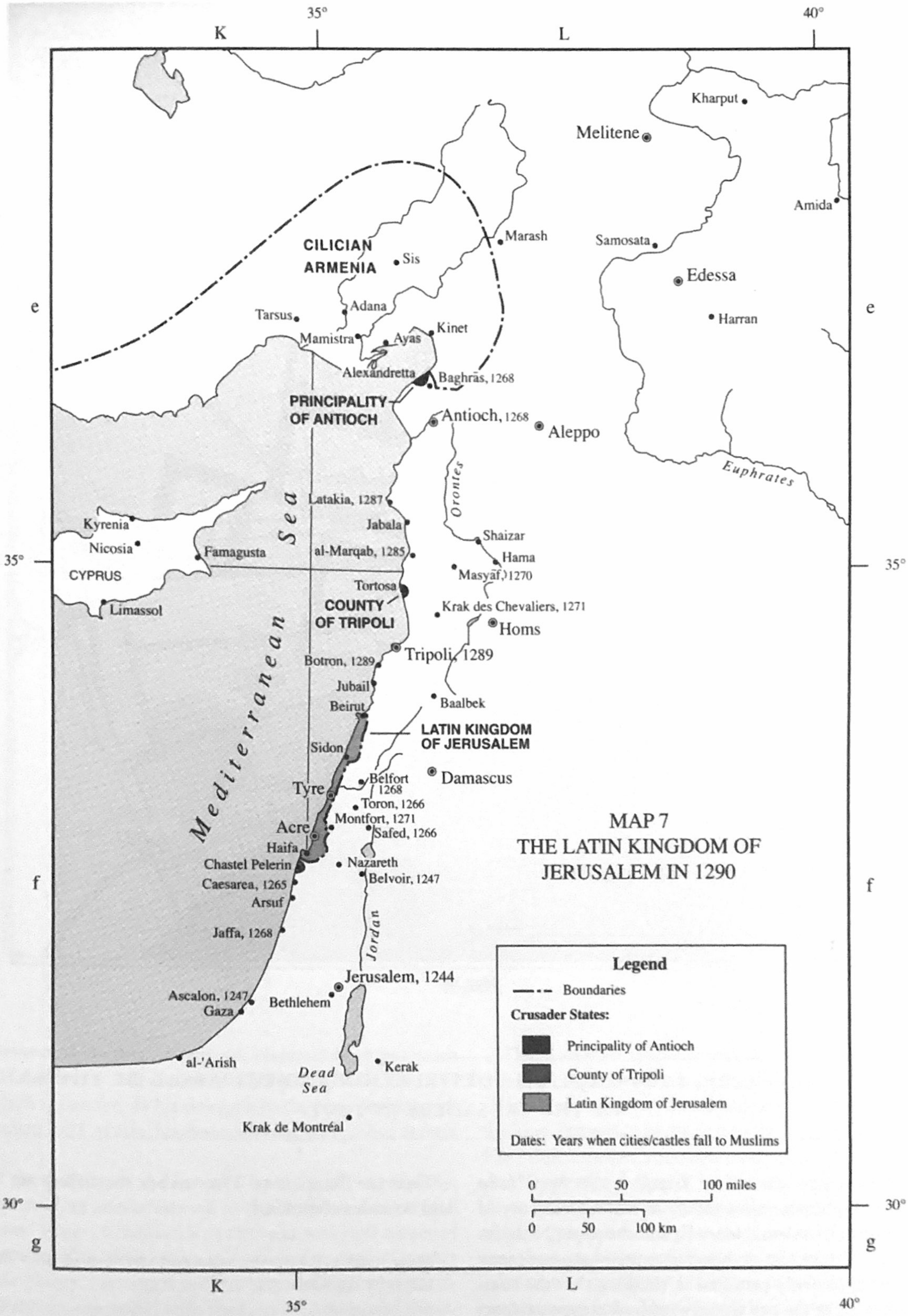
The Templar of Tyre

Because of you no town is left in which unbelief can repair, no hope for the Christian religion!

Through al-Ashraf the Lord Sultan, we are delivered from the Trinity, and Unity rejoices in the struggle!

Praise be to God, the nation of the Cross has fallen; through the Turks the religion of the chosen Arab has triumphed!

Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh*, VIII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Kharput
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Amida
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CILICIAN
ARMENIA
Sis
Edessa
Harran
Adana
Tarsus
Mamistra
Ayas
Kinet
Alexandretta
Baghrās, 1268
PRINCIPALITY
OF ANTIOCH
Antioch, 1268
Aleppo
Euphrates
Latakia, 1287
Sea
Orontes
Kyrenia
Jabala
Shaizar
Nicosia
Famagusta
al-Marqab, 1285
Hama
CYPRUS
Masyāf, 1270
Tortosa
Limassol
COUNTY
OF TRIPOLI
Krak des Chevaliers, 1271
Homs
Mediterranean
Botron, 1289
Tripoli, 1289
Jubail
Beirut
Baalbek
LATIN KINGDOM
OF JERUSALEM
Sidon
Belfort
1268
Damascus
Tyre
Toron, 1266
Montfort, 1271
Acre
Safed, 1266
Haifa
Chastel Pelerin
Nazareth
Belvoir, 1247
Caesarea, 1265
Arsuf
Jaffa, 1268
Jordan
Jerusalem, 1244
Ascalon, 1247
Gaza
Bethlehem
al-'Arish
Dead
Sea
Kerak
Krak de Montréal
MAP 7
THE LATIN KINGDOM OF
JERUSALEM IN 1290
Legend
Boundaries
Crusader States:
Principality of Antioch
County of Tripoli
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem
Dates: Years when cities/castles fall to Muslims
0
50
100 miles
0
50
100 km
30°
K
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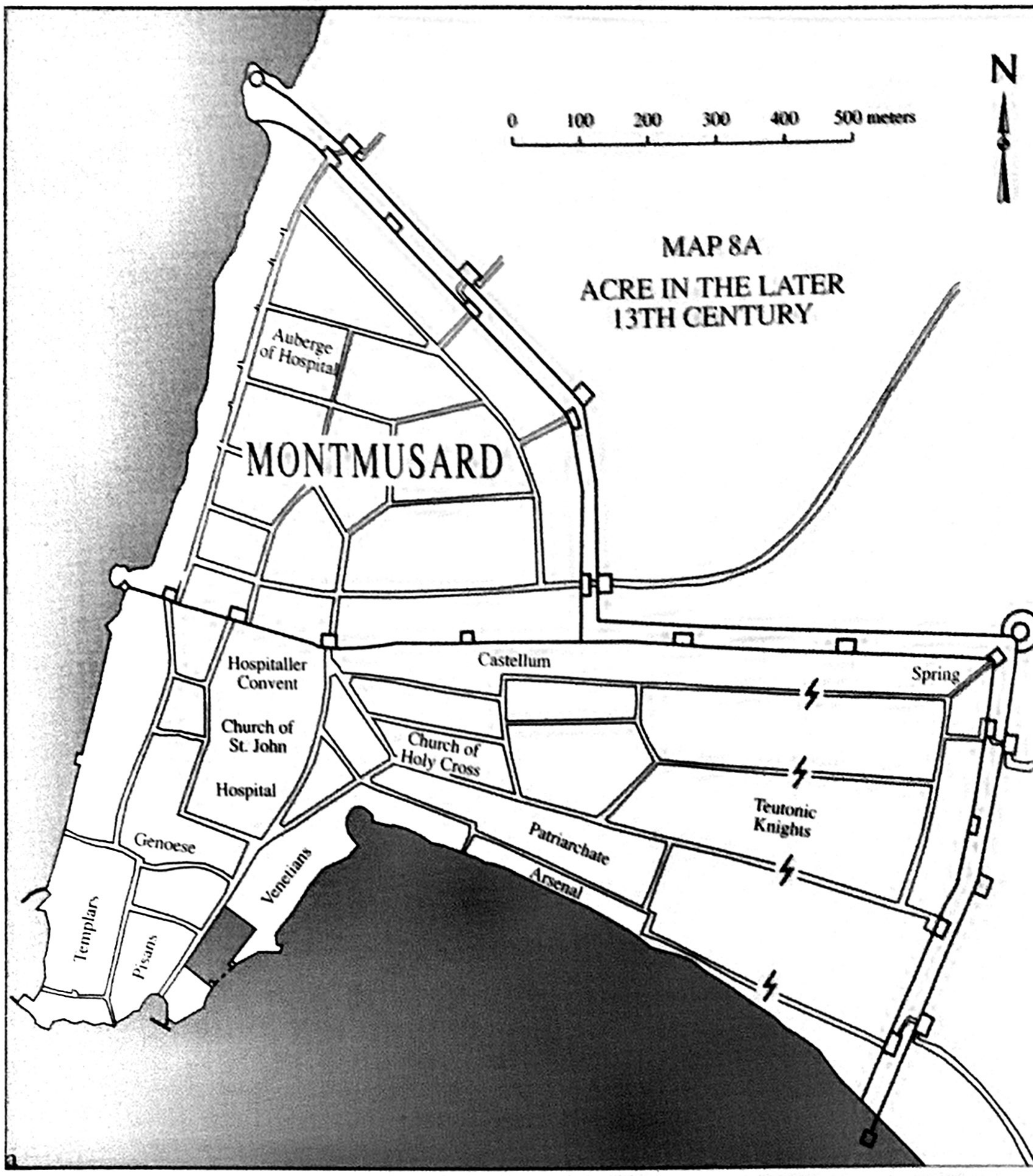
35°
40°

Map 7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MAP 8A
ACRE IN THE LATER 13TH CENTURY
Auberge of Hospital
MONTMUSARD
Hospitaller Convent
Church of St. John
Hospital
Castellum
Spring
Church of Holy Cross
Teutonic Knights
Patriarchate
Arsenal
Genoese
Venetians
Templars
Pisans

Map 8A

THE FALL OF ACRE, 1289–1291: THE DESTRUCTION AND DISPERSAL OF THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS IN 1291

Looked at in hindsight, the fall of Tripoli on 26 April 1289 was an ominous indication of what lay in store for the city of Acre. The king of Jerusalem, Henry II, and the pope, Nicholas IV, were forced to take the situation very seriously, but many people in Acre apparently persisted in thinking that the commercial importance of the city would somehow preserve it from a similar fate. The Templar of Tyre reports the following:

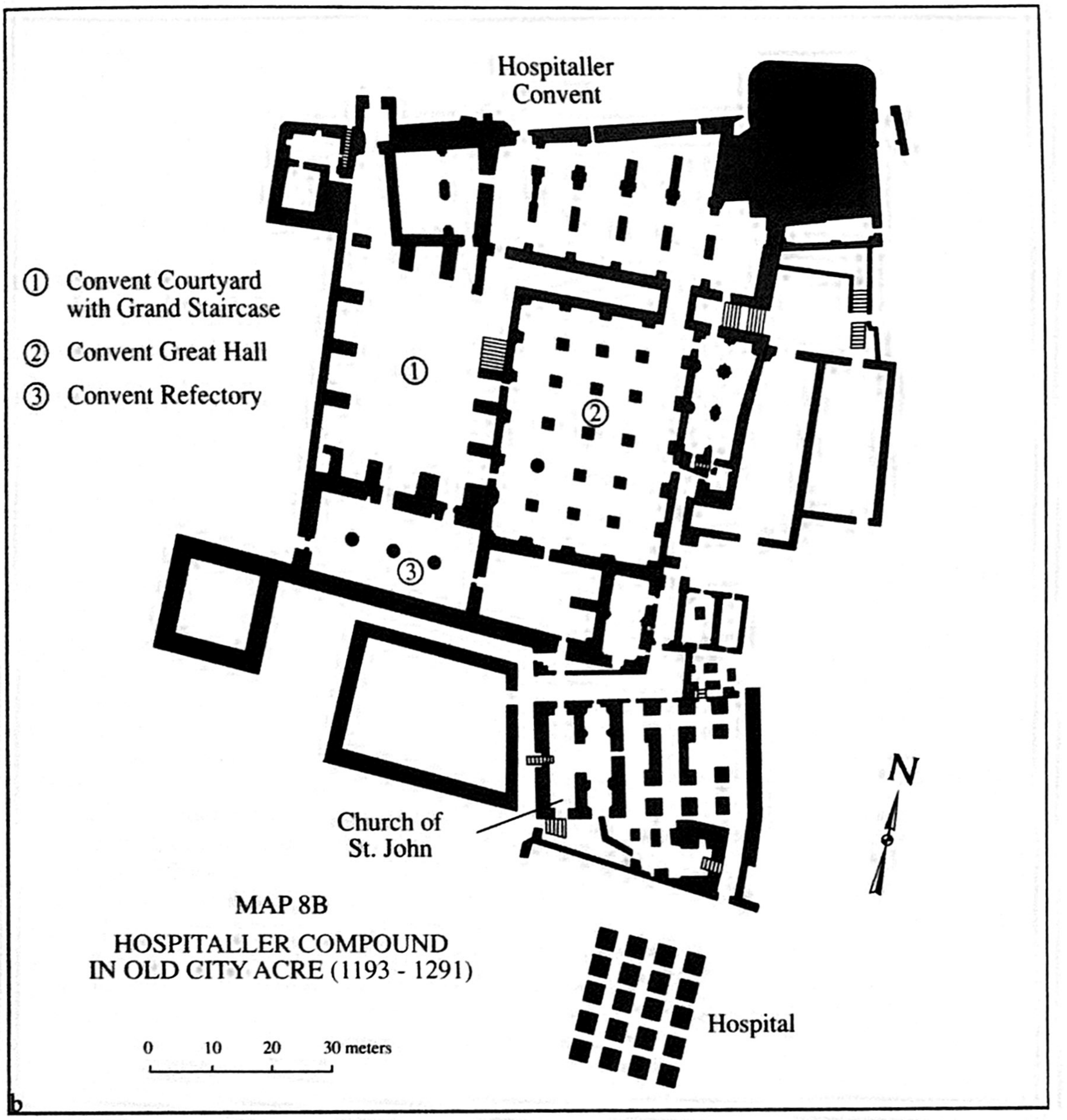
> After the loss of Tripoli, King Henry II left Cyprus, arriving at Acre four days later. He concluded a truce between Syria and Cyprus and the sultan, and the king and the sultan swore oaths to each other. In August, the sultan returned to Babylon; King Henry returned to Cyprus on the twenty-sixth of September of this year [1289], leaving his brother Sir Amaury, Lord of Tyre, in Acre in his place.

Then the Templar of Tyre makes the following audacious and ominous comment:

> Now I will tell you the way and the reason why Acre was taken by the Saracens.[1]

What follows in sections 480 to 530 of his text is the extended account of the siege and fall of Acre, which concludes with a very long poem in section 530, "on the way things have been since Acre and Syria were lost."[2]

Facing the circumstances, King Henry did conclude yet another truce with the sultan for ten years, ten months, and ten days that covered the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Kingdom of Cyprus. The new king of Armenia, Hetoum II,



Map 8B

also followed suit. Despite the truces, Henry did not put much faith in the sultan's word, and he sent John de Grailly, the head of the French regiment, as his delegate to the pope seeking aid. Then he retired to Cyprus, however, leaving his brother as *bailli* in Acre.

Despite the gravity of the loss of Tripoli in late April 1289, appeals for sending immediate aid to the Holy Land mostly fell on deaf ears. Pope Nicholas IV (1288–92) was well aware of the problem and "made it his main ambition to revive Gregory X's crusade-policy. He aimed accordingly at the general pacification of Europe, the union with the Greek Church, and the recruitment of western Christians for a massive and co-ordinated action in the East."[3] However, he also was committed to attempting to deal with the long-standing Sicilian problem, and he decided that Sicily would have to come first before any major expedition could be organized to go to the Latin East. It was a fatal mistake, and it resulted in the fact that Nicolas IV would mainly be remembered as the pope during whose reign both Tripoli and Acre were lost.

The immediate response was in any case, fairly routine. The pope of course issued an appeal, but it was some months later in September 1289. He also sent money, but he sent it, not to the king, but rather to the patriarch of Jerusalem. On 9 September 1289, a sum of 4000 *livres tournois* was loaned to Nicholas de Hanapes for the purposes of "repairing the fortifications of Acre, building war machines and redeeming prisoners."[4] Even though John de Grailly, as the head of the French regiment, was the most high-profile military commander who could have been sent to the West,[5] his efforts to win committed responses came to very little. The Genoese had attempted to attack Egyptian commercial activity as a reaction to their serious losses at Tripoli. However, the sultan neutralized them by closing the port of Alexandria to their merchants until they made peace. It was the Venetians who took the threat against Acre and their commercial interests there most seriously. As a result they sent twenty galleys under their admiral, Jacopo Tiepolo, son of the former doge, Lorenzo. This naval force was joined by five additional galleys financed by James of Aragon, king of Sicily.

The only other significant response was a large band of peasants and unemployed townsmen from Lombardy and Tuscany, whom the pope placed under the leadership of the bishop of Tripoli, Bernard of Montmajour. Bernard had come to Rome as a refugee after the fall of the city.[6]

In the meantime, life went on, and commerce was resumed under the protection of the truces with the sultan. In the following spring and summer the weather was good, farming flourished, and the harvests were bountiful. Pilgrimage continued; travelers came and went. Acre was a thriving market with the usual multicultural interchange among Muslim and Christian merchants. Into this bustling Near Eastern city came the Venetian fleet with its band of Italian Crusaders in August of 1290. The Templar of Tyre reports the result:

> When these people came to Acre, the truce which the king had made with the sultan was well-maintained between the two parties. Poor Saracen peasants came into Acre carrying goods to sell, as they were accustomed to do. It happened one day, by the agency of the Enemy from Hell (who desires to arrange evil deeds between good people), that the crusaders, who had come to do good and to arm themselves for the succour of the city of Acre, brought about its destruction, for one day they rushed through Acre, putting all the poor peasants who had brought goods (both wheat and other things) to sell in Acre to the sword. These were Saracens of the villages round about Acre. They also slew a number of bearded Syrians who were of the law of Greece [native Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians] (they killed them because of their beards, mistaking them for Saracens).
>
> This was ill-done indeed, for Acre was taken by the Saracens because of it, as you shall hear.
>
> When the peasants were killed, as you have heard, the news was reported to the sultan in Babylon, who was most infuriated by it, and raged against the people of Acre. The blood-soaked *chemises* of those who had been killed were carried to him. Since the sultan was planning to do grievous harm to the city of Acre [anyway], he immediately sent messages to the lords of Acre, to the effect that he had had a truce with the Christians, and that they had broken the truce and slain his Saracen peasants. And he demanded that they make amends and bring justice to those who had done this.[7]

The Arabic sources agree with this account in general, with certain important differences in detail. The Arab historians do not report the story about how the Master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu, proposed to hand over to the sultan prisoners condemned to die, saying they were the ones who did the killings, in an effort to appease Kalavun.[8] (The Templar of Tyre, who as secretary to the Grand Master must have known, indicates that William had an informant inside Cairo who explained the sultan's real intentions, but no one in Acre believed the Templar Master.) However, these Arab writers discuss in particular the motivation and deliberations of the sultan, how carefully he explored the language of the truce to see whether the Crusaders had violated it. When the clause that guaranteed merchants and travelers safe conduct to, from, and in Acre was found, he acted on that and refused to be swayed by the Frankish arguments that newcomers from the West had perpetrated this evil act. Accordingly the sultan began to organize an attack on the city.[9]

At the start of October 1290, the time when Muslim pilgrims would begin their *hajj* to Mecca, Kalavun became ill. Even though he was forced to abandon his plans to perform the *hajj*, he resolutely moved ahead with preparations for the coming military campaign against the Crusaders. Having marched to a place called Masjid al-Tibr, the first stop en route north, and having given orders for siege engines to be constructed at Damascus, he grew worse and died on 11 November 1290.[10]

"When those of Acre had heard that al-Malik al-Mansour [Kalavun] was dead, as you have heard, they had rejoiced greatly, and thought that they had been saved."[11] However, they had only gained a brief respite. What they did not know was that the successor to Sultan Kalavun was equally dedicated to the same task his father had begun, and that his father had personally commissioned him to perform it.

Before he died, Kalavun is said to have summoned his eldest son, al-Ashraf Khalil, to his bedside. According to the Templar of Tyre, he told his son that he was dying, he placed the responsibility of completing the current campaign on his son's shoulders, and he warned al-Ashraf Khalil of the treachery of the emir Turuntay, who had poisoned Kalavun and who was the cause of his current fatal illness.[12] As one of the decisive acts of taking command as his father's successor, the new sultan had Turuntay killed, and except for the usual palace conspiracy, the transfer of power was accomplished with unusual speed and efficiency – unfortunately for the Crusaders.

Hearing news of the death of the sultan, the Crusaders in Acre appointed a delegation to make contact with the new Mamluk ruler, to congratulate him, and to bring him a gift – the nature of the gift is not revealed – in honor of his new position. The delegates were Philip Mainebeuf, a knight who knew Arabic well, a knight from Cyprus named Bartholomew Pisan, a Templar and a Hospitaller brother, and a scribe named George. When they appeared before al-Ashraf Khalil, however, he refused their gift and had them thrown in prison, where apparently they eventually died. The Templar of Tyre reports that the Crusaders had been warned in a letter to the Templar Master not to send a delegation, because the sultan was committed to this campaign.[13]

Knowledge of these details on the part of the Templar of Tyre seems to indicate clearly that the Templars were indeed dealt with in a special way by the Mamluk sultan. The Templar of Tyre reports that he himself translated the text of the letter into French, demonstrating that he, as an indigenous Frank, also knew Arabic. In the letter the sultan sends greetings "to the noble master of the Temple, the true and wise," showing that he held him in special regard, knowing that the Master would inform the other Crusaders of the sultan's true intentions. When the Crusaders, duly informed, paid no attention to the sultan's admonitions, he did as he said. The Mamluk campaign to besiege Acre was officially in progress, and this letter informed them that al-Ashraf Khalil was coming to right the wrongs that had been done to the Muslim peasants, merchants, and travelers.

At this point the Templar of Tyre starkly announces the following:

> The sultan came before Acre and besieged it on Thursday the 5th of April, in the year 1291 of the Incarnation of Christ.[14]

By contrast the Arabic sources go into some detail about the preparations of assembling the huge Mamluk army and the impressive array of siege engines that the sultan had commissioned for the coming battle.[15]

First, there was the ceremonial departure from Cairo, which took place in conjunction with the burial of Kalavun in his great domed tomb. The new sultan staged an elaborate round of events, including processions, prayers, and generous gifts to the poor and to the religious participants. Symbolically al-Ashraf Khalil clearly wished to associate his military campaign with that of his dead father.[16]

Second, there was the organization of the armies. Not only were there the regular Mamluk troops from Cairo, but also there were contingents from other major Mamluk cities and forts, such as Tripoli, Crac des Chevaliers, Akkar, Homs, and Damascus. In fact, it is reported that the number of volunteers from Damascus even outnumbered the regular troops from that city.[17]

Third, we learn of various participants who recorded the events. Along with two other chroniclers who were members of these contingents and provided eyewitness accounts of the siege of Acre, there were men such as Abu al-Fida, an Ayyubid prince who later became ruler of Hama. In addition there was an anonymous writer who was a soldier in the battle. There was also Baybars al-Mansuri, a Mamluk emir who was governor of Kerak and who joined the campaign at Gaza with the consent of the sultan.[18]

Fourth and finally, after a month on the march, al-Ashraf Khalil arrived at Acre, on what the Arabic sources say was 6 April 1291. Two days later the entire Syrian part of the army arrived with the siege machines. All accounts exclaim over the large number of these machines; one author says there were seventy-two mangonels of four types, and one type, the so-called Frankish type (*Ifranji*), was the largest and strongest and could fire stones weighing 45 kilograms and more. There were said to be fifteen of these "Frankish" mangonels.[19]

At this point it had been nearly eight months since the incident in Acre that had sparked the ire of the sultan. Eventually the Crusaders had realized that al-Ashraf Khalil was coming with a huge army to attack the city.

> When the Sultan reached 'Akka during the first ten days of Rabi' II, he found it fortified with all kinds of equipment and apparatus. The Franks had sought aid from the people of Cyprus and other Islands, sending messengers to their great kings, with the result that a large number of Hospitallers and Templars had gathered in the city. In their letters to the Frankish kings, monks and priests, the 'Akkans mentioned that there remained no Frankish fort on the whole coast in which they could take refuge save the fortress of 'Akka and that if it were captured there would be no place left for the Franks who remained. Accordingly the kings sent many men.[20]

With a certain exaggeration, the Templar of Tyre says that the sultan pitched his tents all over the plain outside the city, from the sea on the north side to the bay on the south side. Sober estimates of the Mamluk army ranged up to well over 200,000 men.[21] There were probably 30,000–40,000 citizens inside the city of Acre. Of these probably fewer than 15,000 were soldiers of one kind or other, but this represented all the armed forces that the Crusaders could muster.[22] Altogether the land walls of the city stretched about two kilometers in front of the Mamluk encampment.[23]

> The tent of the sultan himself, which is called the *delhis*, was on a small hill, where there was a lovely tower and gardens and vineyards of the Temple. This *delhis* was entirely red, and its door opened facing the city of Acre. It was a custom of the sultans that everyone would know that the direction in which the door of the *delhis* opened would be the direction in which he would take the road. They remained for eight days before Acre, doing nothing besides engaging in the occasional clash between our forces and theirs, in which a few were killed on either side.[24]

This means that basically for the first week the Mamluk army assembled and established their camp. The army of Hama was opposite the Templars on the right side along the northwest walls of Montmusard. The army of Damascus was opposite the Hospitallers along the sourthwest–central part of the walls of Montmusard in the center. The army of Egypt was placed along the old city walls from where the Montmusard walls joined them, around the angle of the Tower of King Hugh and King Henry II to the Patriarch's Tower at the southern end of the walls at the waters of the bay. The sultan's tent was west of the Patriarch's and the Legate's Tower. Then the Mamluks began to set up their siege engines. Some of these engines had names and were put in important emplacements. The "Furious" mangonel was placed in front of the walls entrusted to the Templar defenders. Another known as the "Victory" was positioned to fire on the Pisans' section. A third was located to fire on the Hospitallers. A fourth large mangonel was placed to fire on the Accursed Tower, which anchored the inner walls of the city at the angle where they turned from an east–west to a north–south line. The Templar of Tyre also describes how the Mamluks set up their own barricades and wicker screens behind which they could maneuver without being seen. These barricades faced the city walls and extended their entire length, and over a three-day period the Mamluk soldiers moved them up to the lip of the fosse outside the outer walls. Once these barricades were in place, they were strengthened and small, rapid-fire siege machines called *carabohas* were moved in close behind them. The stage was set for the battle to begin.[25]

To start the attack the sultan started a series of siege operations, including mining sections of the walls and certain towers – the Templar of Tyre mentions "the King's wall" and the kings' tower in front of "the Accursed Tower" (Turris Maledicta). Along with this there were pitched battles between small numbers of Muslim and Christian soldiers outside the walls, sometimes even single combat in front of the gates of the city, which the Crusaders defended heavily but left open for access to the battlefield. Meanwhile the Mamluk siege engines hurled their stones against the walls and into the city like "stunning thunderbolts" and thousands of arrows were shot "like gleaming flashes of lightning," according to Baybars al-Mansuri.[26] The Crusaders successfully attempted to attack the Hama army in the Mamluk camp from the sea "by troops landing from boats protected by wood-faced frames covered with buffalo-hides." They were finally beaten back and although many of the Franks were killed by arrows, some were able to escape back into the city through one of the open gates. Some other knights, including John de Grailly and Otto of Grandson, rode out against the same section of the Mamluk camp in an attempt to destroy the siege engines by using Greek fire. Their attack failed when the Greek fire fell short, but the Crusaders were able to capture armor and weapons from the camp of the Hama army as they fought, *spolia* and trophies that they displayed on the walls of the city the next day. The Templar of Tyre says that in this battle their three hundred men had faced over a thousand Mamluks.[27]

This was a notable victory of sorts for the Crusaders, and the sultan considered it a "humiliating defeat." He exhorted his emirs to fight harder and he took this occasion to "take action against the emirs suspected of treachery, none other than al-Amir Husam al-Din Lajin, Viceroy of Damascus and later Sultan, and his associates.... On or about the eighth of Jumada I/9 May, Lajin and two of his cohorts were arrested and Lajin's property in Damascus was placed under sequestration."[28] While these developments were underway, the Crusaders had attempted without success to attack the other sections of the huge Mamluk camp. Despite these efforts, Al-Ashraf Khalil was able gradually to move his troops close enough to the walls of the city to fill the fosse in certain places, in preparation for the coming assault.

In the meantime the king of Jerusalem, Henry, had finally arrived from Cyprus on May 4, nearly a month after the attack had begun. His presence and the reinforcements he brought stimulated joy and renewed hope among the beleaguered Crusaders defending Acre. The Muslim historian Abu l-Mahasin reports that "on the night of his arrival [they] lit great fires, greater than were ever seen before, as a sign of their joy."[29]

After assessing the situation, Henry decided to attempt to negotiate with the sultan. Henry had found the city in "dire straits," according to the Templar of Tyre, so he sent a delegation to al-Ashraf Khalil, including William of Villiers, a knight, and William of Caffran, a member of William of Beaujeu's household. The Crusaders sought to arrange a peace in exchange for tribute they would pay; they were still thinking of recent truces and thought that the Mamluks could be bought off. When the messengers came unarmed before the sultan in his red *delhis,* they were at some distance from the Gate of the Legate, probably the tower gate just north of the Tower of the Patriarch, at the southern end of the outer walls of the city. The Templar of Tyre reported the following exchange:

> When the messengers had thrice saluted him on their knees, he approached them and said, "Have you brought me the keys of the city, then?" The messengers replied that the city could not be surrendered so easily, but that they had come to him to ask for some measure of mercy for the poor people.
>
> At this the sultan said to them, "I will give you this much grace, that you cede me the bare stones [of the city] alone, and carry off everything else, and go forth and leave the place. I will do this for your king, who has come here and is a youth, just as I might have been. But I will do nothing more for you."
>
> Then the messengers said to him that this could not be, "because the people overseas would hold us to be traitors," at which he said, "Then you should go away, for I shall offer nothing more!"[30]

In preparation for this confrontation, the sultan is reported to have consulted with his emirs, who urged him not to abandon "his martyred father's cause." When the emirs had made known their support to the people, the historian al-'Ayni reports that "a great shout arose from the peddlers, vagabonds, grooms, and camel drivers accompanying the army, calling on the Sultan to continue the struggle against the accursed enemy."[31] The Mamluk siege had now become a popular cause for which the only acceptable Muslim result was total victory. This is the message that the Sultan delivered to the Crusader envoys. When a Crusader mangonel fired at the sultan's tent at the conclusion of the messengers' visit – whether accidentally or intentionally is unknown – the sultan was enraged. He eventually allowed the messengers to return unharmed, but his anger and increased resolve was a bad omen for the Crusaders. The next day, on Friday 17 Jumada I/18 May, the sultan ordered a full-scale assault on the city.

The Mamluks had prepared for this attack systematically over the previous weeks. Realizing the strength of the defensive walls of the city, they had begun by mining the walls in strategic places, especially the Tower of the King and the Wall of the King. The Mamluks had also moved their troops as close to the walls as possible and filled in the ditches in certain places, so they would have direct access to the walls with their siege ladders. Where they were successful in bringing down the walls, the fallen stones created a secondary barrier, so the Mamluks created a smooth road over them by covering the stones with sand in sacks. The stage was set.

When the Crusaders had seen the Tower of the King fall, "everyone was thoroughly demoralized, and began increasingly to send their women and children down to the ships. But on the next day, Thursday [17 May], the weather was very bad, and the sea ran so high that the women and children who had boarded the ships were unable to stay there, and they disembarked and returned to their homes."[32] The population of Acre nervously awaited the coming assault.

The Mamluks announced their attack with war drums. It must have been a fearsome experience. The Templar of Tyre reports, "Before dawn on the next day, Friday [18 May], a drum began a powerful stroke, and at the sound of this drum, which had a horrible and mighty voice, the Saracens assailed the city of Acre upon all sides."[33] Abu l-Mahani states, "at dawn on Friday 17 Jumada I the Sultan and his troops, mounted on their horses, moved in to attack before sunrise. They beat their drums, creating a terrible, terrifying noise, and the army massed under the walls."[34]

The Mamluk attack took place all along the walls. Behind the fallen towers the Crusaders attempted to defend their positions protected by their *chats,* wooden structures covered with leather, but without success. The Muslims poured in, led by soldiers behind tall shields, followed by men carrying Greek fire, by javelin throwers, and by archers, who "shot feathered arrows in such a thick cloud that [they] seemed to fall like rain from the heavens." The masters of the Templars and the Hospitallers attempted to defend St. Anthony's Gate near the citadel at the point where the walls of Montmusard met the old city walls. According to the Templar of Tyre, the enemy seemed like a "stone wall. Those of the enemy who were hurling Greek fire hurled it so often and so thickly that there was so much smoke that one man could scarcely see another."[35]

At this point the Templar of Tyre witnesses what to him was the turning point of the struggle:

> A javelin came at the master of the Temple, just as he raised his left hand. He had no shield save his spear in his right hand. The javelin struck him under the armpit, and the shaft sank into his body a palm's-length; it came in through the gap where the plates of the armor were not joined.... [Eventually, he cried out,] "my lords, I can do no more, for I am killed; see the wound here!"

> And then we saw the javelin stuck in his body, and as he spoke he dropped the spear to the ground, and his head slumped to one side. He started to fall from his horse, but those of his household sprang down from their horses and supported him and took him off, and laid him on a shield that they found cast off there, a tall, broad buckler....
>
> [The men carried him off to a safe place, and] there his household removed his armor, cutting his *cuirasse* off at the shoulders, ... Then they put him, still in his *epaulieres*, under a blanket, and took him towards the seashore,.... [They] carried him to the Temple fortress with the aid of other men, and they laid him within the house....
>
> He lived all that day without saying a word, for since he had been taken down from his horse he had not spoken, save only a word to those in the Temple; when he heard the clamor of men fleeing death, he wanted to know what was happening. They told him that men were fighting, and he commanded that they should leave him in peace.
>
> He did not speak again, but gave up his soul to God. He was buried before his tabernacle, which was the altar where they said Mass.[36]

This narrative is so detailed that we can readily imagine the Templar of Tyre by his master's side during this ordeal. What follows in the rest of his report is partly collected from others about developments elsewhere in the battle, and partly what he continued to witness at the Templar fortress. The Mamluks entered the city at several points and put everyone they saw to the sword. The carnage was terrible. John de Grailly and Otto of Grandson and the men of the French regiment fought bravely, but were forced to retreat. King Henry, observing the hopeless situation, fled to the harbor with the Hospitaller Master, where they boarded their galleys. Essentially the city had fallen by *tierce* that morning, 18 May, and the Mamluks hoisted their banners on the battlements. The city was in flames and what followed was a *sauve-qui-peut*. There was much looting by the Mamluks,[37] and the Templar of Tyre remarks,

> know, fair lords, that no one could adequately recount the tears and grief of that day.... There is no man in the world who has so very hard a heart that he would not have wept to see the slaughter. And I am sure that all Christian people who saw these things that day wept, because even some of the Saracens, as we learned afterwards, had pity on these victims and wept.[38]

The question of what ships were in the harbor and available for evacuating the Crusader refugees is a matter of great interest.[39] Clearly there were important ships owned by the major military orders, that is, the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights, which regularly called at the port of Acre.[40] Indeed, the Hospitallers even had their own dockyard at Acre.[41] However, on this fateful day, only the Templars' large ship, the *Falco*, seemed to be available; none owned by the other two Orders appears to have still been at Acre.[42] Thus we conclude that although ships of the major military orders assisted in transporting refugees from Acre before the siege began and at the start of the siege, by the eighteenth of May those ships had mostly gone with the exception of the *Falco*. It was therefore Venetian and, surprisingly, Genoese ships which were the primary source of emergency transport, both for the remaining survivors among the military orders and for other soldiers, citizens, and merchants who sought to escape.[43] In particular, Favreau-Lilie comments:

> some of the less well-situated citizens of Acre who, in contrast to the Frankish upper class and inhabitants of the Italian quarters had not had the chance to flee in time to safety before the fall... doubtless owed their lives to the Genoese – to the captains of two Genoese galleys, who retrieved many refugees from the sea, carrying them over to the larger transport vessels in front of the city.[44]

But inside the city, the battle raged on. At this point during the fateful day of 18 May, the Templar of Tyre observed that

> the greater part of the people, men and women and children, more than ten thousand persons, sought refuge within the Temple [compound], for it was the strongest place in the city. It occupied a large site on the sea, like a castle; it had at its entry a tall, strong tower, and the wall was very thick, twenty-eight feet wide. On each corner of the tower was a turret, and upon each turret was a gilded lion *passant*, as big as a donkey, which cost – the four lions and the gold and the labour together – fifteen hundred saracenate bezants, and it was the most magnificent thing to see. And on the other corner, towards the Pisan Quarter, there was another tower, and near this tower above the Street of St. Anne, there was a most noble palace which belonged to the master....
>
> The Templar fortress also had another very old tower, on the sea, which Saladin had built a hundred years before, in which the Templars kept their treasure; it was so close to the sea that the waves broke against it. And there were other lovely dwellings within the Temple compound, most noble ones of which I make no mention now.[45]

These descriptions bear witness to the firsthand knowledge that the Templar of Tyre possessed about these events and places – especially those pertaining to the Templars – during the Crusader defense of Acre. Before continuing with the account of the final days of Crusader Acre, he describes certain main structures of the city, essentially those lost on the eighteenth, concluding that "I will say no more about it [Acre], but it was one of the noble and lovely cities of the world. It was the seaport, the landfall, for all those who came to Syria, and its loss did great harm."[46] After making this reflective comment in the course of writing his text, the Templar of Tyre returns to his narrative of the fall of the city.

"Everyone," he says, "who could manage to do so came to the Temple, gathering inside. The king and the others who had retreated onto the galleys and other ships moved off and set sail, as did the *tarides* and *nefs* of the Venetian squadron. The good *prud'homme*, the patriarch and legate, Brother Nicholas [Nicholas of Hanapes, O.P.], withdrew to a *nef* of the Venetians. A sailor seized him by the hand, but he slipped and fell into the sea and was drowned." Various stories are told about this incident raising questions about how and why Nicholas died, but in fact the weather was bad, the waves were high, and he may indeed have drowned because of rough seas.[47]

As the ships set sail for Cyprus, all those remaining in the Templar compound were left to their fate, and they cried out with a great voice. Among those in Temple castle were Marshal Peter of Sevrey, the leader of the remaining Templars. There was also the Hospitaller marshal, Matthew of Clermont, along with some secular knights, women, burgesses, and other people. The Temple held out for ten days after the fall of the city, during which time Matthew of Clermont was slain in battle.

The remaining Crusaders were protected by the strong walls of the Temple castle, and after a few days some of the ships who had taken people to Cyprus came back to save those defenders still alive in Acre.[48] At this point the sultan, al-Ashraf Khalil, offered safe-conduct for the surrender of the Templar compound, and his offer was accepted. Then "the sultan... dispatched an emir to those in the Temple. The emir brought 400 horsemen inside the compound with him; these men saw the great number of refugees, and desired to seize the women who pleased them, to dishonour them. But the Christians found this conduct intolerable, drew their weapons, and flung themselves upon the Saracens, slaying them all and beheading them, so that none escaped alive. Then the Christians set themselves determinedly to defend their bodies to the death."[49] Several Muslim sources tell the story somewhat differently, and one writer claims to have been part of the Mamluk party to ride into the compound on that day who in fact survived with nine others.[50] Whatever the case, at this point Peter of Sevrey sent the commander of the Templars, Thibaud Gaudin, to Sidon by boat with their treasury under cover of night.[51] The Templar of Tyre may have been part of this group, whereby he survived, eventually to write his account of these events while living on Cyprus.

At this point the sultan renewed his offer, knowing what had happened the first time. The Templar marshal, Peter of Sevrey, "trusted the sultan," no doubt thinking of past dealings between the Templars and the Mamluk leader. However, "when the sultan had the marshal and the men of the Temple in his power, he had the heads of all the brethren and of all the other men cut off." Now it was a fight to the end.

The Mamluks began to mine the main tower of the Templar castle.[52] On 28 May the whole tower wall began to fall while Muslims and Crusaders were in mortal combat. When the tower collapsed it killed everyone fighting below, on both sides, with great loss of life. Following this catastrophe the Templar compound was taken by the Mamluk sultan.

> Et enssi fu prise et delivre la dite sité d'Acre le jour dou veredy, a. xviii. jours de may dou dit an, et la maison dou Temple .x. jours après, tout en la maniere que je vous ais devysé.
>
> And so, [reports the Templar of Tyre,] this city of Acre was taken, abandoned, on Friday the eighteenth day of May in the said year [of 1291], and the Temple compound ten days later [28 May], in the manner which I have described to you.[53]

In a famous article, G. Schlumberger concludes by saying that when Acre fell, "il y avait exactement cent quatre-vingt-douze ans que la sainte cite de Jérusalem avait été conquise par les Francs et que Godefroy de Bouillon avait été proclamé roi [sic] du Saint Royaume de Palestine."[54] It is sobering to reflect on the fact that Acre, capital of the Latin Kingdom and one of the most heavily fortified and strongly defended cities in the Near East, fell after a siege of only forty-four days![55]

The city of Acre was finally taken by al-Ashraf Khalil and the Mamluk army on 28 May 1291, but certain Muslim historians altered the date for symbolic reasons. Abu l-Fida and Abu l-Mahasin wished to note the coincidence between the taking of Acre by the Third Crusade and the fall of Acre to the Mamluks. The latter writes:

> It is marvelous to observe that Almighty God permitted the Muslims to conquer Acre on the same day and at the same hour as that on which the Franks had taken it: they gained control of Acre in 587/1191 after the famous siege on Friday 17 Jumada II/July 1191 at the third hour of the day, promised to spare the lives of the Muslims and then treacherously killed them. God permitted the Muslims to reconquer them this time at the third hour of 17 Jumada II,[56] the Sultan gave his word to the Franks and then had them slaughtered as the Franks had done to the Muslims. Thus Almighty God was revenged on their descendants.[57]

The Crusaders had essentially fought to the last man, and the three military orders along with the soldiers of the French regiment had distinguished themselves in the defense of the city. A few Templars had escaped to Sidon, where Thibaud Gaudin, former commander, was elected the new master of the order by the few surviving brethren. Nonetheless there is a negative side to the policies and conduct of the orders as well. "In view of the fact that the military orders only agreed officially to the evacuation of the population at a time when most of them could not be saved any more, they bear much of the responsibility for the death and often life-long captivity of countless individuals."[58]

Al-Ashraf Khalil's goal was to drive the Crusaders out of Syria-Palestine and into the sea. Even while the siege of Acre was underway, on 19 May, the sultan had sent a strong force to attack Tyre. The Templar of Tyre says that Tyre "was one of the strongest cities in the world. In it was a *bailli* named Sir Adam of Caffran, acting on behalf of the king. As soon as he saw the sailing ships that had left Acre, he and all the other knights and the wealthy people cleared out and abandoned the city of Tyre. The poor people remained behind and were taken prisoner, men and women and children who had no ships on which they might withdraw." Thus, although like Acre, Tyre had one of the most formidable defensive sites, was endowed with extremely strong walls, and was virtually impregnable to any attacker who did not control the sea, unlike Acre it was in effect handed over on 22 May without a fight.[59] "Shamefully," Housley comments, "the virtually impregnable port of Tyre was abandoned by its *bailli.*"[60]

Muslim sources report that few people were left in the city when it was taken. Of those that were, some Tyrians "asked for amnesty for themselves and their property in exchange for surrendering Tyre, and this was granted them."[61] The city was ordered to be destroyed and apparently substantial quantities of marble and other usable and valuable building materials were taken before any destruction was undertaken. However, as Little points out, the extent of demolition was limited because of the surrender of the city without a struggle.[62]

After Tyre and Acre had fallen, the remaining Crusader cities and fortifications along the coast were systematically attacked. Troops were sent to Sidon, Beirut, Tortosa, and Chastel Pelerin. At Sidon, a Mamluk army under Emir Sanjar al-Shuja'i [sic][63] arrived a month after the fall of Acre. In the face of this overwhelming force the defenders retreated to the sea castle, which had recently been refortified. The Templar of Tyre, who may possibly have been with the Templars in Sidon at this time, says Thibaud Gaudin "thought that he ought not to begin his term of office [as master] by abandoning the castle. He took counsel with his brethren, and with their consent he went off to Cyprus, promising them that he should send them relief." However, when no relief came and the Mamluk attackers had reached the walls of the sea castle, the remaining Templars "took counsel among themselves to abandon the place and go to Cyprus, ... [and] ... they left so noiselessly one night that the Saracens did not even realize they were gone until the morning of the next day."

"When Sidon had been thus abandoned, as I have explained to you, the Saracens took the castle and knocked it down in a heap."[64] According to Muslim sources, Sidon was taken on 17 July.[65]

Following the fall of Sidon, other towns and castles still in Crusader hands fell rapidly. Beirut was taken on 22 July, and Emir Sanjar al-Shuja'i "took the city and the castle, and knocked down the walls of the city and then razed the castle to the ground."[66] Haifa and Chastel Pelerin were taken by 30 July. "When those in Château Pèlerin saw that all was lost, they perceived clearly that they no longer had the ability to defend the castle, so they abandoned it and went to the Isle of Cyprus, and the Saracens completed their destruction of the land."[67] At this point the Templar of Tyre appears to have gone to Cyprus himself; he does not even mention Tortosa, which was also held by the Templars. The Mamluks finally captured Tortosa by 3 August. A few members of the order held out on Ruad, the small island off the coast of Tortosa until 1303, but for all intents and purposes, the Mamluk victory was complete. Abu l-Fida writes, "with these conquests the whole of Palestine was now in Muslim hands, a result that no one would have dared to hope for or to desire. Thus the whole of Syria and the coastal zones were purified of the Franks, who had once been on the point of conquering Egypt and subduing Damascus and other cities. Praise be to God!"[68]

Cyprus braced for a possible invasion, but none ever came. Meanwhile, al-Ashraf Khalil ordered Acre to be destroyed, and "at the Sultan's command the city was razed to the ground."[69] According to Little, this order was carried out by two emirs, one of whom, al-Shuja'i, "took an almost archaeological interest in the monuments of the city." It is well known that the entire portal of an 'Akkan church was transported to Cairo and later installed in the *madrasa*-mausoleum of al-Malik al-Nasir on Bayn al-Qasrayn, where it exists today.[70] Al-Shuja'i took a sarcophagus plaque, bearing a Greek/Latin (Rumi) inscription dated 222, to Damascus for decipherment; it turned out to be a prediction of the appearance of an Arab prophet who would conquer the world! Enormous quantities of marble from the churches of the city were taken to Egypt and Syria. Although the Muslim historians do not detail the measures taken to destroy the fortifications, several of them do quote a poet who says he saw it "ablaze after its walls and fortifications had been destroyed."[71]

Al-Ashraf Khalil remained in Acre until the first week of June, long enough to issue the commands to destroy the city and to send troops off to the other fortified coastal positions held by the Crusaders, but all together he stayed less than two weeks after the fall of the city. From Acre he went to Damascus, which had been informed of his great victory by carrier pigeon. When the sultan "arrived in Damascus about a month later, on the twelfth of Jumada II/12 June, accompanied by his vizier, Abu Sal'us, and the victorious troops, the entire city had been decorated, and sheets of satin had been laid along his triumphal path through the city leading to the viceregal palace. The sultan was preceded by 280 fettered prisoners; one bore a reversed Frankish banner; another carried a banner and spear from which hair of slain comrades was suspended."

At Damascus, the Sultan turned his attention to renovations and new construction in Aleppo, Baalbek, Tripoli, and Damascus itself. Eventually, in early 1292 he returned to his capital city in Egypt.[72]

> Cairo had been even more elaborately decorated than Damascus, for the agents of Mamluk emirs had worked for forty days in erecting miniature fortresses along the parade route to commemorate the victory, and again satin was spread along the parade route for the Sultan to walk on. The great campaign ended as it had begun, at the mausoleum of his father, [Kalavun], where the religious dignitaries of [the] city had re-assembled for sermons and recitations of the Qur'an, with the clear implication that al-Ashraf had fulfilled his father's wishes and the will of God with the successful completion of the campaign.[73]

The final defeat and humiliation of the Crusaders and the complete Mamluk victory and triumph had been achieved. Years later, in the mid-fourteenth century, Ludolf von Suchem reports, "since that day [when Acre fell] all Christian women, whether gentle or simple, who dwell along the eastern shore (of the Mediterranean) dress in black garments of mourning and woe for the lost grandeur of Acre, even to this day."[74]

PILGRIMAGE ACCOUNTS

The devastation in Acre and most of the other sites was substantial and the looting had been tremendous. Yet the sultan's order to raze the city to the ground must be taken as something of a figure of speech. Judging by comparing the reports of subsequent pilgrims, such as Ricoldus of Monte Croce (1293) and Ludolf von Suchem (1350), substantial parts of the city and its walls still stood.

Ricoldus of Monte Croce was a Dominican, born in Florence in 1243. He came to the Holy Land as a missionary just before the fall of Tripoli and Acre in 1288. He seems to have visited the holy sites in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, which he describes in detail, before launching into a long discussion of the Muslims and the Mongols. He has very little to say about Acre, where he presumably only stayed briefly. The city of Acre, despite Crusader attempts to establish religious sites there worthy of the visit of a pilgrim, did not attract his attention. Ricoldus eventually wrote an account of his visit about 1293, just after the fall of Acre, among other texts.[75] He also wrote a series of letters from the East, which have been variously dated to 1298 or 1301.[76]

Ricoldus was in Baghdad, busy with his missionary activities, when news of the fall of Acre reached him in June 1291. Schein summarizes his situation and comments taken from his letters, as follows: "Ricoldo saw long convoys of Christians taken captive in Acre, making their way to remote parts of the Levant. He was told that more than 30,000 Christians were killed in one day in Acre. He learned from a nun 'worthy of belief,' who had been captured in Acre, about the death of all the thirty Dominicans in the city." From Baghdad he moved on to Mosul. "In Mossul he found on sale church utensils pillaged in Acre. Here he bought a missal and Gregory's 'Morals on Job.'" Ricoldus carried on with his missionary activities, but "all around him Islam was prospering. . . . For several years Ricoldo was alone in the remote parts of the Orient with no news from his order. He, 'miser et peccator,' sent to preach the faith of Christ to the Saracens, saw around him not only Mongols and others accepting Islam but even Christians converting to that victorious religion." Ricoldus faced a crisis of faith, but he clung to orthodoxy.[77]

The later pilgrim, Ludolf, was a German cleric about whom we know very little. We learn from his text that he was the rector of the Church of Suchem in the diocese of Paderborn. He apparently visited the Holy Land between 1336 and 1341, and wrote his account in 1350. Ludolf in contrast to Ricoldus gives quite a detailed report on the city of Acre, including a somewhat astonishing and exaggerated description of its past glory, an account of the final siege and Mamluk conquest, and remarks on its current state. He comments about the condition of the city when he saw it:

> The Saracens worked for many years endeavoring to utterly subvert and destroy down to their foundations all the walls, towers, castles, and palaces, lest the Christians should rebuild them; yet in hardly any place have they been able to beat them down to the height of a man, but all the churches, walls, and towers, and very many castles and palaces, remain almost entire, and if it pleased God, could with great care be restored throughout to their former state. At this day about sixty Saracen mercenaries dwell in Acre as a garrison for the city and port, and make a living out of silk and birds.[78]

These pilgrims' accounts demonstrate that Christian pilgrims continued to come to the Holy Land, during the fateful final years of the Latin Kingdom, and long after the fall of Acre. However, as we have seen consistently, these accounts only incidentally have anything much to say about the *realia* of the current circumstances – we tend to find this kind of information most in letters, when they exist – except in some unusually perceptive reports on the holy places or descriptions of relatively exotic sites. It is not surprising to find Ricoldus and Ludolf continuing the tradition of the genre of writing pilgrimage accounts, and it is only to be noticed that Ludolf does in fact pay, comparatively speaking, a great deal of attention to Acre and its disastrous loss. The source(s) of Ludolf's highly romanticized description of what Acre was like before the fall, with his ideas of the streets of the city "covered with silken cloths, . . . to keep off the sun's rays," of the "princes, dukes, counts, nobles, and barons [who] walked about the streets in royal state, with golden coronets on their heads," or "the richest merchants under heaven" remain yet to be determined. Perhaps his idealized notion of Acre springs partly from his sorrow over its fall. "Whose heart is so hard that the ruin and destruction of so great and noble a city would not melt it?" Now, he says, that Acre has fallen, "from that time forth all the glory of the Holy Land, of its kings, princes, and other lords, has been carried over into Cyprus."[79]

There is one other visitor to Acre in the later years of the thirteenth century who also merits comment at this point, Marino Sanudo. Marino Sanudo Torsello, the elder, was born in Venice around the year 1270. As a young nobleman he received an excellent education; he was accomplished in several languages including Italian, Latin, French, and probably Greek; and he traveled to Acre about 1285 where he stayed perhaps as long as two years to learn about trade in the Near East and his distinguished family's commercial interests. It is on the basis of what he learned in 1285–6, and possibly one further visit to Acre before it fell in 1291, that he eventually wrote his tripartite treatise, the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*.[80]

Our interest in Marino Sanudo has primarily to do with the fact that, as part of his treatise on how to win back the Holy Land following the fall of Acre in 1291, he includes a well-known map of the city of Acre labeled in some detail. This map and all the maps in his treatise are thought to have been based on naval charts and information held by Italian merchants from Acre and elsewhere. Marino Sanudo apparently commissioned these maps, and he instructed the cartographers on aspects of how they were to be drawn, but fundamentally they are thought to be the work of Pietro Vesconte, a Genoese cartographer who had worked for a time in Venice. Even so, the city maps of Acre and Jerusalem seem to reflect Marino's personal knowledge and recollections of these Crusader cities. As a result these maps, including the map of the city of Acre, are often referred to as the *Mappae Sanudinae*.[81]

There had been maps of the Holy Land, including the city of Acre, done earlier, such as those done by Matthew Paris in 1253–4. However, compared to the maps of Marino Sanudo, those of Matthew Paris are somewhat simplified, sometimes preposterously inaccurate, and embellished with bright colors and pictorial vignettes.[82] By contrast the map of the city of Acre in the various manuscripts of the treatise of Marino Sanudo, though done in the early fourteenth century, present us with our most detailed cartographic information about the configuration of the city shortly before its fall in 1291.[83] A small number of maps are also attributed to Bishop Paulinus of Pozzuoli, who was a member of the pope's commission established to evaluate the various proposals to renew the Crusade movement.[84] The maps of Paulinus are very similar to those of Marino Sanudo, and so far, no critical study has been devoted to a detailed examination of these maps and their interrelationships.

The great value of the maps of Marino Sanudo lies in the detailed information he gives about the shape of the city, its main areas, and the location of its main features. He names the main towers along the walls, a total of twelve towers and fortified gates. He identifies at least fourteen sites in Montmusard and nineteen in the Old City. Yet despite the importance of his maps, no serious attempt has been made to study the codicology of the various manuscripts in relation to their maps, the differences in the scripts and titles, as well as the different scribes, the different configurations pertaining to details of the city streets, the different drawings of the various buildings, or the stemma defining the sequence of production of the maps extant.[85]

The great challenge that the map of Marino Sanudo presents is, of course, in relating its unmeasured dimensions, inconsistent proportions, and approximate locations with the city that we find today in Israel, known as 'Akko. Cartographers, planners, and various scholars have made a number of attempts to define this relationship, of which the most important recent attempts have been by Makhouly and Johns,[86] Müller-Wiener,[87] Jacoby,[88] Kesten,[89] and Kedar.[90] As of 2003, the archaeological evidence clearly supports the configuration of the city proposed by Kedar, although by no means has evidence for all the major features identified in the Marino Sanudo map been found.

THE DESTRUCTION AND DISPERSAL OF THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS IN 1291

ARCHITECTURE (MAPS 8A AND B)

The main facts about Crusader architecture in the period of these final years of the Crusader presence in the Holy Land pertain to the destruction that occurred when the Mamluks completed their conquests between May and August 1291. As we have seen in discussing the pilgrims' accounts, two facts stand out. First there was massive destruction by the Mamluks during their conquests, and only a few Crusader structures remained, some of which we can see today. In Acre major sections of the huge Hospitaller compound located inside the Old City survive (Map 8B), and this area is currently under intensive study through archaeological excavations sponsored and carried out by the Israel Antiquities Authority. By contrast the compounds of the Templars and the Teutonic Knights were both nearly totally destroyed.[91] Ruins of the Templar castle at 'Atlit, Chastel Pelerin, still survive, presumably more or less the way it was left when the Templars abandoned it in 1291.[92] Perhaps we may use its ruined state, unrebuilt in modern times, as an index to imagine the devastation of other places such as Acre, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre, which have been reconstructed after 1291 and are currently being lived in today. Also quite a lot of the Templar fortifications at Tortosa still survive in the reconstructed city.

Second, we know that substantial amounts of building materials were taken from these sites, as the texts tell us. Whereas it is virtually impossible to identify the marble blocks, the columns, or the architectural sculpture that may have been shipped to Cairo or Damascus for reuse, we know of the relocation of certain *spolia*, such as the Gothic church portal from Acre referred to earlier (Fig. 334).[93] In neither case do we really have a clear idea as yet of the extent to which generic materials and symbolic parts of important buildings were relocated from their Crusader sites to Mamluk cities.

Very little material that can be associated with buildings in Acre from the late thirteenth century survive (Fig. 335). However, we have some architectural fragments in what may have been part of the Hospitaller compound that are of interest, although we cannot date them precisely. On the west side of the massive wall that defines the western part of the Hospitaller compound, three clustered corbel capitals with shafts survive above the roofs of current domestic dwellings (Fig. 336).[94] In their original setting they would have appeared on the east wall of some hall and/or corridor that may have been connected to or part of the Hospitaller barracks on the west side of the compound, not far from where the latrines have recently been found in the northwest corner of the compound. The style of the capitals and shafts suggests a mid- or late-thirteenth-century date, despite their heavily weathered and damaged state. Further archaeological work will be needed to help identify what part of the compound these architectural sculpture fragments can be associated with.

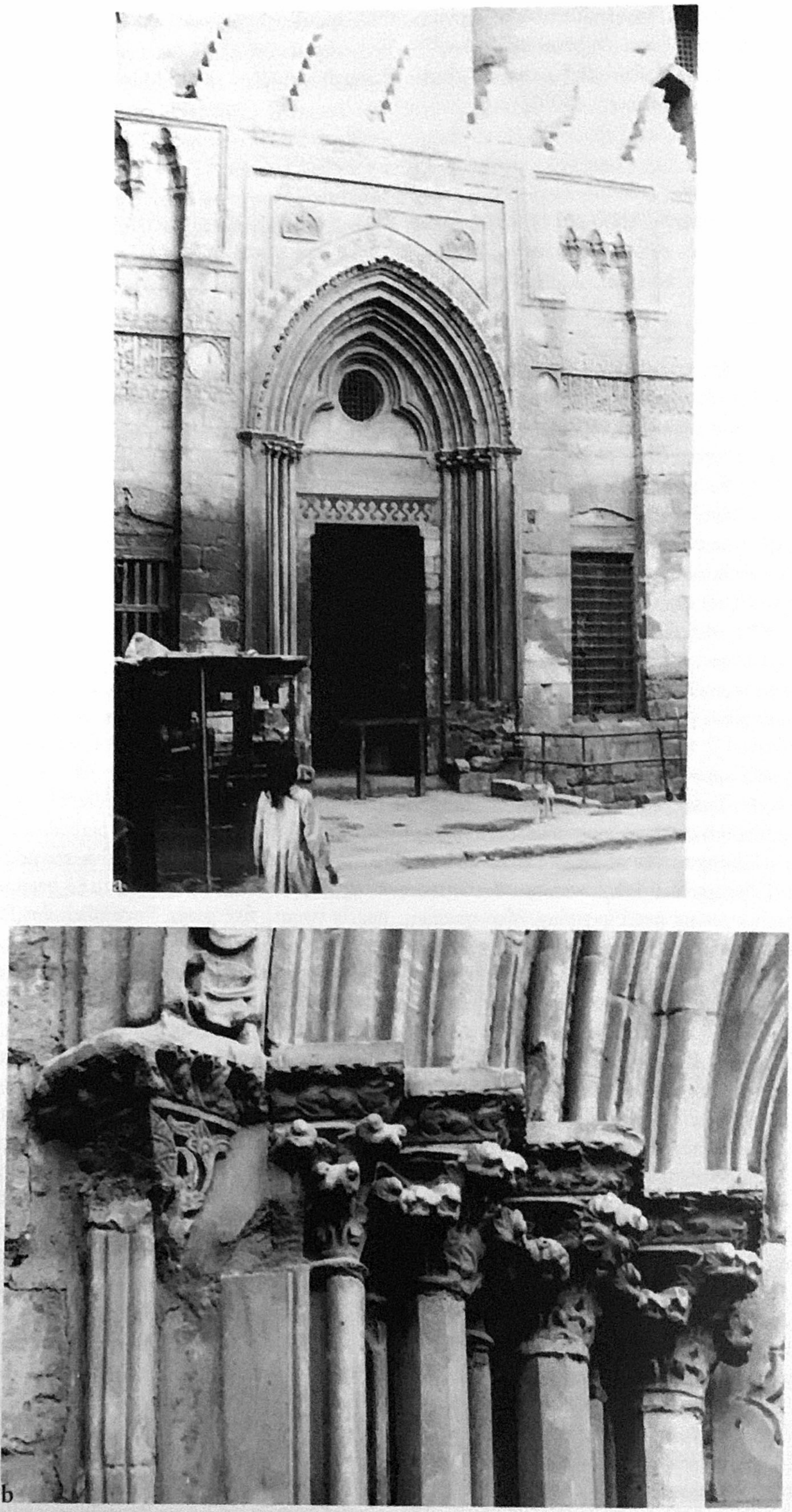
SCULPTURE

As might be suspected because of the tremendous damage to the various Crusader sites remaining in 1291, little sculpture of any sort, figural or otherwise, that can be firmly dated to the years 1289–91 remains. One of the categories of sculpture likely to be found is tomb sculpture, of which we know from work on Cyprus; there are three contemporary possibilities: tomb plaques or slabs with inscriptions or effigies, carved sarcophagi, and wall tombs, which may be carved and painted.[95]

Fortunately there is one fragment of a tomb slab that survives in Acre, which carries the date of 1290 (Fig. 337).[96] Clearly this is another incised effigy of a bishop in an architectural setting, somewhat comparable to the example from Jaffa in 1258 discussed earlier.[97] The prelate for whom this is his sepulchral monument, presumably placed in his residential church in Acre,[98] was William of St. John, the archbishop of Nazareth. Even though Nazareth had by 1288 been in Mamluk hands for nearly twenty-five years, Pope Nicholas IV was determined to maintain a full complement of residential clergy in the Latin Kingdom as much as possible. The pope sent him his pallium and arranged for his consecration in 1288. He died in Acre in 1290.[99]

In this case what survives is the lower third of a stone slab in two parts, which when joined measure 95 cm high × 113 cm wide × 5.5 cm thick. There is no indication of what kind of stone this is, but it is probably some kind of limestone, not marble.[100] The slab contains the lower part of a full-length standing bishop in his vestments. A chasuble containing an embroidered panel decorating the lower hem, including two eagles with wings displayed in medallions[101] and two other medallions with what appear to be unspecified heraldic designs, is indicated. He also apparently wears a pallium with fringe at the bottom and a guilloche-like decorated border. The border design is reminiscent of decorative motifs in Italy, as found in painting from central Italy; see, for example, the handsome painted cross of Alberto Sotio in Spoleto dated 1187.[102] The lower part of a stole is also indicated, along with his jeweled or embroidered buskins. Finally, the lower part of his crozier, tipped with a metal point, is also visible, held on a diagonal line across his body. The figure stands on a rectangular podium, which has a decorated geometric border. To the left of the bishop and apparently just in front of the podium, a tiny figure kneels in prayer. The figure appears to be a male wearing a long tunic and a soft cap.

Flanking these figures we find two slender columns which stand on column bases right and left. Surrounding the



334. Cairo: *Spolia* from Acre, **a.** Gothic Portal from a church, now the entrance to the Tomb of Qalawan; **b.** detail of the capitals and colonnettes on the Gothic Portal now on the entrance to the Tomb of Qalawan.

335. Acre, view from the east along the coast. (photo: Anthony F. Kersting)

figures and columns are two long inscriptions in Old French, incomplete and broken both at the top of the slab and by a wedge-shaped loss at the lower right. Prawer reconstructs the inscriptions to be read in two parts:

The epitaph, indicating his death in July 1290:

> "ICI GIST ARCHEVESQUE DE NAZARET GUILLAUME I(?)ECHE QUI TRESPASSA LE DERAIN IOR DE JUIGNET EN LAN DE LINCARNACION NOSTRE SEIGNOR IHESU CRIST MCCL XXXX."[103]

The commemoration, indicating his consecration in 1288:

> "EN LAN DE LINCARNACION NOSTRE SEIGNOR IHESU CRIST MCCLXXXVIII XVIII IORS ENTRANT JUIGNET PRIES DIEU POR LAME DE LUI E TOT(ES FEAUX)."

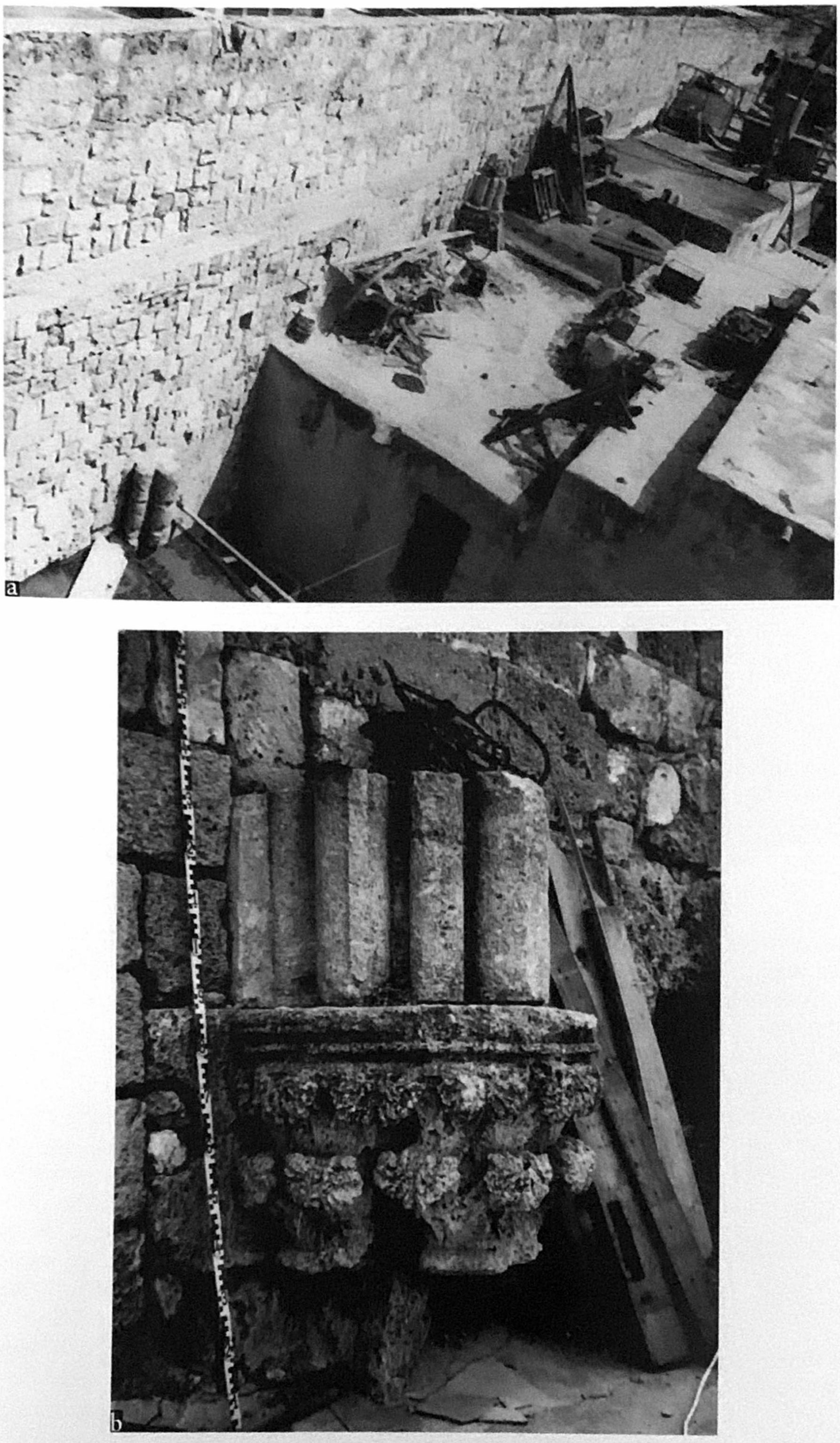
These are the full inscriptions for the lower part of the slab, but we have no idea what may have been inscribed on the upper part.

In this example there is clearly one major figure of the prelate, as reconstructed by Prawer.[104] Prawer identifies him as an archbishop, partly on the basis of the historical record, partly on the basis of the inscription, and partly on the basis of the iconography of the vestments he wears. The format of the tomb plaque is quite standard, as we have discussed earlier when dealing with the 1258 example from Jaffa. The technique is fairly simple and straightforward, with no particular refinements except the handsome decorative work on the pallium and the slippers. However, the work is done carefully, with no sign of haste.

Compared to the 1258 example in Jaffa, or the well-known Western tomb plaque of the great architect, Hugues Libergier (d. 1263),[105] we can only verify two of the basic components for these works in the Acre 1290 plaque: (1) the incised image and (2) the identifying inscription. Although there is also here a pair of columns, we do not know for sure whether there was an arch over the archbishop. Prawer does not reconstruct an arch, but it is very likely that there was one, because it is such a standard feature of these figural slabs in this period. We cannot know, however, whether there were censing or praying angels. These sometimes also appear, but it is not certain whether angels accompanied William of St. John's image here.

What is clearly one of the most interesting features of this plaque is the presence of the little kneeling and praying figure. Only 34 cm high and 8.5 cm wide, this figure is beardless and he wears a soft round cap on his head. Iconographically, the indication is that he is a layman, and his costume and small size suggest that he is a member of the bourgeoisie, not an aristocratic figure. He may have been a man of means who was the donor for this plaque. He could have been a pilgrim or a penitent, but he may have been a relative of the deceased.

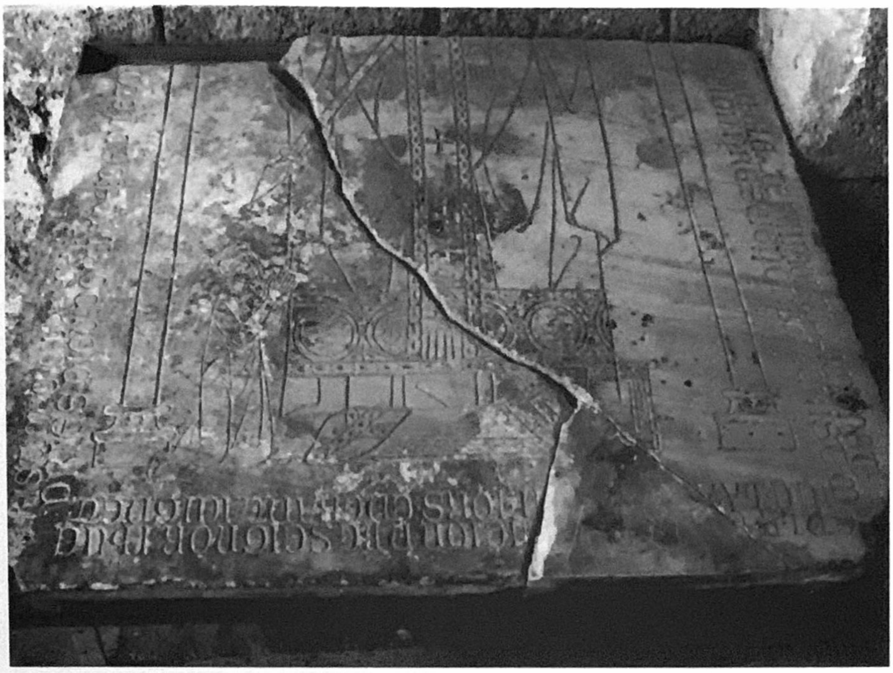
Compared to other works of Crusader art that contain such kneeling and praying donor figures, it is clear that this figure is very small in the normal relationship with the much larger holy figures, whoever they are. When we look at the comparable donor figures on the painted columns in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem from the twelfth century, we see that the most likely identification of these images is as pilgrims.[106] On the icons we have two major relevant examples, a male donor in simple robes and no hat, supplicating the mounted soldier saints, George and Theodore (Fig. 74, App. no. 94/1463), and



336. Acre: Corbelled capitals and shafts in situ on east wall of the west hall adjoining the possible site of the barracks in the Hospitaller Convent:
a. View of the east wall with extant capitals and shafts.
b. View of the central set of corbelled capitals with fragments of ribs springing from their abacus.

a finely dressed woman who reverences the foot of St. Sergios (Fig. 199, App. no. 14/80), who is also a mounted soldier saint. In these two cases clearly these small figures are prayerful supplicants, who may be pilgrims, but who certainly are very likely donors, that is, the persons who ordered these icons, or if not that the persons for whom the icons were commissioned.

On our tomb slab the little praying figure is very closely associated with the figure of the bishop, by virtue of the fact that he kneels just on the edge of the podium on which the bishop stands, and his praying hands seem to touch the bishop's robes. This degree of contact suggests that this figure might possibly be a relative, but if not, may well be the donor who commissioned



337. Acre: Tomb Slab (fragment) of William of St. John, archbishop of Nazareth.

this tomb slab for the archbishop. As the donor he is engaged in praying for the repose of the soul of the deceased, as well as praying that the holy bishop will remember him in Heaven. This latter aspect is clearly part of the function of the two icons, which also may have been done to commemorate relatives whom the saints depicted are meant to assist. In any case, the presence of the donor/praying figure is a standard feature of a number of types of images in the Crusader East, some connected to holy sites, some linked to holy icons, and in the case of the tomb slab, some pertaining to tomb effigies.

Stylistically it is difficult to say much other than this is a rather standard example of a Gothic-type tomb plaque. The handling of the figures, with enormous scale differences, is typical of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The design of the large figure in simplified linear terms, fully frontal, rather flat, and more or less weightless on feet, which suggest the figure is suspended instead of standing, is quite abstract, but not so unusual for the later thirteenth century, East or West. The pose of the little donor/praying figure is also rather abstract, with his two legs indicated and his kneeling posture in a quite uncomfortable configuration – one knee and leg behind the other – in terms of observed reality, but rather effective as a pictorial representation of what the figure is doing. This is not Gothic naturalism as we find it in France already in the 1230s, but this conservative and simplified abstract style is an effective decorative mode for a tomb plaque.

What we can say in conclusion is that this is a standard example of an incised tomb plaque from the Latin East, with no unusual features that would belie the date only months from the fall of Acre. It demonstrates that established media continue in what we know to be this last phase of work in Acre without significant change. In this case we have been able to evaluate the 1290 work against an earlier example from 1258 and have shown the essential continuity along with the minor variations. It is, however, likely that there were many such tombs done and that similar slabs have been destroyed in the interim. It would be of great interest to know whether any carved sarcophagi or wall tombs were also done in Acre at this time, but the fact is that none has survived for us to study.

In sculpture we are glad to be able to cite any examples with figural designs, just because of the destruction, and the fact that these works remained in place. In painting the situation is very different. Many more examples survived because they were portable objects that their owners could take with them when they sought refuge, either before or during the final siege.

PAINTING

In the midst of the devastation at Acre, during and after the final siege in 1291, "the libraries and works of art disappeared almost completely."[107] This was a grievous loss in 1291, just as it had been in 1187 when Saladin had captured Jerusalem. Some books were captured as spoils, and as we have seen earlier, Ricoldus of Monte Croce bought two of them in Mosul, a missal and a copy of Gregory's "Moralia in Job." Most of what survived among the books and icons, however, must have left Acre long before the final days when the city came under attack by the Mamluks.

Manuscripts

With the illustrated manuscripts it is possible to propose several works that appear to have been done in the very last years of the existence of Crusader Acre, between 1289 and 1291. The pivotal work is yet another *History of Outremer* codex, now in the library of the Laurenziana in Florence, MS PLU.LXI.10.

History of Outremer, *Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana* MS *PLU.LXI.10:* Laurenziana MS PLU.LXI.10 is probably the last codex we can identify to have been done in Acre before it fell (Fig. 338, CD 470–95).[108] It was written by a French scribe and illustrated by the Paris–Acre Master with twenty-five panel miniatures. There is no sign of haste in its production; indeed we may even say that of all the manuscripts this master worked on, this is the most carefully done. The text is written more spaciously than we saw in Paris MS fr. 9084 and Boulogne sur Mer MS 142. The text is written with few abbreviations, there are extensive rubrics to introduce each book, and no miniatures are omitted or missing.

The text of this codex is complete as far as it went, up to 1248 on fol. 336v for the original part of the book. The remainder of the text was added by a different scribe shortly thereafter, covering the years 1248 to 1277. When the manuscript was finished, a set of annals summarizing events between 1085 and 1277 was added as a kind of preface to the book.

The codicological characteristics of this book are consistent with earlier manuscripts done in Acre by the Paris–Acre Master. The vellum is slightly better in quality although rather thick and often slightly yellowed with age, but frequently very white on the skin sides and still very pliable. The care with which this book was done is impressive, ranging from the precisely done rulings rendered faintly so as not to mar the beauty of the script, to the calligraphic decoration, or the miniatures. Each book incipit is given, along with its miniature, and the text starts with a large and handsome red and blue calligraphically decorated initial along with red and blue text frames. Compared to the earlier *History of Outremer* codices, the decorative vocabulary of the red and blue ornamental initials is increased to include not only standard floral and keyhole motifs, but also the fleur-de-lis in the "O" of Book 4 (fol. 42r).

The work of the Paris–Acre Master is stylistically polished, with active and nicely proportioned figures, but with conservative, somewhat understated colorism, which is more subdued than we find in Paris MS fr. 9084 or Boulogne sur Mer MS 142. The enhanced plasticity of the figures is rendered with more subtle shading, and a more stable emotional tenor overall, without the same intensity seen in earlier mourning scenes, for example. I find this artist here to be "at the height of his mature powers, still entirely western in his formal instinct but now smoothly blending ideas drawn from his Acre experiences."[109]

The miniature cycle in format is confined to small rectangular panels; the expanded size of the panels found in MSS fr. 9084 and Boulogne sur Mer 142 is abandoned. Overall the cycle combines ideas from its immediate predecessors, the MS fr. 9084 and MS 142 codices, and the earlier St. Petersburg–Lyon cycles along with certain new ideas. Most surprising is the fact that for Books 1 to 15, it is the older St. Petersburg–Lyon cycles that are followed, as seen with the scenes of pilgrims praying at the Holy Sepulcher at Books 1 and 9. Furthermore, it is striking that the Paris–Acre Master does not choose to follow the imagery of the first five miniatures, which are so closely related in its immediate predecessors, Paris MS fr. 9084 and Boulogne sur Mer 142. These observations suggest both that this artist is operating independently at this point, in response to this commission and his patron, and that presumably MSS fr. 9084 and 142 had already left Acre by this time.

In his approach to the miniatures in the cycle of Laurenziana MS PLU.LXI.10, the Paris–Acre Master decisively simplifies the story of each miniature to one unified event. He stresses narrative clarity in his representations even while he varies the standard iconography, and in some cases he enriches the pictorial vocabulary of the scene. In the regular cycle we find the familiar representation of Jerusalem at Book 8 enhanced by the monumental domed structure, meant to represent the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[110] We see the standard coronation scenes varied from kneeling (Book 16) to seated (Books 10 and 19) to standing (Book 14) poses by the new king. We notice the admirable clarity given to the scene of the humiliation of the patriarch of Antioch by Raynauld de Chatillon (Book 18), with the large insects buzzing around the patriarch's head, exposed to the mid-day sun with his pate smeared with honey.

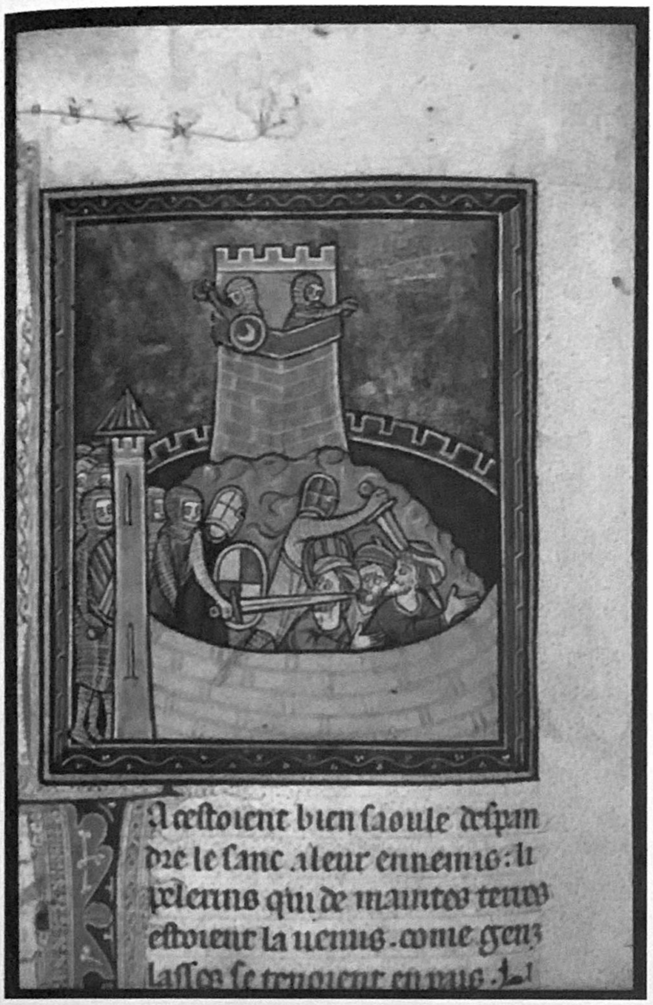
Among his most interesting innovations compared to earlier cycles, he introduces a new image, Bohemond giving Tancred custody of Antioch before his trip West, at Book 11. This theme is otherwise only found in the earlier Vatican MS Pal. Lat. 1963, which was done before 1268 in Antioch. He also offers an interesting innovation for the deathbed–coronation scene of Baldwin IV and the youthful Baldwin V at Book 23, Chapter 6. Here where the text offers no comparable narrative, the artist conflates these two events into one. However, his most notable pictorial innovations occur in the new illustrations for the continuation to the main part of the *History*. At Book 24 we find the crowned Richard I, *Coeur de Lion*, attacking Acre by ship in 1191, and at Book 25, we see the joint coronation of John of Brienne and his bride, Maria of Montferrat-Jerusalem, at Tyre in 1210.

The innovations in this cycle and the high quality of the manuscript clearly suggest that this book was commissioned for someone who ordered the special scenes and the extensive rubrics. Whoever this patron was, he – or she – apparently fled from Acre with his or her codex in hand, unfinished, as the end approached. The final portion of the text, dealing with the years 1248 to 1277, was added later along with a double-decker historiated initial. The miniature depicts Louix IX en route to Aigues Mortes with his army above, and below, sailing with his fleet to Cyprus during the Crusade of 1248–50 (CD no. 495). We know that the book was unfinished because the annals written in Acre cover the years 1085 to September 1277. When the text was completed later, it was carried on a bit further, however, to November 1277.

The written addition to the text and the final miniature in this codex are important because they provide evidence for the fact that the manuscript was begun at Acre and finished later in western Europe, presumably after the patron had arrived safely following the catastrophic events in the Near East. When and where was this final miniature done?

There can be no doubt that the format of this final miniature and the style of the artist are completely different from the Paris–Acre Master's work in this codex. The illuminated initial "L" has colorful floriated decoration along its stem and the lower parts of the letter frame a multicolored vine surmounted by a splendid winged green dragon, looking very oriental. Perhaps the artist drew his idea for this dragon from Eastern textiles.[111] In typical Italian fashion both the letter and the initial are "floated" on the same gold ground, which is outlined in black.

The miniature itself is actually a double-decker panel format image seamlessly unified with the initial by means of the gold ground and by the fact that the stem of the "L" forms the left side border for the scenes. The style of the artist is different from the Paris–Acre Master in form and color. No other work by the hand of this second artist can be found as



a cestoient bien ſaoule deſpan
dre le ſanc a leur ennemis: li
pelerins qui de maintes terres
estoient la venus. come genz
laſſes ſe tenoient en vaus.

338. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS PLU.LXI.10: fol. 61r, book 6, (I)a cestoient bien saoul . . . (panel: 8.8 × 7.5 cm).
1. The Crusaders enter and take Antioch with much carnage in the city. Some Antiochenes take refuge in the citadel of the city.
Rubrics: Ci commence li.vi. livre ou quell se contient coment corbagaz asseia noz genz en antioche. & coment la lance dont nre sires ot persie le coste en la crins fu trouvee. & coment après ce quil orrent souferte grant mesaise & grant famine desconfirent corbagaz. (photo: by courtesy of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, and the Johns Hopkins University Department of Art History Photograph Archive, Baltimore)

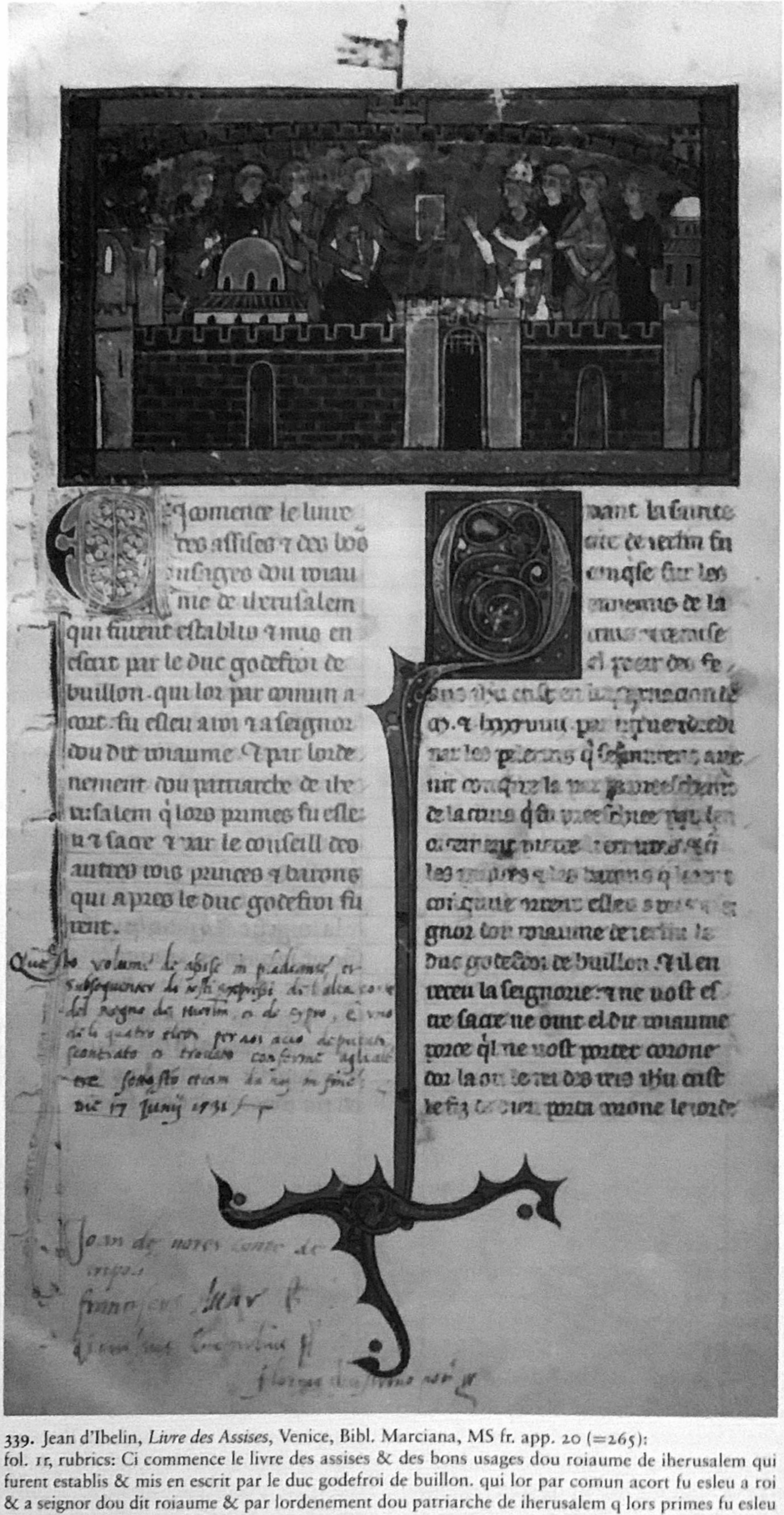
yet, but aspects of his figure style and his soldiers can be compared with several other manuscripts in what Degenhart and Schmitt call the Sanudo–Paolino group among Venetian area paintings. This group of manuscripts includes several examples of Marino Sanudo's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*,[112] a codex of Burchard of Mount Sion's, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, now in Padua, Seminario MS 74,[113] two manuscripts of Geoffrey de Villehardouin's, *Conquête de Constantinople*, one in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 587 and the other in Paris, BN MS fr. 4972.[114] There are also parallels with figures in the *Mariegola di S. Teodoro*, now in the Museo Correr.[115] Other works show parallels with the horses and architecture, such as in a codex of the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, by Marino Sanudo, now in Brussels, and the ships that sail through fluffy waves can be compared to the painting on the Pala d'Oro by Paolo, Luca, and Giovanni Veneziano.[116] On the strength of these comparisons we propose to attribute this miniature painter to Venice, although as mentioned earlier, we can find no other work by his hand. No specific dating is possible but the work appears to have been done early in the first third of the fourteenth century in Venice.

The idea that this work may have been done in Venice, and not, for example, Cyprus, is not necessarily surprising, given the strong commercial and artistic ties that existed between Venice and Acre, and the increase in painting in Venice that is known in the early Trecento. The representation of the ships in this miniature is known from Venetian work down to the details of the lateen rigging, the positions of the masts and crows nests, and the lashing of the yardarms.[117] Not only the representation of the ships, but also that of the soldiers, as well as the architecture, with its characteristic Italian battlements, seem clearly to refer to Venice. We recall the importance of Crusader artists working in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style painting icons in Acre and Sinai during the period from the 1260s through the 1280s.

The importance of this manuscript and its final miniature is considerable for our understanding of painting in Italy and the Crusader East. Laurenziana MS PLU.LXI.10 is the only known extant illustrated manuscript started in Acre but completed in the West, in this case apparently Venice. The addition of a final miniature painted in a high-quality Venetian style of the early fourteenth century forms a remarkable conclusion to this handsome and important manuscript and sets off the Parisian Gothic style of the other twenty-five miniatures by contrast. The incompleteness of the codex, before the last text segment and that final miniature were executed, combined with the characteristics of the Paris–Acre Master's work is all crucial evidence that the production of the book was interrupted by events in Acre as the end approached in May 1291. This suggests that this manuscript must be the last extant codex executed in Acre before the city fell. The date of the dissolution of the workshop in which the Paris–Acre Master worked in the face of the impending danger cannot be determined exactly, but we can propose March of 1291. By that time Crusader awareness of the coming attack must have turned the labor and attention of all able-bodied citizens to the grim task of defense.

What does this codex tell us about the fate of the Paris–Acre Master? The facts are that our Master did not finish this work, and that we have no later work by his hand in the Near East. We do see the influence of his style and iconography in the West through the 1290s, but we do not see another later work done by him in Europe either. This suggests clearly that he did not survive the fall of the city. We may imagine that very likely he died fighting on the walls of his adopted city during the siege by the Mamluk army in April and May 1291.

The Livre des assises*, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS fr. app. 20 (=265):* The Laurenziana *History of Outremer* codex is not the only work illustrated by the Paris–Acre Master in the last years of Acre before the fall. Shortly before undertaking MS PLU.LXI.10, our Master executed a miniature panel, the headpiece that begins the *Livre des assises* by Jean d'Ibelin, the most famous of all legal treatises on the feudal customs and the workings of the *haute cour* in the Latin Kingdom.[118] This sole extant illustrated *Livre des assises* manuscript is now preserved in Venice at the Biblioteca Marciana as MS fr. App. 20 (=265) (Fig. 339, CD 496).[119] One other early manuscript of this text,



339. Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre des Assises*, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS fr. app. 20 (=265):
fol. 1r, rubrics: Ci commence le livre des assises & des bons usages dou roiaume de iherusalem qui furent establis & mis en escrit par le duc godefroi de buillon. qui lor par comun acort fu esleu a roi & a seignor dou dit roiaume & par lordenement dou patriarche de iherusalem q lors primes fu esleu & sacre & par le conseill des autres rois princes & barons qui après le duc godefroi furent.
[text] (Q)uant la sainte cite de ierlm fu conqse . . . (Illuminated initial below the miniature panel: pink (Q) with long tail and pinwheel flourish in the lower margin, each scalloped stem of which is embellished with a gold disc.)
Miniature panel on fol. 1r, 7.9 × 13.9 cm.
1. The *haute cour* of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem with the king and patriarch presiding. (photo: by courtesy of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice)

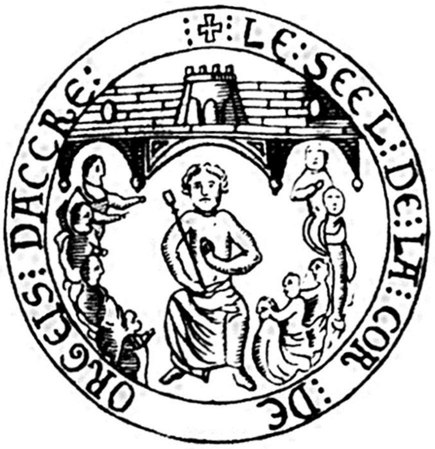
also apparently done in Acre, survives now in Paris, Bibl. Nationale MS fr. 19025, but it is unillustrated (CD 497).[120]

It is remarkable to find a legal text with figural decorations and it raises many questions, including who might have commissioned it and in what workshop might it have been executed. This miniature panel appears in a space reserved for it above two columns of text; in the left column of text we find the rubrics in fifteen lines,[121] and in the right column the text itself begins in twenty-one lines. A calligraphically decorated (C) with a blue and red text frame accompanies the rubrics. An illuminated (Q) with a long tail down the interval acting to frame the text and culminating in a pinwheel in the lower margin sets off the start of the main text.

Even though this is the only panel painted by the Paris–Acre Master for this manuscript, the miniature is remarkably rich in its references to the repertory of imagery and to the style of other works by his hand. Careful consideration of the image in terms of iconography, style including colorism, and the calligraphic decoration along with the codicological features of the book can enable us to place this work very close to his paintings in the Laurenziana codex *c.*1290. Clearly, inventing an illustration for a legal text such as this must have posed a real challenge to our Master, a challenge for which there were no known precedents available,[122] comparable to the miniatures for the Rhetoric texts in the Chantilly codex, which he did for William of St. Stephen in 1282. In this case, the Paris–Acre Master conceived of the *haute cour* meeting inside the walls of Jerusalem. The conventions for the city walls are drawn from his repertoire seen in the *History of Outremer* illustrations of Jerusalem, Antioch, or Tyre where the front and rear walls are represented.[123]

Beyond the idea of the rather large walled city, however, our Master introduces imagery with a number of interesting aspects. Whereas it is normal to find the city of Jerusalem with a domed structure, as here, it is unusual to find architecture with flying buttresses, as seen on the longitudinal building on the left side of the miniature. We have, however, seen such a buttress on the Church of St. Denis depicted in the *censier* for the Abbey of Ste. Genevieve in Paris in 1276, the earliest known work by our Master in Paris before he came to Acre.

It is also unusual in these miniatures for a banner to fly high above the city, on its highest tower, breaking the upper frame of the miniature where it is singularly visible in the upper margin of the folio. The banner marks the central axis of the picture, drawing attention to the two important figures seated beneath it, and it is interesting because of its heraldry, *argent*, a cross *geules.* It must be noted that despite damage to the pennant, it clearly is a red cross on a silver ground, and as such it is, *mutatis mutandis*, a banner comparable to the red crosses on white grounds carried by mounted soldier saints seen on a number of Crusader icons discussed earlier.[124] The silver standard and the gold ground of the city below make a splendid combination for this impressive miniature. In any case, we consider this banner to be a simplified royal ensign for the king of Jerusalem, indicating his presence at the *haute cour*.


LE SEEL DE LA COR DE ORGEIS DACCRE

340. Acre: Seal of the *cour bourgeois*, 1269. (photo after Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico*)

The question of what model the Paris–Acre Master might have used for his depiction of the *haute cour* itself leads us to consider an interesting source. The basic idea of representing the court as a deliberative body assembled in an architectural setting is easily identified from the work of the Paris–Acre Master, seen in such images as the council during the Second Crusade, in the Book 17 images of Paris MS fr. 9084 (fol. 214r), Boulogne sur Mer MS 142 (fol. 183v), and Florence MS PLU.LXI.10 (fol. 188v). However, the validation of such an image for the *haute cour* can be found in the fact that other courts, in this case, the *cour bourgeois*, has a seal with this type of imagery extant from the second half of the thirteenth century, in fact, from an act dating to 1269. Although the seal itself is no longer extant, we have its design reproduced by Paoli (Fig. 340).[125] What is significant about the imagery in our miniature, however, is the fact that not only the king, uncrowned but holding a scepter and a book, but also the patriarch is present at this assembly of the *haute cour*. Our master clearly goes beyond either model, however, in the sense that he gives the king a special green scepter, topped with a leafy trilobed design, and the book – presumably the law code, the *Livre des assises*.

The explanation for this imagery is essentially provided by the text of the *Livre des assises*, where it says that (1) Duke Godefroy de Bouillon did not wish to be crowned or anointed as king in Jerusalem where Jesus wore a crown of thorns, and that (2) Godefroy assembled the patriarch and the other members of the court where he had this book read to them. This newly copied and illustrated manuscript was the latest version of this important legal text. So what is illustrated here is the king presenting the *Livre des assises* to the *haute cour*. The *haute cour* was symbolically meeting in Jerusalem, but actually it had met in Acre since 1191. What is particularly striking about this imagery with regard to its execution in Acre in the late thirteenth century is the extraordinary prominence given to the patriarch, who appears here virtually as an equal to the king. In fact, his regalia is even more complete. This representation fully accords with the de facto temporal importance of the patriarch in the affairs of the Kingdom and his role in the city of Acre in the last decades before the fall in 1291.[126]

The style of the miniature clearly conforms in terms of proportions, poses and gestures, drapery, hair, and faces to figures that populate the three manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by our Master: Paris MS fr. 9084, Boulogne sur Mer MS 142, and Florence MS PLU.LXI.10. We find the same formal repertory, with the same strong linear outlines, internal articulation, and flat color zones. The shapes of the eyes are round and wide open, with little of the "spectacled effect" seen in earlier Acre painting. The hair is given the signature curving flourish over the ear. The drapery is also given a version of the "keyhole" convention on the knee of the king, a configuration found early on in this Master's work. Finally, the technique is seen to be comparable to these other manuscripts, visible especially in the painting but also in the blemishes on the background. In the latter, we find patterns of damage that reveal the grainy gray gesso on which the gold ground was laid. This aspect of the technique is paralleled with others, such as the character of the rulings, the type and color of the ink, and the peculiar flaking of the ink, due in part to the method of preparing the vellum, all of which link this codex and Paris MS fr. 19025 to the Acre scriptorium in which our Master worked.

In order to propose a dating for this manuscript we can consider several aspects of this miniature. First, the Master seems to have drawn on a full repertoire of his imagery from earlier works, suggesting a date later rather than earlier in his output. Second, our Master uses a border for this miniature that seems closely related to, if not based on, the work of the painter – perhaps his assistant – in Paris MS fr. 20125, painted about 1287. The border consists of a thin gold strip enclosing vertical blue and horizontal purple elements with red squares at the corners articulated with white "x"-shaped forms. This formula corresponds exactly to the frames in MS fr. 20125, but the blue, purple, and red palette with white surface decoration is typical of the Paris–Acre Master's work between 1280 and 1291.

Another important aspect of this style is its colorism, and this too suggests a later date in this period.[127] It is evident that the colors used by our Master in this miniature are rich yet focused on the purple–pink–lavender–blue–red palette of typical Gothic works. The use of yellow, green, and red is very limited here. When we compare this rather conservative Gothic colorism with other Acre works by our master, we find that it corresponds readily with the palette of the Florence MS PLU.LXI.10 *History of Outremer*, which is the latest manuscript painted by our Master extant. Furthermore, looking closely we see that the way the colors are used reflects considerable refinement in terms of the shading of draperies and the modeling of faces.

The stylistic characteristics are paralleled by the treatment of the calligraphic decoration. Careful observation shows that the red and blue calligraphic initial was executed after the miniature was started, because of the pattern of overlap. The "keyhole" design of the "C" is a common pattern in the manuscripts of the Paris–Acre Master, although it is not necessarily the case that the painter and this decorator are the same person. In any case, the closest parallels to this example are found in the MS PLU.LXI.10 codex, as can be seen at Books 9, 14, and 17 among others.

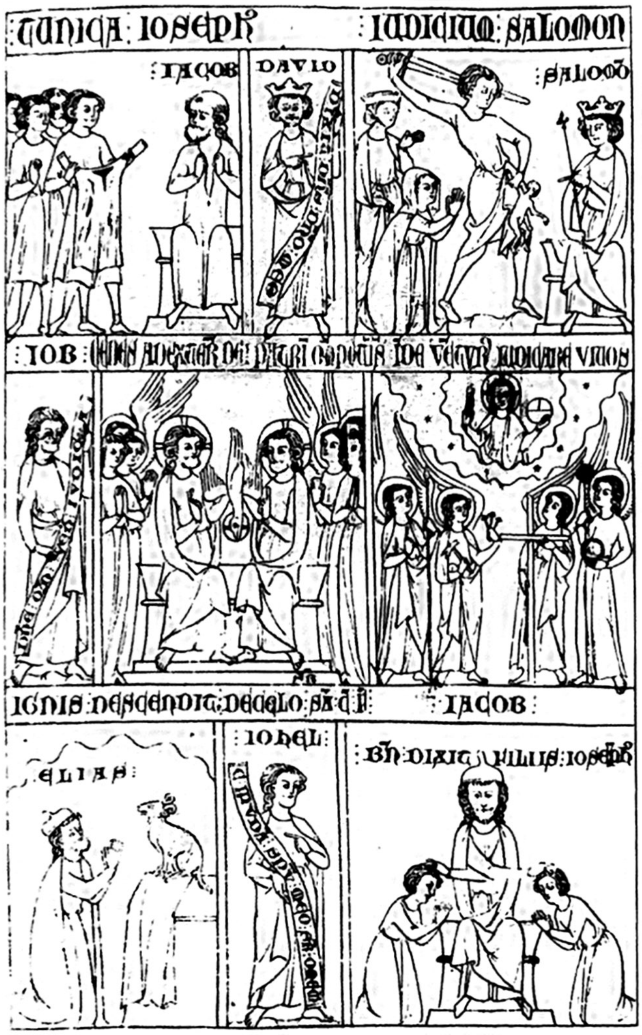
It is difficult to say with any precision just what the date of this manuscript now in Venice may be, without further information on the patron and the purpose of this book. We can observe, however, that after the coronation of the Lusignan king Henry II in 1286, the members of the Ibelin family returned to prominence along with their clients, men such as Geoffrey Le Tor, men who had been largely responsible for composing the *corpus* of Latin Syrian legal texts. It is a commission in this circle that we eventually expect to be able to identify as research continues. For the moment, therefore, we are dating this codex between 1287 and 1290, and favoring an attribution closer to 1290 based on the links with the *History of Outremer* manuscript in Florence, from *c.*1290/1. This proposal accords with the evaluation of the early part of the manuscript from the point of view of the text as stated by Peter Edbury.[128]

Finally there is one other interesting point to be made. With the discovery of this manuscript we now have two books illustrated by the Paris–Acre Master with links to the legal establishment in Acre. In 1282, shortly after his arrival in the Latin Kingdom, the Paris–Acre Master executed the Rhetoric manuscript illustrations (Chantilly, MS 433) for William of St. Stephen, one of the most distinguished jurists in the Hospitaller Order in the 1280s and 1290s. At the end of this decade, *c.*1290, the Paris–Acre Master was also commissioned to decorate the *Livre des assises* by Jean d'Ibelin, one of the most important legal texts produced in the Latin Kingdom. It is interesting that these two commissions were both given to this Paris-trained artist, and that Crusader lawyers had a significant interest in illustrated books. It suggests that other legal texts may also have been given figural decoration and that we should be alert for additional possible finds in this area. As Prawer observed years ago, "the kingdom's nobility developed . . . a passionate and even fanatic interest in law and legality. In no contemporary Christian nobility was knowledge of customary law and procedure and mastery over the intricacies of constitutional law so cultivated and cherished as in the Latin Kingdom."[129]

The* Credo *by Joinville, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 11907: Fortunately, however, this is not the only other codex by our Master from this very late period. At the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, we find MS lat. 11907, a compendium that contains two leaves, fols. 231 and 232, on which are found illustrations of the *Credo* by Jean, sire de Joinville (Fig. 341, CD 498–501).[130] As Scheller points out, Joinville, who is best known for his history of Louis IX, originally wrote the *Credo* in Acre in 1250–1. "The purpose of this 'commentary' on the 12 articles of the Creed was to make it impossible for Satan to take possession of the soul of a dying man in his final hours. This was achieved by reading the *Credo* aloud to him and showing him the illustrations. The text and illustrations must have been worked out in close consultation between the author and the draughtsman."[131]

It is significant that the text was revised and a second version was prepared by Joinville after he returned to France, in 1287, which survives in one manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS n. a. fr. 4509, with twenty-six miniatures. There is also a French breviary in St. Petersburg with a separate set of twenty miniatures also related textually to the earlier Crusader version. It is, however, significant that the Paris MS lat. 11907 drawings are completely different in format in contrast to the other two manuscripts. The reason for the different format is that the Paris MS lat. 11907 leaves were meant to serve as a model on the basis of which monumental fresco paintings were to be done. Furthermore, these paintings were apparently to be carried out in Acre because the drawings were done there by the Paris–Acre Master.

In 1976 I offered a proposal for a chapel project that these drawings might have been intended to serve in Acre (Fig. 342).[132] Judging from the discussion by Scheller, the majority of scholars favor the idea that these drawings were done to serve as a model for such monumental paintings, including Delaborde and Lauer, van Os, and Scheller. Scheller seriously



341. *Credo* of Joinville, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat 11907: fol. 231v, 27.95 × 17.5 cm. (photo: by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

entertains the idea they could have been done in Acre, but he cannot quite overcome certain doubts, which lead him to remain undecided over whether the chapel was in the Latin East or was Joinville's own chapel in Champagne, established in 1263, but no longer surviving.[133] Further discussion can perhaps clarify the issues.

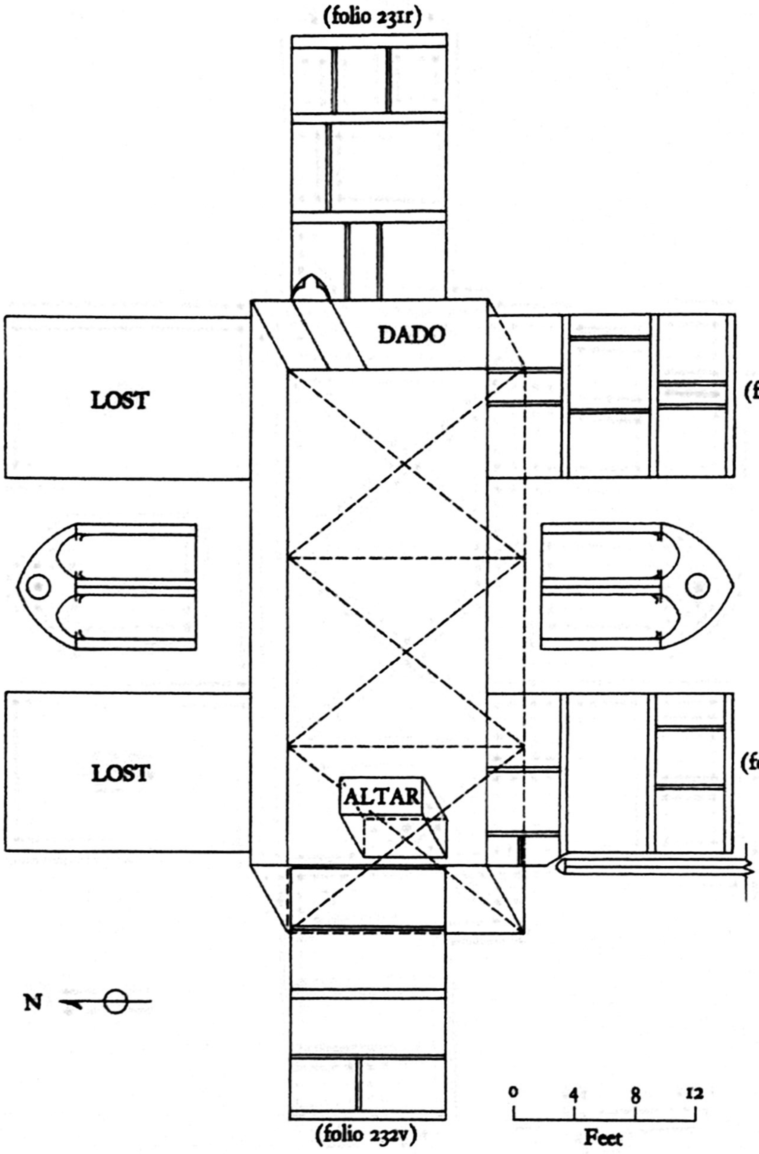
There seems to be no doubt that the artist who executed the drawings was the Paris–Acre Master, who was in Acre in the 1280s. No chapel survives in which the program was actually carried out, neither in Acre nor in Champagne. Looked at strictly with reference to their dating, these drawings seem to date in the late 1280s. Several special features of the program, besides the accomplished style of the Paris–Acre Master in the drawings, suggest the project was done in the East for a chapel project in Acre shortly before 1291. Van Os discusses the function of the program, for the saving of souls during the time of their dying, as related to the mission of an order linked to Augustinian theology and the Augustinian rule.[134] Van Os draws our attention to the unusual prominence of Augustine in the drawings (fol. 232r), with no halo, suggesting a living and privileged presence in these images. He is thinking of orders living according to Augustinian rules in France, and the fact is that the rule of the Hospitallers in the Holy Land was partly based on Augustine's rule, as explained by J. Riley-Smith.[135]

The original intention of Joinville that this program was for Crusaders in the East, with the focus of the program on serving as a visual aid to the faith of dying men, and the likely configuration of the program as reconstructed based on the drawings, seem to support a possible Acre project. Scheller notes that "one aspect of this reconstruction is open to doubt. The chapel altar would have been located at the western end, facing the entrance and below the scene of the Last Judgment. This would have been a fairly unusual arrangement."[136] Unusual or not, such an organization is possible; we know of other similar arrangements, the most famous of which is of course the much later Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, where Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* fresco is over the main altar on the west wall. However, in our proposed reconstruction, the whole point of having the Last Judgment over the altar of the chapel is to focus on the mission that this program was meant to serve here in the context not of a palatine chapel, but of a hospital chapel. As a way for dying men to keep the faith and preserve their souls from evil, having the cycle culminate over the altar with the Last Judgment behind it would ensure that the gift of grace and God's mercy and salvation would be available to those who came to Christ through the Eucharist administered during the last rites.[137]

Finally the drawings are closely related stylistically to the work of the Paris–Acre Master, as we have argued in some detail already.[138] However, what is evident about them is that they are quite nicely done, rather freely drawn, fluidly handled, comparatively spacious and well articulated, the product of a mature master, with a large-scale project in mind. Parallels for some details can be found in a number of works by his hand, including the *History of Outremer*, Paris MS fr. 9084 and Boulogne sur Mer MS 142, the Bible selections, Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404, and the *Faits des Romains*, Brussels MS 10212. Other aspects, such as the relative complexity of the draperies, are found in the cycle of paintings in Florence MS PLU.LXI.10., whereas the composition of assemblies of figures, which is such a feature of the drawings, is of course the central feature of the miniature in the *Livre des assises*.

On the basis of these further considerations, it seems likely that the drawings in Paris MS lat. 11907 were done in the very late years of the 1280s. This accords with Lauer's original dating to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but our proposal offers more precision to the argument with an attribution *c.*1288–90.[139] It must be admitted, however, that it is difficult to date the Marciana MS miniature relative to the drawings of Paris MS lat. 11907, as to which came before and after. At this point they both seem to date to the late 1280s, and we shall hope that future research can uncover ways to distinguish them on this basis.

By attributing these three works from the hand of the Paris–Acre Master to the period just before the fall of Acre in 1291, and by adding a completely heretofore unknown work to this period in the form of the miniature in Marciana MS fr. app. 20 (=265), we are able to underscore an important aspect of painting in Acre. Manuscript illumination – and quite possibly fresco painting and icon painting as well, although so far we have no clearly identifiable extant example in situ for these two media in the last years – apparently continued to flourish

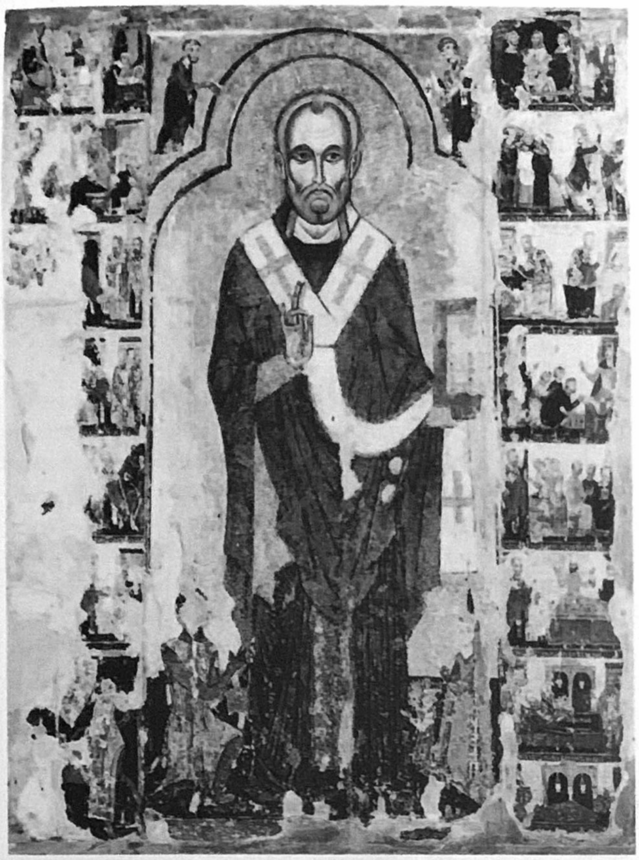


342. Acre: Proposed chapel project drawing for Joinville's *Credo*.

in Acre right up until the city fell in May of 1291. This means, and it is perhaps a somewhat surprising statistic, that between 1280 and 1291, nearly as many extant illustrated manuscripts survived from Acre, ten codices, as are found in the three previous decades: 1250–60, four codices; 1260–70, two codices; and 1270–80, five codices. Far from declining or diminishing, manuscript illumination in Acre appears to have continued to grow and develop, and the Paris–Acre Master in particular contributed eight and over 75 percent of a ninth codex to this output. It will remain for further research to determine whether the Paris Gothic style effectively displaced the more traditional Crusader styles of earlier decades in the 1280s as the current statistics would seem to indicate, or whether additional examples of the Eastern-based Crusader styles can be found.

One final observation can be suggested in regard to the surprising surge of manuscript painting in the Parisian Gothic style and the falling off of examples in the more traditional Crusader styles, of which the London *Histoire Universelle* manuscript, Add. MS 15268, is the main survivor. The fact that the Universal History codex was done in the traditional style is, as we noted in our earlier discussion of this manuscript, evidence for something important about what the barons wished to say about Crusader art and experience to their new king. The fact that all of the other extant manuscripts done in Acre in this decade, with only one exception, were, however, done in the Parisian Gothic style seems to underscore the popularity of this Paris-related artist for manuscript painting.

The fact that we could also identify a group of outstanding icons in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style from the mid-1280s, parallel in date to the London Add. MS 15268, suggests that the interest in these religious images in the more traditional Crusader styles continues more strongly in the icons than in the manuscripts. The fact that no "Crusader" icons can be surely identified from the final years of the Latin Kingdom, 1289–91, in any style suggests two observations. First, icons were not popular in the French Gothic style in these later years. There are very few such examples extant from the thirteenth century and all of them are earlier. Second, demand for icons in the more traditional styles apparently declined or completely disappeared, as we see with the manuscripts in the more traditional



343. Icon: Nicosia, Cyprus, Altarpiece/icon of St. Nicholas with donor figures of the Ravendel family from the Church of Saint Nicholas tis Stegis in Kakopetria. (photo: by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Markarios III Foundation, Nicosia)

styles in these last years. Therefore, with regard to the more traditional Eastern-based Crusader styles we can perhaps see certain parallels between the manuscripts and the icons in the very last years of the Latin Kingdom.

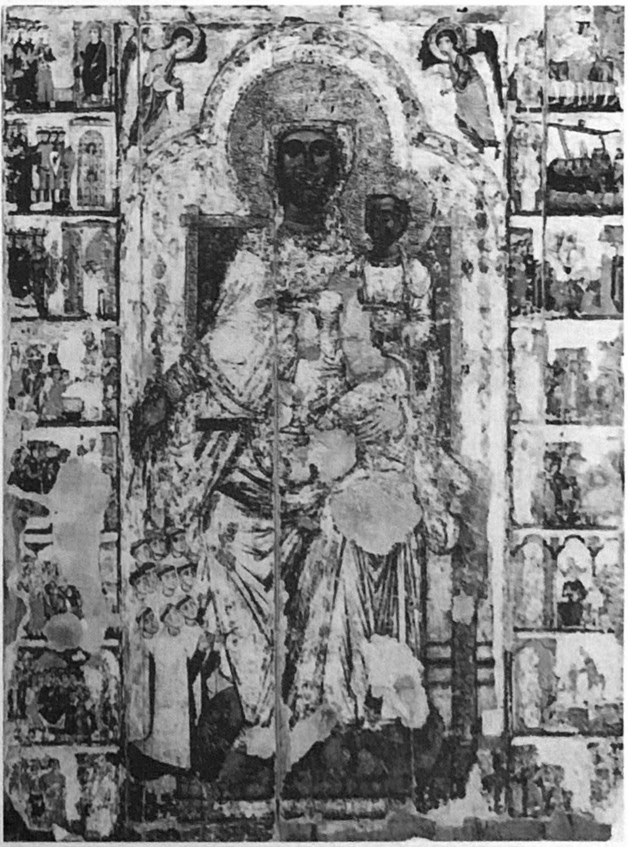
Icons

The Crusader icons preserved today at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai are the products of artistic work apparently done either at Sinai or in Acre, well before the final destruction at Acre. Some of them could have been painted in the safety of Sinai during the hostilities along the coast. Some of them could have been brought as gifts or were sent to the monastery by pilgrims to Sinai most likely before the siege of Acre. Some of the icons may have been collected after Acre fell and taken to Sinai. None of the icons currently in the collection at Sinai can, however, be clearly dated and identified to be the product of the years 1289–91.

Icons in Crusader Styles on Cyprus: The lack of Crusader icons from the Latin Kingdom does not of course mean that there were no icons commissioned by "Crusader" patrons in the Near East at this time. We have discussed elsewhere certain major icons that were produced on Cyprus in the years just before 1291, including, in particular, two very large panels that very likely served as altarpieces. First, there is the icon of St. Nicholas with scenes from his life and portraits of the donor, a knight of the Ravendel family, his wife and daughter, and his horse (Fig. 343). Second, there is the icon of the Golden Enthroned Virgin with scenes of the miracles of the Virgin and portraits of the Carmelites, who commissioned the work, sheltered under her robe of mercy (Fig. 344).[140] Three important points about these icons are worth repeating here:

> 1. Although not exactly the same size, they are both extraordinarily large, even by Italian standards: St. Nicholas, 2.03 x 1.58 m., the Virgin, 2.01 x 1.55 m.
> 2. Both of these large icons include images of donors who are clearly Franks.
> 3. Both icons combine Byzantine style and technique with, what [D. Mouriki] called, stongly "western" characteristics. These features and some of these so-called "western" characteristics typify the attributes of Crusader painting in the Latin Kingdom and, I propose, they exemplify in these two works a comparable if independent phenomenon of Crusader painting on Cyprus. It is independent because none of the artists working on these two panels can be found in Acre, Frankish Greece, Sinai or elsewhere on the mainland, but it is Crusader because the patrons were Latins; there are significant, what I am calling "Frankish" – not "western" – features and modifications evidently introduced to suit these patrons; and some of the artists may be Frankish.[141]

It is not possible to date these two icons exactly, but the appearance of the Carmelites gives us a special date "post-quem," namely 1287. The habit of the Carmelites was changed



344. Icon: Nicosia, Cyprus, Altarpiece/icon of the Enthroned Golden Virgin with Child and Carmelite donors from the Church of Saint Kassianos in Nicosia. (photo: by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Markarios III Foundation, Nicosia)

between the years 1284 and 1287, and after 1287, the familiar habit we see depicted on the figures in this icon was the standard adopted for Carmelites everywhere.[142] Thus it is likely that this icon dates after 1287, probably shortly after 1287. We have no similar indicator for the St. Nicholas icon, but there is an important parallel with Acre manuscript illumination. The heraldry seen on the caparisoned horse that appears on this icon is also found in a miniature (fol. 216v) of a manuscript produced in Acre, the *Histoire Universelle* now in Brussels, MS 10175, and attributed to the 1270s, as we discussed it earlier. We have suggested elsewhere the possibility – obviously the rather slender possibility – that perhaps the same person who patronized the manuscript in the 1270s also commissioned the icon shortly before 1291.[143]

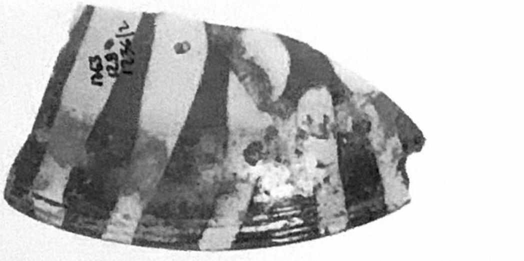
These two icons done on Cyprus are important examples of a type of Crusader art distinct from that found in mainland Syria-Palestine, but clearly related to it. They help demonstrate the multicultural character of art on Cyprus. We see that Crusader art on Cyprus was not only done in Gothic style, as C. Enlart originally presented it, but also we see that it is quite parallel to the Crusader art we have found in the Crusader States to the east. As such, these artistic developments on Cyprus must also be seen in the larger context of other artistic traditions on Cyprus, especially the very strong Byzantine tradition, which is discussed by A. Weyl Carr as part of an important study that also appeared in the proceedings of the conference on "Cyprus and the Crusades" held in Nicosia in 1995.[144] The development of Crusader art on Cyprus is not our concern here, but its development in the last quarter of the thirteenth century helps us to understand what happened to this tradition after the fall of Acre in 1291, and how it has both a special richness and a distinctive identity on its own terms, and an interactive and parallel character to art in the Crusader States on the mainland to the east.

THE MINOR ARTS

Pottery and Ceramics

On a different level of production we can also briefly consider the painted ceramics that would have existed in Acre in the years 1289–91. In this case it is not a matter of extant examples that were produced precisely in this period, because no individual work can be exactly identified from this time. Such works could likely only be identified in carefully controlled circumstances, such as, for example, the excavation of a site where pottery was made just before the conquest of Acre. Rather, we can tentatively assume that there continued to be production in Acre of the standard pottery to supply the needs of the people, and we can review the types of work that must have existed in Acre when the city fell.

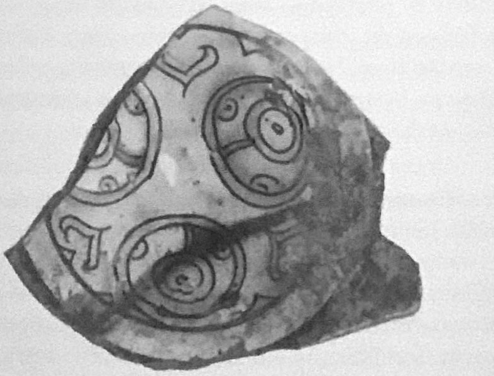
As we have already seen, most of our knowledge about pottery – glazed and unglazed – in the Crusader States, and especially from the Latin Kingdom, comes from archaeological excavations of the main cities and fortified sites along the coast.[145] What is evident in some of these sites, certainly the most important ones such as Acre, is that the pottery used was marked by considerable diversity. In the excavations at Acre, for example, we find unglazed utilitarian works along with undecorated storage jars, along with ornate glazed vessels of various kinds, and even luxury Chinese celadon vessels from the Far East.[146] The main sites excavated in Acre from which significant pottery finds have been made, namely the Hospitaller complex and the New Courthouse site, show evidence of burning and destruction in the late thirteenth century, evidently at the time of the fall of the city in the spring of 1291.[147]



345. Acre, Zeuxippus ware with striped design. (photo: by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

Obviously some of these works of pottery were produced locally, and some were obtained commercially through trade. As we have seen previously, it is not always clear what the origin of some standard types of pottery may have been, although clearly with Chinese celadon and Italian proto-maiolica, there is no question but that they were imported. In any case, the main types of pottery that must have existed in Acre at the time of its fall are the following categories:[148]

1. Byzantine sgraffito yellow glazed bowls with fine incisions. This type of work was mostly imported from Byzantine territories as we have seen. It was mostly popular in the twelfth century.
2. Zeuxippus Ware (Figs. 345, 346). This pottery originated in Constantinople, but by the thirteenth century it was probably more widely produced in the Aegean area. This type of pottery is colored light green and yellow, and is decorated with thin incisions and broad lines.
3. Thirteenth-century Aegean ware. This is another type of sgraffito ware that is decorated with broad lines.
4. Port St. Symeon Ware (Fig. 347). This ware is named for the coastal town that served as the main port of Antioch where it apparently originated, but by the mid-thirteenth century, it was apparently produced widely in the Crusader States, as Scott Redford discusses on the basis of his excavations, discussed earlier in Chapter 7.



346. Acre, Zeuxippus ware with circular designs. (photo: by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

347. Acre, thirteenth-century Port Saint Symeon ware: soldier with circular shield. (photo: by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

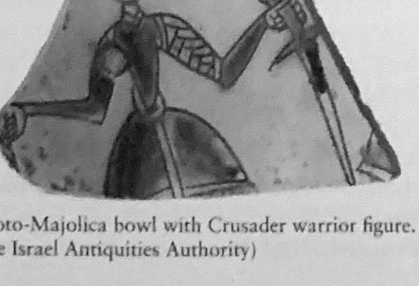
349. Acre, Proto-Majolica ware: soldier with sword and triangular shield. (photo: by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

5. Thirteenth-century Cypriot ware. This pottery was produced largely on the western side of Cyprus in the towns of Lemba and Paphos. The potters were influenced by Byzantine and St. Symeon wares. It appears evident from the excavation finds that it is Cypriot sgraffito and slip painted ware, which was the most popular and widespread pottery imported into Acre and the Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century.[149]
6. Proto-maiolica ware (Figs. 348, 349). Proto-maiolica was imported from Italy and was produced in southern Italy and Sicily. It is characterized as having a tin-based glaze, which creates a white background on which a painted over-glaze was applied, producing eggplant brown, yellow, light blue, and light green colors.

There are also other wares, some imported from Syria – the bulk of the wares acquired from Muslim countries – and some from much farther away, such as the Chinese examples mentioned earlier. The Syrian wares are decorated with drawings in blue and black and finished with an alkaline glaze. It remains to be seen whether any of the excavated pottery could be dated to the years just before 1291. It is likely that pottery dating *c.* 1291 can be identified on the top layers of protected excavation sites in Acre ('Akko).

Coins and Seals

With the loss of Tripoli in 1289 it appears that no further new designs in coins and probably also in seals are known from the Crusader States. Whereas with regard to coinage, Tripoli ended its Crusader period with, as Porteous put it, "its colors flying," we have no evidence that Acre was anything more than a Frankish outpost between 1289 and 1291.[150] Both Grierson and Porteous interpret the Aleppo hoard of coins, found in the 1950s, as booty from the plunder of Acre in 1291.[151] The fact that the hoard was made up primarily of approximately six hundred Florentine gold florins from the latter half of the thirteenth century, along with a few Venetian and French coins, including gold coins of Philippe le Bel struck in 1290, suggests that these were the new coins of value in Acre commerce just before the fall of the city in 1291, certainly not locally minted coins.

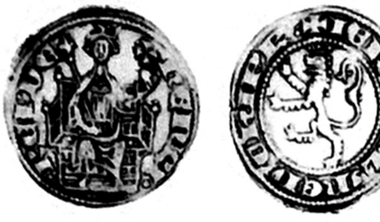


348. Acre: Proto-Majolica bowl with Crusader warrior figure. (photo: by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

A similar but much smaller hoard has recently been found in the harbor excavations at Acre itself. This hoard consists of thirty-one Florentine gold florins minted in 1252. The interpretation offered for these coins is that they were "presumably lost when the last of the Frankish inhabitants of Acre desperately tried to board the few ships anchored in the harbor on May 18, 1291."[152]

We can compare this hoard data with information derived from the investigation of coins at Chastel Pelerin ('Atlit) recently published.[153] According to statistics derived from the study of those coins, the distribution and frequencies of currencies found at Chastel Pelerin ('Atlit), obviously a major Templar fortified site with castle and town not far south of Acre, but much smaller than Acre in terms of trade and commerce in the thirteenth century, put the Aleppo and Acre hoard coins in bold relief. At 'Atlit European currency comprised 13 percent (distribution)/17 percent (frequency), compared to 25 percent (distribution)/34 percent (frequency) of currency from the Latin Kingdom and 18 percent (distribution)/24 percent (frequency) of currency from Cyprus. Thus having a hoard of exclusively European coins, over 95 percent of which were important gold coins in the Aleppo hoard and 100 percent were gold coins in the Acre hoard, points to a very special distribution in these hoards best explained as booty from Acre in the circumstances.

Just as with other media discussed previously, such as the icons and pottery, we can see parallels between the late thirteenth-century developments in the Crusader States on the mainland and those on Cyprus with regard to both coinage and seals. The most interesting aspect pertaining to the Cypriot coinage is found with a new coin type introduced by King Henry II. When he came to power in 1285 on Cyprus Henry decided to end the minting of the pale gold *bezant*, a Byzantine-style scyphate *bezant* known as the so-called white-bezant, as the principal coinage of the realm.[154] To replace it he introduced a silver *gros*, modeled on the *gros tournois* of Louis IX of France from 1266.[155]



350. Cyprus, silver *gros* of King Henry II. (photo after the Slocum catalogue)

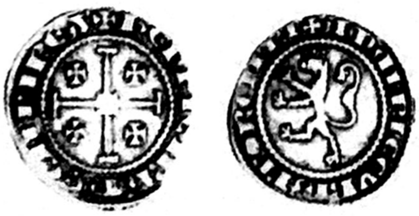
We have argued previously that this *gros* of Louis IX, the first heavy silver coin to be struck north of the Alps in the Middle Ages, was very likely inspired by an earlier impressive *gros* struck in Tripoli from approximately the 1250s to its demise in 1289.[156] In any case the new *gros* of Henry II is a remarkable new coin, with the king enthroned frontally on the obverse, and on the reverse is the heraldic rampant crowned lion of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus (Fig. 350). The inscription is in French, starting on the obverse, "henri./.rei de," and continuing on the reverse, "+ierusalem e d' chipr." This marked a dramatic shift from coinage steeped in the Byzantine tradition. With this new *gros*, Henry II clearly stated his French ancestry and heritage, and in effect, brought his coinage into harmony with the new Gothic architectural style on Cyprus. With French style royal head and draperies, with French fleurs-de-lis on the crown and scepter, with Western royal garments and an orb crowned with a cross, on the obverse, and the Lusignan lion on the reverse, Henry's point of reference was no longer the Byzantine or the Hohenstaufen Empire. Rather it was the French Gothic tradition of Louis IX who, after his Crusade of 1248–50, had had such an important impact on the Latin East.

The Lusignan *gros* initiated by Henry II went through various modifications, but the coin type was retained by his sucessors and became one of the most important coinages in the eastern Mediterranean after 1291 through the fourteenth century. However, it is ironic to note that the heraldry of the "cross of Jerusalem," that is, the arms of the Latin Kingdom, with an equal-armed cross in gold accompanied by four smaller equal-armed crosslets in silver, only appears on the later coinage of Henry II (Figs. 351, 352).[157] Thus the heraldic arms of Jerusalem that came to identify the Latin Kingdom after 1291 are actually later, emerging first on coinage from Cyprus, and are found only after Acre had fallen in 1291!

Other Minor Arts

With regard to the other minor arts we have discussed in previous chapters, principally metalwork, glass, and textiles, we have no specific new evidence to cite with regard to the years 1289–91 in terms of specific objects. For metalwork and glass the finds in the Latin Kingdom now corresponding to Israeli territory are perhaps surprisingly sparse. However, there is one category of evidence, written sources about glassmaking in Tyre, that seems to open new possibilities for future research. Robert Irwin has reminded us that among centers of glassmaking, Tyre is mentioned more often than any other site in the Latin Kingdom.[158] He points out that Jews are specifically mentioned prominently as glassmakers there in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Shortly after he wrote his note, a report describing the discovery of a medieval glass factory at Tyre appeared.[159] Although the date of this factory is not specified, it must have operated between the eighth century and 1291, when the Crusaders lost Tyre to the Mamluks. In keeping with this new interest in exploring the likely production of glassmaking at Tyre as a major center, S. Carboni, G. Lacerenza, and D. Whitehouse followed up this publication with an article in which they have gathered all the known texts dealing with glassmaking in Tyre, ranging from 985 to the thirteenth century.[160] Bishop Jacques de Vitry refers to glassmaking at Tyre, probably in the 1220s. These authors, Carboni, Lacerenza, and Whitehouse, also point out the close relations between Tyre and Venice and the likelihood that Venetians in Tyre exported raw materials and/or cullet to their hometown. Finally, Irwin in the article cited earlier speculated "that it is possible that some of what is currently classified as 'Islamic' glass was actually produced by Christians or Jews in the Crusader States. Some at least of the houses in Tyre where glass was made belonged to the king of Jerusalem."[161] We may also wonder whether Muslim glassmakers might not have worked in Tyre as well.

The nature of glassmaking at Tyre in the Crusader period awaits further investigation, but we know from our discussion of earlier periods that aristocratic families in the Latin Kingdom, for example, the Ibelin family in Beirut and the Montfort family in Tyre, were wealthy and acquired elegant items both for their homes and for their clothing, including silks and jewelry. Trade and commerce carried on through Acre and other Crusader ports enabled many of these luxury items to be sent westward, where they reached "the church treasuries and noble houses of Europe." The sparse findings from excavations in the Israeli territory of the Latin Kingdom would seem to indicate on the one hand that some of the luxury goods, both religious and secular, were carried off during or before the fall in 1291, and on the other, that some of these luxury goods were manufactured in Muslim territory, in either Syria or Egypt. In either case it appears that as few works of the minor arts as possible were left by residents or by merchants in the city of Acre, or the other final holdings of the Crusaders, such as Tyre, Sidon, Tortosa, and Chastel Pelerin, at the time of their fall.[162]



351. Cyprus, silver *gros* of King Henry II and Amaury. (photo after the Slocum catalogue)

CONCLUSIONS

The Aftermath of the Fall of Acre

"The news of the Mamluk conquest of Acre was received in the West with consternation rather than horror. The news had long been expected."[163] When Pope Nicholas IV learned of the fall of Acre at the end of July, he composed and promulgated an

352. Cyprus, silver *gros* of King Henry II, second reign. (photo after the Slocum catalogue)

encyclical, *Dirum amaritudinis calicem*, dated 13 August 1291. The text reported matter of factly that "Acre, the principal refuge of Christendom in the East, . . . , was taken by siege with terrible loss of life and the ruin of the city; it was a cause of most profound grief to the Church."[164] It referred to the efforts made by the Church to avert its conquest, and to the heroic defense by the defenders of the city. It also exhorted all Christian believers to avenge this terrible catastrophe and join the Crusade that was beginning to be preached for the swift recovery of the Holy Land.

Nicholas IV planned a major Crusade to take the field as soon as possible, so he did not convene a general council. In the meantime he energetically instigated an immediate policy with three main points:

1. Immediate aid for the remaining Christian strongholds in the Levant, which were now Cyprus and Lesser Armenia, the *subsidium Terrae Sanctae*;
2. the enforcement of a maritime blockade of Egypt, especially Alexandria; and
3. the organization of a general Crusade due to depart on 24 June 1293.[165]

Nicholas devoted himself intensively to the cause of the Crusade, but then his death in April 1292 intervened. In the period that followed, what Schein calls "The Years of Transition," that is, from 1292 to 1305, there was "no serious attempt on the part of the papacy, traditionally the main pillar of the crusade, to organize an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land."[166]

Meanwhile there was an outpouring of public opinion on the fall of Acre and the loss of the Holy Land. The popular view was perhaps best expressed by an anonymous author, possibly a minor cleric who stated that he gathered opinions from those who had been present at the siege and fall of the city. He wrote the *De Excidio Urbis Acconis* shortly after the fall of Acre.[167] It was widely circulated in Latin and in French in the 1290s and the early fourteenth century. This text is a gloomy telling of the story of the events leading up to the siege, the siege itself, and the fall of the city. The author attributes the cause of this catastrophe to "hypocrisy and indifference, the selfish search for personal glory, wealth, and luxury, as well as the avarice of the rich and the upper classes in general."[168] Taking the point of view of the common man, he indicts the leaders of Christendom for their failure to defend the Holy Land, and exhorts Christian believers to avenge the insults inflicted by the Mamluks on Christ by their conquest.

Meanwhile, the failure of Christendom to respond decisively to the fall of Acre was matched by the inability of the Mamluks to capitalize on the weakness of the Christians in the East. After raids by a combined papal, Genoese, and Cypriot fleet in 1292 had attempted to attack Muslim ports in the eastern Mediterranean, Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil ordered a fleet of one hundred ships to be built to attack and conquer Cyprus. Following the Crusader conquest in 1291, however, the Mamluk emirs were unwilling to set out again so soon on this new endeavor. Then, on 13 December 1293, the sultan was assassinated. No further Mamluk attacks were mounted in the 1290s while a series of claimants unsuccessfully sought to succeed al-Ashraf Khalil, and Egypt suffered famine and a plague.[169] Despite the piecemeal survivals of Crusaders at Jubail to 1302, on the island of Ruad to 1303, and at Roche Guillaume to 1299, the era of the Crusaders in the Holy Land was over.

The End of the Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land

With fall of the city of Acre, the evacuation of all Crusader soldiers from other fortified positions, and the end of the Crusader States, the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land ceased to exist. For nearly two hundred years this art had been a more or less continuous witness to the Crusader presence in the Levant. It was an art that was born of the need for religious and defensive architecture, for religious prayer and services, for devotional and liturgical images, for pilgrims' souvenirs and *ex votos*, and for signifying religious, political, commercial, and military institutions and their presences. This art also served to enrich and mark important aspects of what was both a difficult and a challenging life for Crusader rulers and aristocracy, soldiers, clergy, merchants, women at all levels of class, wealth, and political standing, and pilgrims and travelers in the unique multicultural circumstances of the Latin East, what the French call *l'Orient Latin*.

When the art of the Crusaders ended in 1291, no notice was taken in the destruction and rubble that was left behind at the time. Refugees and survivors, who had been fortunate enough to save their lives, were doubly blessed if they also managed to save anything precious that belonged to them, such as an illustrated book, a holy reliquary, or a devotional image. At the time, many people assumed or imagined the absence of the Crusaders from the Holy Land would be of brief duration, and soon a new Crusade would carry the victorious banner of Christianity back to the holy sites of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. Implicit in this notion was the assumption that the normal endeavors of life, including the art and architecture of the Crusaders, would resume in the Holy Land. However, no new Crusade took back the holy places; the art of the Crusaders was not resumed. Other versions of "Crusader art" continued elsewhere, especially on Cyprus, but the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land effectively ended when Acre fell on 28 May 1291.

The art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, what we are also calling "Crusader art," not only ended without notice in the ruins of Acre in 1291, but was also for a long time afterward largely unrecognized. It was not until the great French scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries began the task of finding and excavating, recognizing and identifying, studying and conserving, and interpreting Crusader art and architecture and its contextual history that it entered historical discourse. Whereas they saw this art as part of their national heritage, part of the *patrimoine nationale de France* in effect, we see it as a major unique and independent development in medieval art in and around the center of the world at the time. With this in mind, we can conclude this discussion by recalling some of the most significant achievements of these Crusader artists and architects, works that rank with the very best medieval architecture, sculpture, painting, and metalwork ever produced in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.

In architecture, the Crusader achievements of building, rebuilding, enlarging, and/or renovating the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth rank among the most important works in medieval architecture in the twelfth century. Both their architecture and their extraordinary programs of decoration, all three distinctively different, all three lavish and enormously ambitious, all three richly multicultural in their programmatic form and content, would place these churches at the forefront of medieval artistic monuments had they survived intact. In Jerusalem, the architecture of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher has suffered serious damage and neglect, and only recently has been restored to structural integrity. Meanwhile only tiny glimpses of the magnificent medieval program of sculptural, mosaic, and other figural decoration survives and modern depradations threaten to cover or even destroy the character of the church and the message of its multicultural artistic program in the name of modern denominational politics. However, this should not obscure the fact that the Holy Sepulcher was the greatest tomb church on the pilgrimage routes in the East, built in the 1140s contemporary with the French royal burial church of St. Denis. The splendor of its mosaic and sculptural programs must have equaled not only St. Denis, but also the Cappella Palatina in Palermo.

At Bethlehem, as I am writing this chapter (April 2002), Israeli military troops have surrounded and cut off the ancient Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem from the rest of the town. This magnificent sixth-century church, redecorated in the twelfth century, and the three later monasteries which attached to it are in danger of suffering serious damage from the current hostilities that pit the local monks and clergy with Palestinians, both Muslim and Christian, inside against the Israeli forces outside. Exchanges of gunshots, the throwing of flares, and the threat of a tank attack all threaten the safety of this holy place, the lives of the people involved, and the existence of the fifteenth-century wooden roof of the church, the fragments of the huge twelfth-century Crusader mosaic program on the walls, and the stone, metal, and wood decorations on the many doors of this venerable place, which marks the traditional site of the birth of Jesus Christ. The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem is precious and important, not only as a major early Byzantine basilica, but also for its mosaic and fresco programs. They are now quite fragmentary, but once they ranked with the greatest projects in the West at the time, in churches such as the Cathedral on Monreale and the Church of San Marco in Venice.

Compared to these medieval buildings, very little was left of the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth following the conquest of the city by Baybars in 1263. It was only with a series of remarkable excavations in the early and mid-twentieth century that the outstanding Nazareth sculptures have come to light, best known through the five now-famous capitals. Unanimously acclaimed as some of the most outstanding medieval figural sculpture produced in the twelfth century, these capitals apparently formed part of the figural program decorating the shrine of the Annunciation on the site of the house of the Virgin. Other sculpture of comparable quality decorated the nave surrounding the shrine and the main west entrance portal to the church. In contrast to the great pilgrimage churches at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and at the place of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the primary decoration at Nazareth was in figural sculpture proclaiming the importance of the site not only as the place of the Incarnation, but also the first holy place sacred to the Virgin Mary erected by the apostles.

Among the other arts, pride of place clearly goes to the manuscript now in the British Library, Egerton MS 1139, known as the Psalter of Queen Melisende. This codex is not only the first really great work of Crusader manuscript illumination extant, which was done in Jerusalem, but it is also a magnificent example of Crusader painting, ivory sculpture, and silk embroidery of excellent quality, executed by at least six different artists at the very outset of Crusader artistic development in 1135. Among its painters, we have a Western-trained master of French background who executes the medallions of the calendar, a recently arrived painter working under Byzantine influence who does the headpieces to the prayers after the psalms, and an Eastern-born artist named Basil, who combines Byzantine and Western style and iconography with local ideas and signs his work on the last of the twenty-four prefatory miniatures to the psalter. In effect, Basil is the first "Crusader" painter we know by name. Finally, for the psalm divisions themselves, a remarkable Eastern-born artist working with sure knowledge of Islamic technique and design produces the illuminated initials in the psalter. This ensemble of artists, including four painters, an ivory carver, and a skilled silk embroiderer along with the scribes, provide us with one of the most remarkable manuscript ensembles done in the Crusader East at the very outset of artistic production. Other fine manuscripts were done by Crusader artists in the twelfth century, but none can match this early work in quality and complexity.

In the period after 1187, when the capital of the Latin Kingdom shifts to Acre, the nature of Crusader art changes substantially. The focus on the holy sites is lost and new importance is given to Crusader defensive architecture as well as Crusader painting. Arguably the greatest of the Crusader castles, Crac des Chevaliers, is significantly expanded and decorated in the first half of the thirteenth century. It is a paradigm of the best Crusader fortification that became known in the East and the West. As the greatest surviving Hospitaller castle, it provides a major example of the design and engineering achieved by Crusader architects, as well as a glimpse of the painting and decorative sculpture employed to embellish the major quarters, chapels, and important meeting rooms of the fort. We are fortunate to know about Crac because of its excellent preservation; presumably we might have known something of the same quality work at the major Templar castle of Chastel Pelerin ('Atlit) had it not been so severely destroyed, first by the Mamluks, and later even more heavy-handedly by the Ottomans. With regard to the major work of defensive fortifications among the important Crusader cities, although there must have been several magnificent examples, not only at Acre and Jerusalem but also at Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, virtually nothing remains intact, because of either destruction or rebuilding by the Mamluks or the Ottomans.

Surprisingly, it is in fact in the realm of Crusader painting that the greatest surviving achievements in the art of the Crusaders can still be seen from this later period in the thirteenth century. We have several manuscripts of exquisite quality, done as either special gifts or royal commissions. There is the Riccardiana Psalter of *c.*1225, possibly executed for Isabel de Brienne, second wife of Frederick II; the Arsenal Bible done in 1250 as a personal book of Bible selections for Louis IX during his sojourn in Acre; and the London *Histoire Universelle*, most probably prepared by the aristocracy of Acre as a gift for the new king of Jerusalem, Henry II, in 1286. These works *de grand luxe* are thirteenth-century illustrated books comparable to the Psalter of Queen Melisende in quality and importance. They demonstrate the broadening range of the art of the Crusaders in terms of form and content, the first codex done in a Sicilian-Byzantine Crusader style, the second in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style, and the third in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style. What is exceptional about the third work, however, is that not only does it contain a rich program that includes characteristics drawn from Islamic, Byzantine, and Levantine sources, but also it appears to be a collaborative effort on the part of at least six painters demonstrating once again, as we saw with the Melisende Psalter, that outstanding commissions could be handled by major Crusader workshops in relatively short periods of time.

If we only knew these major manuscripts, Crusader painting could be recognized for having produced important achievements in the thirteenth century albeit limited to the tradition of manuscript illumination begun in the twelfth century. However, many significant works are also found in two relatively new types of Crusader painting, which greatly increase the depth and interest of the Crusader achievement between 1187 and 1291. The first new type of art is panel painting in the form of icons. The second type is manuscript painting for purely secular manuscripts in the vernacular.

Although it is somewhat mysterious why the most numerous and most important panel paintings by Crusader artists appear only in the second half of the thirteenth century, the fact is that there are a number of icons painted then that are truly extraordinary. The Acre Triptych (Figs. 155–62, App. no.66/753) is one such work, done by three painters at the end of the 1250s in Acre. In this remarkable ensemble we find two Crusader artists with central and northern Italian connections linked with a Franco-Byzantine Crusader artist to produce an important Levantine *Maestá* of the Virgin and Child enthroned. Three other magnificent works are done by artists working in what we are calling Veneto-Byzantine or Cypriot Crusader styles. There is the dossal with the Deësis accompanied by eight saints (Figs. 256–61, App. no. 74/1003), probably produced to be used as an iconostasis beam. There is the bilateral icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (Figs. 269–70, App. no. 97/1568), a monumental processional icon with Latin inscriptions closely related to Venetian painting in the second half of the thirteenth century. Finally, there is the extraordinary diptych with St. Procopios and the Virgin *Kykkotissa* (Figs. 271–88, App. no. 110/1783), a work of exquisite painting style closely related to Cypriot work and conceivably done by an artist in a Cypriot-Byzantine Crusader style in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai in the 1280s. In this last icon, the work is distinguished not only by the refinement of the style of the figures, but also the exquisite chrysography and the sumptuous garments and jewels depicted in a technique closely related to the best Byzantine work.

In manuscript illumination, it is extraordinary that we find in Acre a parallel to the development of secular illustration in Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century. Not only do we find a wide range of manuscripts, ranging from historical studies such as the *History of Outremer*, the *Histoire Universelle*, and the *Faits des Romains*, along with a variety of treatises on military science and rhetoric, but also we have an illustrated law book, the celebrated *Livre des assises* of Jean d'Ibelin. It is a remarkable fact that of the secular codices that survive with illustrations from Acre, the earliest ones are done in the "traditional" Crusader style, which combines Byzantine, Western, and Levantine form and content previously found in religious manuscripts such as the Arsenal Bible, the Riccardiana Psalter or the Psalter of Queen Melisende. None of the later examples done in purely Gothic style from Acre *c.*1280–91 would rank as a great work of art, that is, works of truly outstanding quality. However, perhaps one of the secular manuscripts done in a Parisian Gothic style of the 1270s by an artist recently arrived from Paris in 1280 ranks as an outstanding work. It is the *History of Outremer* now in Florence, Laurenziana MS PLU.LXI.10, probably the last Crusader manuscript illustrated in Acre that survives. Its charming illustrations by the Paris–Acre Master capture the elegance of Parisian Gothic painting in terms of colorism and active poses, whereas the simplicity and clarity of the style embodies the innocence and immediacy of this painter's version of Gothic naturalism suitable for this new venture in rendering the story of the Latin Kingdom and which accompany the Old French translation and continuations of the words of the celebrated archbishop, William of Tyre.

It is these works as distinguished from other Crusader artistic products discussed previously that exemplify the best of Crusader work. Ultimately what is important about all of these extraordinary works and the numerous other works of lesser quality, but no less interest, is that they are works of Crusader art and architecture, works that express in form and content their unique Frankish–Byzantine–Levantine Crusader character and their special circumstances of patronage, production, audience, and function.

In conclusion, we may recall what estimates have been made about the phenomenon of the Crusades and their impact on Europe and the Near East. Overall the negative and dismal aspects greatly seem to outweigh the more positive achievements in the modern perception. We remember the comments of famous eighteenth-century writers such as Diderot, who saw the results of "these horrible wars" to be "the depopulation of its nations, the enrichment of monasteries, the impoverishment of the nobility, the ruin of ecclesiastical discipline, contempt for agriculture, scarcity of cash and an infinity of vexations." Gibbon commented that the Crusades "have checked rather than forwarded the maturity of Europe. The lives and labours of millions which were buried in the East would have been more profitably employed in the improvement of their native country: the accumulated stock of industry and wealth would have overflowed in navigation and trade; and the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the climates of the East."[170]

Not surprisingly, the romanticized view of the Crusades in the nineteenth century produced much more positive reflections, especially on the great heroes if not the great cultural contributions. The English commissioned a great bronze statue of Richard I, *Coeur de lion*, by Baron Marochetti in front of the Houses of Parliament.[171] The Belgians likewise memorialized their national hero, Godefroy de Bouillon, in a bronze statue by Simonis for the Gran'Place in Brussels.[172] The French assembled an impressive array of paintings in the *Salle des Croisades* at Versailles to commemorate what Siberry calls "a pictorial history of French participation in the crusades."[173] Even Mark Twain succumbed to the lure of the Crusades. After visiting the battlefield of Hattin during his tour of the Holy Land, he was inspired by the reputed sword of Godefroy de Bouillon to write, "no blade in Christendom wields such enchantment as this – no blade of all that rust in the ancestral halls of Europe is able to invoke such visions of romance in the brain of him who looks upon it... It stirs within a man every memory of the holy wars that has been sleeping in his brain for years and peoples his thoughts with mail clad images... It speaks to him of Baldwin and Tancred, and princely Saladin and great Richard of the Lionheart."[174] Perhaps the most bizarre of these romantic reactions, however, can be seen in the bronze wreath that Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany laid on the tomb of Saladin in Damascus in 1898. On the wreath is inscribed, in Arabic, "from one great emperor to another"![175] It is astonishing to recall that scholarly investigation of the history of the Crusades had already long been underway by the time of Wilhelm's visit to Near East, since 1806 in fact, yet Wilhelm still conceived Saladin to have been an emperor in Western terms.[176] Ironically, the wreath was captured by Lawrence of Arabia as a trophy of World War I and taken to England, where it is now on view in the Imperial War Museum in London.

The flow of history has indeed changed the perspectives and cultural values that have produced such widely varying opinions of the Crusades and the Crusaders. However, when we return to the source material itself from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, on the positive side of the ledger we may recall that the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land was one of the greatest of Crusader contributions to medieval culture. This art deserves to be recognized for what it is, and it is to be celebrated as an important, unique, and independent chapter in the history of medieval art, the importance of which we are only starting to understand. Crusader art has suffered from destruction in the changed circumstances of its native land, and from neglect and lack of recognition in its refugee status while the Mamluks and Ottomans occupied the Holy Land for so long. Unlike other medieval art in Europe – in France, Italy, England, or Germany – Crusader art work had no country of origin that would shelter and protect it as its patrimony. In one way, the purpose of this study is to identify and recognize the art of the Crusaders so that it can begin to take its appropriate place in the history of medieval art. Crusader art in the Holy Land was short-lived, and the production of the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land may have finished abruptly and definitively on 28 May 1291, but the importance of that art and the role that it played in the developments of the later Middle Ages, from the twelfth century onward, can now be more fully studied and appreciated, and its contributions to medieval civilization more fully understood.

Postscript

And so the crusader cities and fortifications of Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tortosa, and Chastel Pelerin were stripped of their decorations and emptied of their goods in 1291. For the most part the figural art that we have discussed previously was preserved in most cases because it was taken westward where eventually it ended in safe hands. The conspicuous exceptions are of course the extraordinary collection of icons done by Crusader artists for Crusader patrons now in the safe haven of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, and the works that have been found in modern excavations. Undoubtedly the most exceptional finds from archaeological sources are the figural capitals and other sculpture found on the site of the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. It is all these works, however they were preserved, that have provided us with the material to study the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land between 1098 and 1291.

In ending our study, we should point out that art from the period of the medieval Crusader states, 1098–1291, is not the only art commissioned by "Franks" for the holy sites. Some was commissioned later, after 1291, and is found today at the holy sites, principally in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. With the establishment of the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land in the fourteenth century, the Latin presence at the holy sites has been maintained through the centuries up to the present day along with that of other, Eastern Christians.[177] Works of art, some of them lavish and beautiful, have been bestowed on the holy sites or given to the various Franciscan houses in the Holy Land, and constitute a little-known *corpus* of works ranging from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts,[178] to liturgical vessels and ecclesiastical vestments of the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries.[179] Given or commissioned as gifts for use at the holy sites, these works of art form a chapter in the history of art yet to be written. These works cannot be said to be latter-day examples of Crusader art, but they are related to the artistic stimuli and the efforts to embellish the holy sites that generated much of the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land in the first place.

9

CONCLUSION: WHAT IS CRUSADER ART?

In 1972 Joshua Prawer wrote:

> There is no study which deals with the arts of the Latin Kingdom as a whole.[1]

By this he apparently meant there was no recent study, no study since the time of Camille Enlart.[2] The first to attempt to remedy this situation was of course T. S. R. Boase, who produced a series of publications leading up to his chapters in volume IV of *A History of the Crusades*, which Prawer mentions as in process.[3] Prawer's views were then echoed by those of Bernard Hamilton, who wrote in 1980 that while the Franks were in the Holy Land "they built new cathedrals, in many cases because there had been none there before; and they founded churches and chapels in large numbers in their cities, their castles, and on some of their rural estates, of which no systematic survey has yet been made."[4] With regard to the churches, the *corpus* of Crusader churches in preparation by R. D. Pringle is providing a critical art historical, archaeological, and historical survey to meet that need.[5] My current study is intended to fill the gap articulated by Prawer in a different way, by identifying, analyzing, discussing, and interpreting all recognizeable works of Crusader art. I am of course including architecture, the traditional medium for the study of Crusader art between 1860 and 1977, but I am focusing especially on the figural arts. My goal is to examine how they are interrelated and how they function, change, and develop in historical context. However, here at the end of this study, this examination of Crusader artistic activity leaves us with a very important question. Having looked at what can be identified as the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, "what is Crusader art?" How can this remarkable phenomenon be defined on its own merits, and in relation to the other major traditions on which it drew, that is, Byzantine art and the art of other Eastern Christians, Romanesque art, Gothic art, and even Muslim art, all in the context of the Levant?

One inescapable fact that plays a very strong role in determining our view of what constitutes Crusader art is the *corpus* of works of art and architecture that is extant. The impressive result of the Crusader presence in situ is the legacy of churches and castles they built to provide both for the religious services of the Frankish settlers and the pilgrims who came to worship at the holy sites and for the defense of these churches and holy sites, as well as residences and strategic sites the Crusaders occupied in establishing and maintaining their various holdings.[6]

Given that so much has been destroyed, however, one is constantly forced to deal with partial survivals in architecture and very fragmentary remains when it comes to the figural arts, that is, manuscript illumination, panel painting, fresco painting, mosaics, monumental stone sculpture, ivory carving, metal work, enamels, and even coins and seals. Part of the reason for the fragmentary survivals is that in 1291, when the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine came to an end, production stopped abruptly and much that existed was destroyed or lost. Furthermore, among portable objects, pilgrimage souvenirs, and the like, much had to be left behind in the *sauve qui peut* that followed the Mamluk conquest. Indeed we can even think of what some people chose to save when they had to flee. Bernard Hamilton writes, "when the Latin clergy finally left the Holy Land what they took with them were their titles to properties which they hoped might one day be restored to them, rather than liturgical or devotional books which they knew they could replace."[7] Similar choices, *mutatis mutandis*, were no doubt made by merchants, soldiers, and members of the artistocracy. Consideration of these choices suggests that what has survived among portable works of art was largely the result of objects taken somewhere safe well before the final battles for the kingdom began in 1291.

Part of the nature of Crusader art is its finite, specific existence. It came into being when the Crusaders arrived in the Holy Land, started new settlements, and began establishing the Crusader States. It ceased to exist as a living, developing tradition when the Crusaders were defeated by the Mamluks and forced to leave the Holy Land in May 1291.

Part of what defines Crusader art is its function, and of course that function itself changed and developed. In the twelfth century, the primary function of Crusader pictorial art was clearly religious. The churches and the figural art were meant to provide for public worship. This worship was initially focused on the unique holy sites that the Crusades were substantially called to liberate and protect, especially the holy sites that commemorated the Incarnation, the Birth, the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ in Palestine. The art produced for these sites was meant to identify and glorify the holy places and to serve the pilgrims who came there, to facilitate and give meaning to their pilgrimage. In the thirteenth century, Crusader art changed in function, expanding its private, devotional use along with the public religious aspect, for institutional and liturgical use. It also developed an important new secular function in terms of manuscript illumination, but secular art also continued to exist from earlier manifestations in terms of mosaics and the imagery on coins.

One of the most distinctive and perhaps unexpected features of Crusader art is its richly multicultural character. On the one hand, its largely religious function up into the mid-thirteenth century meant that it was produced mainly for Latin patrons and the places where Latins worshipped. However, the main pilgrimage sites were open to all Christians and the Crusader art produced for these sites reflected this multiculturalism from an early point in the twelfth century. One of the most remarkable examples of this Crusader multiculturalism can be found in the sculptural program of the south transept façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem from *c.*1149.[8] Other Crusader religious art followed suit when the opportunity presented itself.

This artistic evidence has only recently been taken into serious account in the larger contextual picture.[9] Since the 1950s historians have debated the old notion that the Crusaders developed some kind of a "Franco-Syrian society," choosing instead to see the Franks as a separate ruling class.[10] Ellenblum has now argued for a more nuanced view of Frankish settlements, and Riley-Smith has pushed part of the argument further, seeing some examples of synthesis.[11] These issues need to be investigated further with regard to the art, because the evidence for Crusader art has been largely identified as produced in the major cities, in important religious establishments, for example, the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, or in major fortified sites, for example, Crac des Chevaliers or Chastel Pelerin. Nonetheless, it appears that there is a clear paradox with the religious art. On the one hand, the Crusaders and their Church in the Crusader States to a large extent remained separate from the Eastern religious traditions in which they found themselves,[12] in terms of basic attitudes toward theology, doctrine, liturgy, discipline, language – most of the things that defined Latin-rite Catholicism. On the other hand, Crusader art to some extent embraced important Eastern Christian traditions. We can see this especially with regard to the Orthodox traditions of Byzantine icons, mosaics, frescoes, and manuscripts, Armenian manuscripts, and Syrian Orthodox manuscripts.

We can also see this in the public ritual of the Crusader churches. Worship was focused on the public performance of the Latin liturgy in suitable churches in Syria-Palestine for the faithful, both transient and resident. It is perhaps in the interaction of the resident Franks with Eastern Christians that greater understanding developed about each other's liturgy and ritual, about their artistic traditions, and about how this art functioned. It is perhaps in observing how the Eastern Christians used art in their worship that the Latin Christians learned to admire and value icons, as well as the Byzantine-inspired tradition of imagery. Worship was also conducted privately, and clearly some of the illustrated manuscripts and the panel paintings were produced to serve individual devotional needs. In myriad ways Crusader art served the religious life and experience of these people, that is, the residents and travelers, be they aristocratic or bourgeois, laymen or clergy, merchants or soldiers, whoever they were. They came from western Europe to fight, to visit, to live briefly or to settle permanently, and to worship in the Holy Land where the Christian religion had its origins. As residents and pilgrims they interacted to some extent with other Christians during their stay, those Christians being both resident Eastern Christians, especially the Greek and Syrian Orthodox, Maronites, and Armenians, and pilgrims who belonged to these Eastern Christian churches.

Burchard of Mount Sion comments on who those Eastern Christian pilgrims were as follows:

> Who could tell how many monks and nuns from Georgia, Greater and Lesser Armenia, Chaldaea, Syria, Media, Persia, India, Aethiopia, Nubia, Nabatenia, of the Maronite, Jacobite, Nestorian, Greek, Syrian and other sects, at this day roam over that land in troops of one or two hundred each, more or less, visit each holy place, and with burning zeal kiss the castle and worship the spots on which they have heard that sweet Jesus sat, stood, or wrought any work?...
>
> Well may we groan over the lukewarmness of the Christian people of our time, who having so many and such great examples before their eyes, hesitate to snatch away from the hands of the enemy that land which Christ Jesus hallowed with his blood, and whose praises are daily sung by the Church throughout all the world; for what hour is there of the day or night all the year round wherein every devout Christian doth not by singing, reading, chanting, preaching, and meditating, read what hath been done or written in this land and in its cities and holy places?[13]

Seen in these contexts and serving these functions for Latin and to some extent for Eastern Christians as well, we can readily understand the interest that the Crusaders manifested for an art that combined the Byzantine tradition with the local Levantine traditions of the Eastern Christians and their western European heritage. By contrast, it was Crusader secular art that seems to have begun to grow more Western in character. Although the first examples of this art in the mid-thirteenth century are produced in the "traditional" Crusader styles rooted in the East, the stimulus for secular art was in Paris and northern France at this time, and its popularity spread to the Latin Kingdom from there. The arrival of the Paris–Acre Master in Acre *c.*1280, and a second painter, who did the *Histoire Universelle* now in Paris after 1285,[14] was in effect part of the spread of French Gothic art. Just as Gothic architecture had been exported from the Ile de France starting in the late twelfth century, here is a latter-day example of the spread of the new Parisian Gothic style in the late thirteenth century. Bearing in mind that the evidence of these two painters provides a very fragmentary picture of developments in Crusader manuscript illumination, this evidence nonetheless seems to suggest that there was a second wave of Gothic influence into Acre, after the first phase stimulated by the patronage of King Louis IX there in the early 1250s.

In sum, the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land was a complex phenomenon, very different in certain functions and styles in the thirteenth century compared to those in the twelfth. The art of the Crusaders shows remarkable development over its nearly two hundred years of existence, yet it was consistently multicultural until cultural values and artistic emphases began to change in its very last decade with some of its latest practitioners. Crusader art was always very closely linked to the patrons and functions it was meant to serve in the Crusader States, and it remained strikingly independent as a uniquely Eastern chapter in the history of European medieval art.

But what is "Crusader art"?

WHAT IS CRUSADER ART?: INTRODUCTION

To some extent this question is paralleled by the vigorous debate that has been going on among historians of the Crusades since the 1960s over the issue, "What is a Crusade?"[15] Nearly everyone agrees that in the Middle Ages, a Crusade was a holy war called by the pope and that those who, as we say, "took the Cross," made a solemn public vow to participate. In return for signing themselves with the Cross by an insignia often attached to their shoulder, these Crusaders were guaranteed certain legal privileges and spiritual indulgences, including the remission of all sins. The major differences of opinion have arisen over the breadth of the concept in regard to purpose and application. There are those who are identified as "traditionalists," like Hans Mayer, who effectively initiated this debate between 1965 and 1972, followed indirectly by Jean Richard.[16] They essentially view the Crusade as a holy war called by the pope, which was specifically directed to aid Christians in the Holy Land and to regain the holy sites, in particular, the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, but also the place of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the house of the Virgin where the Incarnation of Christ took place in Nazareth.

There are others, such as Carl Erdmann and Ernst-Dieter Hehl, writing in 1935 and 1994, respectively,[17] who are sometimes referred to as "generalists." They also view the Crusade as a holy war called by the pope, but understand that the participants might be directed to fight any number of enemies of the Christian religion. What was important was the belief that the war was being fought for God in order to further His intentions for humankind. This discussion has been continued by C. Tyerman, who contributed a study dealing with the issue of when the Crusade was institutionalized by the Church, and argued against the idea of a "Crusade movement." His work nuances the traditionalist and generalist positions with interesting if debatable points, and it offers argumentation on the significance of papal policy toward and control of the Crusades.[18]

Several French historians have argued that the essence of crusading arose and was found in the peasantry and the urban proletariat where it was stimulated by prophetic, eschatological, and collective motivation. This approach, identified as the "popularist" approach, can be found most recently in the works of Jean Flori.[19]

Finally there are the "pluralists" who agree with the traditionalists on the Crusade as a holy war called by the pope with privileges and indulgences, but understand that the participants might be directed to fight enemies of the Church in a variety of locations. For example, they would say that along with the Crusades against the Muslims in the Holy Land, there were also Crusades against heretics such as the Albigensians in southern France, against the Muslims in Spain, against the pagan Slavs in eastern Europe, or even against secular rulers in western Europe, such as the Hohenstaufen emperors in South Italy and Sicily. Along with Riley-Smith, Norman Housley affirmed this viewpoint writing on the later Crusades, that is, Crusading activity after the fall of the Latin Kingdom. Where traditionalists see the end of the Crusades in 1291 with the conquest of Acre by the Mamluks, the pluralists see the Crusades extending through the later Middle Ages to Nicopolis in 1396, and beyond, to Lepanto in 1571.[20]

For our purposes in discussing the idea of Crusader art, we do not have to argue the merits of these various interpretations here; the issues are complex and there is important evidence to be weighed on each point.[21] For the purpose of discussing Crusader art, however, I can state forthrightly that I am espousing a traditionalist view in regard to the idea of the Crusade. In terms of the question, "What is Crusader art?," I define a Crusader as someone who has taken the Cross and is specifically directed toward regaining and controlling the Holy Land, especially the holy sites in Syria-Palestine, and in liberating the Christians living there, Frankish or Eastern, from the yoke of their Muslim oppressors. Furthermore, I would like to contribute to the debate over the definition of a Crusade in relation to Crusader art, first, by emphasizing the importance of Christian pilgrimage to the holy places as an essential aspect of the origins of the Crusade idea. Second, as I see it, the idea of a Crusade – whatever its later development – can be characterized partly on the basis of that phenomenon, which nearly everyone agrees defined the movement at the beginning and served as its single most successful expedition, namely, the First Crusade. It was, of course, begun by Pope Urban II in 1095 at Clermont and resulted in the conquest of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099. Indeed, I would argue that just as the Crusades to the Holy Land in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries grew out of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem to become armed expeditions to or at least toward the Holy Land, Crusader art also began as a phenomenon focused on the holy sites in Syria-Palestine that were the objects of the main Crusader expeditions and only later diversified, for the most part after 1187.

If then, as outlined earlier, there is considerable disagreement on the historical definition of a Crusade, one will not find it surprising that there is also no consensus on our question here, "What is Crusader art?"[22] There are several reasons for this, but in general the differences of opinion on this art historical issue derive from considerations mostly quite separate from the historical debate.

First, the study of Crusader art has tended to lag behind research on the history of the Crusades themselves. This lag in part reflects how the study of the Crusader East has developed. Prior to 1917, whereas historians studied both the Crusade expeditions and the Crusader States in the Levant, few scholars spent significant time researching the sites and monuments or learning the terrain firsthand. Since that time, interest in Crusader art and the pursuit of research on the topic have developed more or less directly in proportion to the increased opportunities for study in former Crusader-held territory. This access was occasioned by the British and French Mandates after World War I, and the subsequent establishment of four states at the time of World War II and shortly thereafter, the Republic of Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and the State of Israel, all of which facilitated the opening of Syria-Palestine and the Sinai peninsula to Western scholars.

Second, our knowledge of art associated with the Crusader States has grown prodigiously since World War I, and especially after World War II, with the result that new notions of Crusader art have also emerged, changed, and developed. The earliest studies between 1860 and the 1930s emphasized architecture or architectural sculpture and saw things from a distinctly western European, and in some cases, specifically French perspective. As Camille Enlart wrote in 1925, one could easily imagine the churches of the Latin Kingdom at home in the valleys of the Rhone, the Allier, and the Garonne Rivers of France.[23] Five years later, when Paul Deschamps wrote about the Nazareth sculptures among others, he entitled his article, "La Sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'époque des Croisades."[24]

More recent studies of the Latin Kingdom since World War II, as well as increased interest in the art of the Mediterranean world, East and West, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, especially since the 1950s,[25] have enlarged our scope to include all major media of the medieval period, that is, painting, sculpture, metalwork, numismatics, and glass, pottery, and textiles,[26] as well as architecture. Furthermore, we have altered our point of view to see the Crusader Levant from a much more pluralistic, one might also say, multicultural Eastern outlook.

Nonetheless, what is the point of asking the question, "What is Crusader art?" in 2005? After all, to some extent we know what Crusader art is now.

1. In architecture, it is exemplified by the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, dedicated in 1149.[27] Here the Crusaders took an essentially Byzantine architectural complex and, by adapting the flexible plan of Romanesque pilgrimage road churches, transformed the rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher and the *triporticus* into a double-domed, Gothic rib-vaulted ecclesiastical structure, worthy of the greatest holy site in Christendom.
2. In sculpture, it is exemplified by the Nazareth capitals, carved in the 1170s.[28] These remarkable capitals were designed as part of a figural program for the holy site of the House of the Virgin where the Incarnation took place. Unique in their overall iconography, style and design, and programmatic function among Crusader works, these capitals directly reflect the special circumstances of the holy site for which they were done, their Crusader patronage, and the levantine *ambiente* in which the artist worked.
3. In painting, Crusader art is exemplified by manuscript illumination, by fresco painting, by mosaics, and by icons and panel painting, which span the period from 1130 to 1291. From the earliest dated painting, the enthroned Madonna holding the Child Jesus on the south aisle column of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem dated 1130,[29] to the famous royal manuscripts done in Jerusalem and Acre, such as the Melisende Psalter[30] and the Arsenal Bible,[31] to the latest identifiable extant work – manuscript illustrations by the Paris–Acre Master in a codex of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* left unfinished at the fall of Acre in 1291[32] – we can see a remarkable range of talent and a number of high-quality painters in the service of Crusader patrons.
4. In metalwork and numismatics, Crusader art is exemplified by reliquaries done in the Holy Land between *c.*1125 and 1187, or by coinage issued by the Crusader kings and barons during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The reliquary of the True Cross, now in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart, is a typical example of a vessel produced in Jerusalem to contain a precious relic, in this case, about 1130, and then brought to the West where it was preserved for centuries in the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Denkendorf.[33] Two coins, struck in the 1150s and 1160s by Kings Baldwin III and Amaury I, respectively, are distinctively Crusader because of their architectural imagery referencing specific important sites in Jerusalem – the Tower of David, on the one hand, and the Holy Sepulcher on the other.[34] This architectural imagery is continued into the thirteenth century.

What is immediately apparent from the examples just cited is that most of these readily identified works of "Crusader art" belong to the twelfth century, with one or two exceptions. What our study in the current volume attempts to argue is that equally important Crusader art existed in the thirteenth century, however different it may be. In architecture there is not only the Cathedral of Our Lady at Tortosa, which was completed in the thirteenth century,[35] but also the great castle of Crac des Chevaliers, which effectively took on its current configuration through the major changes and additions made after the 1202 earthquake.[36] In stone carving there are the impressive fragments of thirteenth-century castle sculpture, both figural and decorative work, from Chastel Pelerin ('Atlit),[37] Montfort,[38] and Crac des Chevaliers.[39]

In painting there is the series of somewhat controversial illustrated manuscripts for what appear to be commissions for royal patrons or gifts, including the Riccardiana Psalter possibly done for Queen Isabel of Brienne in 1225; the Arsenal Bible, already mentioned, for King Louis IX, which I am dating to 1250; and the London *Histoire Universelle* commissioned as a gift to King Henry II of Cyprus and Jerusalem in 1286.[40] There are interesting secular works, such as the *Rhetoric* manuscript executed in 1282 for William of St. Stephen, a Hospitaller jurist. There is also an impressive series of major panel paintings including the Acre Triptych done in the late 1250s, a series of handsome devotional icons featuring mounted soldier saints in the 1260s, and a group of outstanding later works, including a very large bilateral processional icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, a dossal with the Deësis and eight saints, and a diptych with St. Procopius and the Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa*, from the 1280s.[41]

And in metalwork and coinage there is the extraordinary Resafa treasure, containing handsome examples of both liturgical and secular goldsmithswork,[42] along with a series of remarkable coins. Some of the most beautiful coins were issued by the count of Tripoli, including two types of *gros*, including the "star" *gros* of Bohemond VI and the "city gates" *gros* of Bohemnd VII, the former of which may have inspired the *gros tournois* of King Louis IX.[43] Among the issues of the Latin Kingdom is a handsome gold bezant from Acre in 1257, imitating the gold coinage of Caliph al-Amir, but with Christian inscriptions in Arabic and an equal-armed cross on the reverse. There is also the rare "Agnus Dei" bezant, a gold coin issued before the fall of Acre with the image of the Lamb of God on the obverse, containing the liturgical prayer.[44]

These exemplary documented works from the thirteenth century are indicative of Crusader production, which demonstrates both that art in the Crusader States continues to develop rapidly and that Crusader art done between 1187 and 1291, especially from 1250 to 1291, is very different from that produced in the twelfth century. These twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples taken together, however, merely enable us to make a provisional and very general formulation of what Crusader art is. Simply put, it is all artistic work done in the Crusader States of Syria-Palestine for Crusader/Frankish/merchant patrons and/or by Crusader artists between 1098 when Antioch and Edessa fell into the hands of armies on the First Crusade and 1291 when the Crusaders were thrown into the sea at St. Jean d'Acre.

WHAT IS CRUSADER ART?: THE CURRENT DEBATE

Whereas most of us would endorse the elementary and very general proposition just stated, it is worth noting that not everyone is happy even with that, and certainly no agreement exists on more sophisticated conceptualizations of Crusader art. Moreover, not only is there as yet no book comparable to Jonathan Riley-Smith's historical discussion, *What Were the Crusades?*, recently reissued in a third edition,[45] that deals with the subject "What is Crusader art?", but also there is as yet no consensus on which to base such a book for both the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Even for the twelfth century two recent books have addressed the basic issues with rather different approaches. B. Kühnel's study of Crusader art in the twelfth century asks the question in her subtitle: "A Geographical, an Historical or an Art Historical Notion?"[46] My study of the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098 to 1187, proposes to interpret Crusader art as a distinctive art historical phenomenon in a unique historical, cultural, religious, and geographical setting.[47] This lack of consensus pertains to what we identify as "Crusader art," that is, the works of art we call Crusader, who the artists and patrons were, and how we define what is Crusader about any given work of art. Consider the following example:

There is a missal, MS 6 in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Perugia published by Hugo Buchthal in 1957,[48] which we discussed earlier in Chapter 6. This codex, written by a French scribe and done in the early 1250s, contains direct liturgical evidence of its origin in St. Jean d'Acre. In the calendar, there is the entry, "Dedicatio ecclesie Acconensis" for July 12, commemorating the reconquest of Acre in July of 1191. This entry stands out particularly due to the absence of the usual Jerusalem commemorations found in earlier codices from the Crusader scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher.

This manuscript is also illustrated. For the canon of the Mass we find a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion and a half-page headpiece for the text featuring a bust of Christ flanked by worshipping angels. Buchthal compared these paintings to the wing of a diptych said to be Venetian, the Ryerson Diptych in Chicago, and concluded that the illuminator, while working in Acre under French and Byzantine influence, came from Venice. We have argued that this manuscript artist in fact is working in a Franco-Byzantine Crusader style and that his work can be most closely compared to a Crucifixion icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, which, of course, Buchthal did not know in 1957. The important thing here, however, is what Buchthal had to say about this manuscript and the others grouped with it at the time, by way of introducing the idea of "Crusader art."

> Miniature painting in the Crusading Kingdom... was not a colonial art. It had a distinctive style of its own, which was not derived from any single source, but emerged as the result of copying illuminations from a variety of Byzantine and western manuscripts, and of developing certain features of these models in a highly original and individual manner.... Thus miniature painting in the Crusading Kingdom developed into a very composite art, subject to influences which were the result of local conditions, and which differed with each succeeding generation.... The surprising thing is... that, in spite of the obvious lack of continuity, something like a local style and a local tradition of unmistakable identity should have emerged.[49]

This "local style" and "local tradition of unmistakable identity" is apparently what Buchthal was thinking of as what he later termed "Crusader illumination,"[50] and what we are calling explicitly "the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land," or Crusader art.

Kurt Weitzmann also discussed the Crucifixion in the Perugia Missal in his pioneering article on Crusader icons, published in the *Art Bulletin* six years later.[51] Weitzmann expanded the possible *comparanda* for the Perugia Missal, and he specifically compared the Perugia Crucifixion with similar scenes on an icon and on an image on an iconostasis beam, both from Sinai. While proposing that this latter icon was done by a different if inferior painter, he concluded with an important formulation of the artistic phenomenon that also built on Buchthal's earlier comments. "The painter [of the icon]," he wrote,

> could actually have been an Italian. Yet we hasten to say that attempts to distinguish the nationalities of the icon painters may not always be successful, simply because Italian and French artists working side by side and apparently having models from both countries available, gradually developed a style and iconography which, when fused with Byzantine elements, resulted in what one might simply call Crusader art.[52]

Thus Buchthal and Weitzmann effectively first coined the terms "Crusader illumination" and "Crusader art," respectively, in the comparatively recent publications just mentioned. It is significant to note that these innovations hinged on the study of painting, a medium heretofore little associated with the Crusaders. This marked an important turning point in the evolution of the idea of Crusader art worth commenting on before we continue.

Prior to 1957/1963, scholars like Charles Melchior de Vogüé, (1860),[53] Hughes Vincent and F.-M. Abel (1914–26),[54] Camille Enlart (1925–8),[55] Paul Deschamps (1927–73),[56] and even T. S. R. Boase, starting out in 1938, referred to the art of the Crusaders, but not Crusader art. They thought of the art of the Crusaders as effectively a transplant, essentially European and mostly from France. This also means they thought of the artists and the architects as coming primarily from western Europe to the Holy Land to work for the Crusaders. In 1939, for example, Boase characterized the Nazareth sculptor as a Romanesque artist, a "personal genius" who had worked at Plaimpied in the Bourbonnais.[57] Such artists were Franks working for the Crusaders; in other words, they were from somewhere else. Even Boase, who early on in his career clearly saw the Crusaders as part of the East–West artistic exchange in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[58] does not think of these artists as primarily Crusader settlers, in the sense of being born in the Crusader Kingdom, like the great historian, William of Tyre.[59]

Boase also introduced a second major point: "While recent work [1925–39] has done so much to recall the unexpected richness of the crusading kingdom in ecclesiastical building, its great achievement still remains that of fortification."[60] This is clearly an unspecified reference to the major works of castle-building as well as church architecture and in particular to the studies of Camille Enlart, Paul Deschamps at Crac des Chevaliers, C. N. Johns at 'Atlit, and the survey of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by William Harvey.[61] Boase's comment refocused scholarly attention on extant Crusader architecture in Syria-Palestine. By contrast the later work of Buchthal and Weitzmann introduced the study of the painted figural arts as a new focus for research.

When Buchthal and Weitzmann studied the manuscripts and the icons done for the Crusaders, moreover, they discovered that this art was certainly not a European transplant: It was something different and distinctive. Thus with the new identification of manuscripts and icons that could be associated with the Crusader States in Syria-Palestine, the concept of Crusader art and its definition took on new meaning. As a result, new problems and difficulties swiftly emerged, partly in response to Buchthal (1957) and Weitzmann (1963, 1966), and partly stimulated by the publication of the fourth volume of *A History of the Crusades*, published in 1977. Volume IV was an attempt to summarize retrospectively what was known about "Art and Architecture in the Crusader States," a work of synthesis by T. S. R. Boase in particular, who wrote chapters on "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria" and "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," as well as "The Arts in Cyprus" and "The Arts in... Rhodes." In these various chapters of the volume he surveyed the monuments, but Boase made no serious attempt to define "Crusader art."[62]

With that in mind, the late Otto Demus in effect opened the current debate on the idea of Crusader art in an important review of volume IV, published in 1979, as we pointed out in our introductory Chapter 1.[63] There we commented briefly on what Demus and others had to say about Crusader art as a thirteenth-century phenomenon. Here we shall explore what they have to say about the issue, "What is Crusader art?" Demus stated that "it is... questionable whether this label [Crusader art] should be used at all for the sum total of the art that originated in the Crusader territories." He immediately qualifies this view, however, by saying,

> some branches may be legitimately designated in this way, especially miniature and icon painting... but others do not seem to qualify for such a definition. There is, for instance, hardly such a thing as 'Crusader Sculpture,' the few surviving works being stylistically so heterogeneous that they cannot be brought under a common heading.[64]

While Demus was at work on his review, Hans Belting was mounting a much more fundamental challenge to the idea of Crusader art. We get a glimpse of this already in 1978, when Belting published an article on thirteenth-century German manuscript illumination in Saxony and its sources in Byzantine-influenced model books entitled, "Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz."[65] In the course of this article Belting introduced the idea of a "lingua franca" in art, adapting the linguistic model so extensively studied by Henry Kahane, and relating it to artistic phenomena.[66] In his analysis he identified cases of Byzantine influences on German painting in which the Byzantine "source" appeared to be later than the Western "follower." He proposed to explain this puzzling situation by postulating a Mediterranean artistic "lingua franca" that stood behind both the Byzantine and the Western works as the source from which their artists drew. This means that he is proposing the existence of works of art in which painters working in the Mediterranean region integrated fully understood Byzantine principles with certain western European aspects so seamlessly that we cannot discern the artists' place of origin.

Belting significantly enlarged on his characterization of the artistic lingua franca in his papers for the session on "Near East and West in Thirteenth Century Art" in the Acts of the 24th International Congress of the History of Art held in Bologna in 1979.[67] He proposed that certain thirteenth-century works like the Icon of St. George from Kastoria or the Mellon Madonna in the National Gallery in Washington, DC, exemplified an art neither Western nor Byzantine, but which developed a new synthetic language of components from sources difficult to distinguish. He insisted this art could only be identified in terms of specific works, which embodied an East–West synthesis in the particular historical circumstances of the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century after 1204. This art, in his view, was distinct from the old notion of the Italian "maniera greca," which was a general concept derived from Vasari in the sixteenth century and lacking specificity. By contrast, the art of the lingua franca was very specific and could also be called "l'art du commonwealth méditerranéen de Venise."[68] Finally, Belting threw down the gauntlet by declaring the following: "we must reserve the expression 'Crusader art' for the twelfth century. Its existence is only relevant for the understanding of western art at the level of ideas and programs, not at the level of artistic form and techniques."[69]

Belting's views immediately raise a series of questions:

1. What is the relationship of Belting's idea of the lingua franca in art to Weitzmann's notion of Crusader art?
2. What has Weitzmann's response been to the idea of the artistic lingua franca?
3. What are the implications and uses of Belting's analysis and formulation of the artistic lingua franca for the study of Crusader art?

First, it is clear that Belting in proposing his idea of the art of the lingua franca has, in effect, challenged Weitzmann's definition of Crusader art quoted earlier. The art of the lingua franca belongs to the wider context of the Mediterranean world, but only after 1204. Moreover Belting distinguished Crusader art from the art of the lingua franca in historical and chronological terms and proposed that at least some of what has been identified as Crusader art in the thirteenth century was in fact subsumed into the artistic lingua franca.

Second, at the same International Congress of the History of Art held in Bologna in 1979, Kurt Weitzmann gave a paper later published in 1984 as "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca."[70] In his introduction, Weitzmann remarks on Belting's attempt to introduce the concept of the lingua franca as a more comprehensive term for the Byzantine manner in Mediterranean art of the thirteenth century that affected not only Italy, but more or less the whole of western Europe. Weitzmann then rejects the term lingua franca in the following words: "for our purpose we propose to adhere to the old fashioned term *Maniera Greca* because our study will predominantly, though not exclusively, be concerned with Italian panel paintings."[71] In sum, Weitzmann is not willing to relinquish either the idea of the "maniera greca" when dealing with the issue of Italian painting in the Byzantine manner, or the idea of Crusader art as distinct from the maniera greca in the thirteenth century.

In regard to the third question mentioned earlier – what are the implications and uses of Belting's idea of the lingua franca for the study of Crusader art? – let me say that I cannot accept the idea that Crusader art (or Byzantine art for that matter) as we know it in the thirteenth century should be subsumed into a Mediterranean artistic lingua franca. It is my position that there are fully documented works of Crusader art in the thirteenth century, that is, after the German Crusade of 1198 and then after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade with its tremendous sack of the city and its treasures, which are distinctive and characteristic works of architecture, sculpture, and painting in the surviving Crusader States in Syria-Palestine. As I have argued in my earlier chapters, some are strongly Byzantine-influenced works with Western aspects for which the origin of their artists are known, and some are not, but all of these works to some extent form an independent artistic phenomenon that I propose we can and should identify as Crusader art.

Having said this, there are nonetheless some obvious implications of Belting's idea of the artistic lingua franca for the study of Crusader art: In the first place, Crusader art in the thirteenth century does differ markedly from that of the twelfth century, with variable degrees of continuity, depending on the medium involved and the circumstances of production. There is no doubt that most scholars would agree on the differences, but we should not forget that Buchthal has quite explicitly affirmed that we find in manuscript painting a surprising emergence of local style and workshop tradition, which Weitzmann has significantly expanded in terms of icons, mainly in the thirteenth century. Belting's contribution here is to sharpen our perception of the nuances and the subtle differences, and to help provide an enhanced notion of the broader context by relating the Crusader works to the new art of what he called "the Mediterranean commonwealth" in the thirteenth century.

Secondly, I regard Belting's idea of the artistic lingua franca in the Mediterranean world of the thirteenth century as comparable in certain aspects to the later phenomenon of the so-called international Gothic style around the year 1400 in Europe,[72] or the idea of Byzantine painting on Crete as a multicultural international style in the fifteenth century.[73] In pointing out certain characteristics of style and technique, program, ideas and ideals found in courtly centers all over Europe around the year 1400 in paintings like, for example, the Très Riches Heures of 1413–16, we can also see the work in terms of Gothic realism and Franco-Flemish manuscript illumination for Jean, duc de Berri, by the Limbourg Brothers. At the same time there are certain equally famous works related to it, like, for example, the Wilton Diptych, which belong to the same international Gothic movement, but for which the origin of the artist, the function, the precise meaning of the iconography, and the date remain controversial and to some extent unresolved. Even as research continues on the Wilton Diptych,[74] we should not stop discussing Bohemian, Italian, Franco-Flemish, English, Netherlandish, or German painting exclusively in favor of the international Gothic. *Mutatis mutandis*, there may well be Crusader works that will continue to defy certain modes of analysis and interpretation, but they can and should be discussed in terms of Crusader art as related to the useful idea of an art of the lingua franca.

Thirdly, it is clear that, strictly speaking, Belting's idea of the lingua franca and Weitzmann's conception of Crusader art are two different notions that are largely mutually exclusive. However, their ideas of the maniera greca do overlap in certain carefully defined ways. Belting's art of the lingua franca is in fact interpretable as a nonexclusively Italian phase of the maniera greca on the way to Duccio's "dolce stil nuovo" at the end of the thirteenth century. It is specifically that phase in which the Byzantine tradition is so substantially and fully integrated with other elements, be they Crusader, Italian, German, or French, that the artist's place of origin is often not identifiable. Weitzmann's idea of the maniera greca is the more generally held idea of Byzantine-influenced art that is specifically Italian in origin. However, ironically, it is what Weitzmann calls Crusader art that may have at least partly served as a transmitter of knowledge of Byzantine artistic tradition in the Mediterranean world to Italy and elsewhere during the thirteenth century, the role that Belting identifies as that of the art of the lingua franca.

Finally, it is evident that as yet the ramifications of Belting's and Weitzmann's ideas about Crusader art in relation to the lingua franca and the maniera greca have been little explored in print; surely they have not been resolved. Indeed, it is certain that Crusader art plays a significant role in shaping the art of the lingua franca that Belting proposed. In any case, the attractiveness of Weitzmann's idea of Crusader art lies in the fact that he affirms the distinctiveness of its artistic traits – in materials and technique, form and content, style and iconography, function and patronage – without insisting that we must know the origins of the artist(s) involved.[75] Belting's concept of the lingua franca in art is also attractive, as an analogue to the pluralistic linguistic phenomenon known primarily in the venues of Mediterranean commerce, that is, the common language of sailors and the documents of shipping. To some extent, what English is for air transport worldwide at the start of the twenty-first century, the lingua franca was for sea transport in the thirteenth-century Mediterranean. In artistic terms, the art of the lingua franca was practiced in the thirteenth-century Mediterranean world by numerous artists from a variety of backgrounds. It is an art partly made possible by the contacts and interaction of artists through increased trade and commerce. However, the art of the lingua franca is not congruent with Crusader art; both have their own separate identity even if they overlap.

Belting's challenge to the idea of Crusader art was perhaps the first important one since 1963, but it certainly has not been the last. Meanwhile, also in 1979, Marie-Luise Bulst proposed some very different questions about the issue of "What is Crusader Art?" in the Introduction to her important study of the mosaic decoration on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.[76]

Bulst starts by quoting the famous passage at Book III, Chapter 37 of Fulcher of Chartres in his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, written *c.*1127:

> For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinean.[77]

These words she says, perhaps best clarify the special character of the so-called Crusader art. Bulst states forthrightly that, in her opinion, Crusader art is better and more correctly characterized, however, as the "art of the Frankish colonialists in the Kingdom of Jerusalem." In particular she points out that it was not the Crusaders, that is, the actual *crucesignati*, who came as soldiers and/or pilgrims, who built, painted, or sculpted the works we call Crusader art. It was mainly the resident Franks and the Italians from Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, that is, the settlers: western Europeans who came and stayed, some to intermarry, and their children, who generated the art either as patrons or even as the artists. However, she cautions, as orientalizing as the Latin Kingdom may have seemed to Fulcher, who was after all writing at the end of the first generation of settlers, the Kingdom of Jerusalem remained a Western colony, and this colonial outlook characterized Crusader art.[78]

We should remark at the outset that in contrast to Belting or Weitzmann, Bulst was focusing her attention on art of the Crusaders in the twelfth as opposed to the thirteenth century. Moreover, she renders a signal service in drawing attention, first, to the importance of patronage in defining Crusader art, and, second, by focusing on those patrons as mainly the resident Franks, the settlers, as distinct from those marked with the Cross who came and went on Crusade. We need only recall, as one important example, that the patronage of the Melisende Psalter is to be associated with the reigning king and queen of Jerusalem in the 1130s, in the time of the Second generation of settlers.[79] In the case of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher dedicated on 15 July 1149, it is remarkable that virtually no direct connection can be made between the participants of the Second Crusade (1147–8) and that major project.[80] Viewed from a different angle, we can also point out that no extant Crusader manuscripts from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries have been attributed to a patron in western Europe.[81] There surely were commissions of Crusader art by patrons on Crusade, the most important example being the Arsenal Bible done 1250 for King Louis IX,[82] but resident settlers and pilgrims were no doubt responsible for most patronage.

As for the artists themselves, Robin Cormack wrote in 1984:

> Recent studies have made it much easier to make attributions to the period of the Crusades, and to unravel the mesh of artistic and religious traditions. The pioneering studies are by Hugo Buchthal and Kurt Weitzmann.... But there is no agreement yet over the proper use of the term "Crusader Art", and the methods for discovering whether individual artists involved were trained in western Europe or Byzantium need assessment and refinement.[83]

In 1986, this issue with regard to the problem of determining the "nationality" of individual Crusader painters was raised again by Valentino Pace. The problem of assessing who the Crusader painters may have been is clearly extremely important, and Weitzmann and Pace appear to have advanced two completely different proposals in this regard. When Weitzmann first proposed his idea of Crusader painters in icon painting in the 1960s, he apparently envisioned the notion that the artists were Westerners who came to the East and developed into Crusader style painters by gradually learning to combine Byzantine style and technique with their own native tradition. In discussing his section on "Venetian Masters" in his 1966 article, for example, he writes "That some of the Crusader artists . . . were Italian is beyond doubt. It is only when one tries to determine the provinces whence they came that difficulties arise."[84]

In 1986, however, Valentino Pace advanced a completely different point of view.[85] In discussing Weitzmann's ideas with regard to French artists whom he assumes to have painted the Perugia Missal, Pace proposes that "the very nature of 'Crusader painting' eludes all efforts to verify the nationality of its artists; we could go so far as to say that if the origin of the artist can really be detected, his work must no longer be labeled as 'Crusader.'"[86]

If we view these interpretative comments by Weitzmann and Pace in a wider perspective, it appears that they are in effect referring to two different phases of development among Crusader painters. Weitzmann is speaking of an earlier phase, one that is somewhat rare, where perhaps a young painter, having apprenticed to a Western master, is still learning to be an artist, something that he effectively completes with a Crusader master in the East. This clearly would have been a normal occurrence among the first generation of artists in the Crusader States in the first third of the twelfth century, but probably only infrequently after that. Pace, however, is speaking of a later phase in this developmental paradigm, where the artist is perhaps born in the Latin East and has learned to be an artist by studying with fellow Crusader painters, and possibly with Eastern Christian painters as well. In this case the artist would not typically have served a separate apprenticeship with a native French or Italian master. In both cases, links with one or other European tradition may be visible in the Crusader artist's work to a greater or lesser degree, but that fact ipso facto does not disqualify the painter from being identified as a Crusader artist.

Looking at Crusader artists and Crusader style in the thirteenth century with this perspective in mind, we find that Kurt Weitzmann's 1963 formulation about Crusader art requires certain revisions. His text reads:

> attempts to distinguish the nationalities of the icon painters may not always be successful, simply because Italian and French artists working side by side and apparently having models from both countries available, gradually developed a style and iconography which, when fused with Byzantine elements, resulted in what one might simply call Crusader art.[87]

Weitzmann's characterization only fits the very early phase of Crusader artistic development. In fact, I propose that what we normally have in a Crusader workshop is not "Italian and French artists working side by side," but *Crusader artists working side by side.*

It is of course possible that from time to time a young Western artist may have come to Acre, for example, and joined the painting establishment. Such an artist theoretically could have learned a Crusader style on the spot, transforming whatever training he might already have received. The problem with this scenario is that we have very few, if any, documented examples of such a painter. In the early twelfth century, we do have the case of the Melisende Psalter, of course, in which we see several artists at work, each of which comes with a distinctly different background and training. In the case of Basil, the main painter, he clearly appears to have been born in the East and trained there, whereas in the case of the painter of the headpieces to the prayers, he seems to be a Westerner perhaps recently arrived in Jerusalem and learning to be a Crusader painter. In the latter case, the problem is that we do not have work done by him in the West before he came to the Holy Land by which to document this interpretation.

In the thirteenth century, however, we have certain evidence that when one mature European artist came to Acre to work, the Paris–Acre Master, he largely retained his own style, the Parisian Gothic style of his primary training. In this case we have his work documented first in Paris in the 1270s in the form of three manuscripts and their miniatures, and then followed by eight illustrated codices that he did in Acre between 1280 and 1291. What this artist demonstrates is that in his case someone who came from Paris mature and fully formed as a painter continued his work in essentially the same style. He did not suddenly or even gradually become a Crusader artist, that is, working in a Crusader style during the approximately eleven years he worked, even though he clearly worked for Crusader patrons. His case forces us to consider that without documented evidence to the contrary, it is on balance unlikely that a fully mature artist would change his painting style in any fundamental way from that in which he had been trained when moving from one place to another, no matter what change of circumstances he may have experienced.

The appearance of the Paris–Acre Master in Acre also raises the issue of Crusader art as a colonial art, which is an equally difficult and complex problem. This issue arises partly from the debate about the Crusader States in general and the Latin Kingdom in particular. Peter Edbury refers to "the vexed question of the extent to which the Latin regimes can be labeled 'colonial.'"[88] It is Joshua Prawer who argued that "the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" should be seen as a colonial venture, in his 1972 study of the same name, subtitled "European Colonialism in the Middle Ages."[89] The majority view is, however, voiced by Jonathan Phillips, for example, in which he says:

> It is a controversial issue whether these territories [the Crusader States] were an early example of western European colonialism. Some historians believe that the concept of colonialism carries too many emotive associations to be useful when discussing the history of the crusades because it tends to evoke images based upon episodes such as the British settlement of North America or the Spanish invasion of the New World. They maintain that traditional definitions suggest that a colony is politically directed by, or economically exploited for the benefit of the homeland, or subject to really large-scale migration. These do not fit the Latin settlements in the Levant before 1291.[90]

This argument has moved on, as we see in Riley-Smith's recent comments on the Latin Kingdom viewed as a frontier society:

> Every frontier society was different in makeup and few were culturally homogeneous. Pluriformity was a feature of Palestine in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.... The nature of colonial society in the Latin East and the extent to which there was assimilation is once again under discussion.[91]

I will not enter here into a further historical discussion of the Latin Kingdom as a colonial enterprise, nor is this the place to attempt a full discussion of colonial art as related to the characteristics of Crusader art.[92] However, if we look at Crusader art merely as colonial art, the way Enlart among others did in the past and as Bulst urges us to do now, it seems we miss two very important aspects.

First, a point that Valentino Pace has made, we miss the significant differences between Crusader work and the western European art to which it may be compared and contrasted.[93]

Second, if we contemplate a brief paradigm of the phenomenon of colonial art taken from other examples, for instance American art in the seventeenth century, we see very little correspondance to what we find in Crusader art. Using two well-known colonial American works as examples, the anonymous painting of Mrs. Elizabeth Freake and Baby Mary (*c.*1675, Worcester Art Museum), and "St. Luke's" Church (The Old Brick Church) in Smithfield, Virginia (*c.*1632–82), consider the following points:[94]

1. Much early American colonial art resolutely clung to ancestral English traditions in a posture of dependency.
2. Artists in the colonies were inferior to those in England during the early period and came from provincial centers.
3. Furthermore, the development of art in the colonies was decidedly retardataire in contrast to the major centers in England.

In contrast to the American experience, early Crusader artists (to *c.*1150) demonstrate a rich and varied cultural background, as in the Melisende Psalter and the sculptors on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Moreover, they embraced the local Christian artistic tradition, which was mainly Byzantine and Orthodox, whereas American colonial artists drew little at first from the artistic traditions they found in North America. Crusader artists like Basil in the Melisende Psalter were not inferior in quality to artists in the West, and Basil, who may have studied in Constantinople, cannot be said to have come from the provinces, wherever his home may originally have been. Crusader art clearly drew on some sources that may have been retardataire, but they were not primarily western European, for example, eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript painting, and they created a new and different art in the Near East that was reasonably *au courant* with contemporary developments from western Europe, however distinct. In evaluating the Arsenal Bible from the mid-thirteenth century, similar things can be said, except that the Byzantine models were ninth and tenth century of remarkable quality as were the thirteenth-century French models derived from such outstanding works as the Morgan Old Testament Picture Book, MS 638, and the *Bibles Moralisées*, both from the first half of the thirteenth century in Paris.[95]

In sum, these minimal considerations allow us to suggest that whereas there is undoubtedly a colonial aspect to Crusader art, this colonial aspect is limited and needs to be carefully identified in each individual case. To some extent the issue of how Crusader art is related to the phenomenon of colonial art is discussed in my first volume, where I partly concluded "it is... possible to speak of colonialism in Crusader art, but it is not accurate to speak of Crusader art as simply a colonial art."[96] The fact that Crusader art is a product directly associated with the Holy Land elevates it to a special status. To see Crusader art merely as a colonial art is to fail to see what makes it distinctive and unique in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

That is not to say there is no colonial aspect to the art of the Crusaders in the thirteenth century. The perhaps surprising feature of this colonial aspect, and one that Bulst chose not to mention, is that one of its most accomplished practitioners – or at least the Crusader painter working in the purest French Gothic style – arrives in the Crusader East, in Acre, about 1280, that is, at the very end of the existence of the Crusader Kingdom on the mainland in the thirteenth century, not at the beginning. The artist in question, a man we originally called the "Hospitaller Master" and now have renamed the "Paris–Acre Master," works in the Gothic style found in Paris in the 1270s. Indeed he comes from Paris, where we find his work in 1276 and the later 1270s.[97] Here specifically we see the transfer of an artist and his style, essentially unaltered, from France in western Europe to Acre in the Levant. It is precisely what the French art historians of the early twentieth century, as well as Boase and Borg in regard to the artist of the Nazareth capitals, all cited earlier,[98] were claiming as the general and essential nature of Crusader Art, by which, however, they mainly meant architecture and architectural sculpture. However, so far the Paris–Acre Master is virtually an unique case in terms of the identity of the artist, his work as a painter, and the documentation of his activity. His work is surely a valid example of Crusader art: It is art commissioned by crusader patrons such as William of St. Stephen in 1282. In this case it is the patronage that defines it. However, in terms of what we now know, by no means is the work of the Paris–Acre Master a typical example of what constitutes Crusader art. Quite the contrary, in many ways the art of the Paris–Acre Master, painting that is so quintessentially based on the Parisian style of the 1270s, is quite atypical in relation to the overall *corpus* of what we identify as the art of the Crusaders, even in the period 1250–91. The art of the Paris–Acre Master is colonial Crusader art, because even though it is commissioned by Crusader patrons, it is heavily dependent on the French Gothic art of his homeland, even though it is far from provincial and certainly not inferior in quality to other contemporary Parisian work in illustrated manuscripts.

The Paris–Acre Master is clearly a special case, but nonetheless, when Crusader, French, Italian, English, German, Byzantine, Armenian, and local Christian Arab artists, their patrons, and their art came together in the special circumstances of the Holy Land, the Crusader States, and especially the Latin Kingdom, this phenomenon produced a context quite different from centers of contemporary art in western Europe. The results of their interaction – however great or small – in this setting were also different and usually quite distinctive: It is what we call Crusader art.

These debates over the nature and development of Crusader art notwithstanding, we should not lose sight of the fact that at the heart of the discussion are the works of art themselves and the criteria we use to identify these works as Crusader. It is clearly evident that the controversy over what works should be part of the *corpus* and what can be identified as Crusader about them is very much alive. Questions along this line have recently been voiced *à propos* of painting and especially with regard to certain icons, those most difficult and fascinating monuments in regard to Crusader artistic developments.

In 1986, for example, the late Doula Mouriki published a major monograph entitled "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus" followed by other lectures and articles on kindred icons.[99] Related to the important examples of Cypriot icons that she discussed are several that Weitzmann first published as Crusader from Acre in the period 1250–80, in particular, two icons with mounted soldiers: St. Sergios with a kneeling female donor (App. no. 1480), and a bilateral icon of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos and a Virgin Hodegetria (App. no. 1063).[100]

It is interesting that Weitzmann in his original publication of the icons with the mounted soldiers attributed them to Apulian painters working on Sinai, but he qualified this by saying, "I must admit that in this case [this group of icons] I do not feel as sure about the provenance as I do in the case of the French and the two Venetian ateliers." Weitzmann wonders whether the artists might be South Italian, but with strong ties to Venetian art. Here again is a case of icon painting where the origin of the artist is in doubt: Weitzmann sees them as "Crusader."[101] Belting would call these prime exemplars of the artistic lingua franca. Mouriki deals cautiously with these icons, pointing out their Cypriot and Syrian characteristics, and concludes that they were probably done by a Cypriot artist of Syrian background on Sinai.[102] Meanwhile, Lucy-Anne Hunt has recently argued that these two icons were possibly done by a Syrian Orthodox painter in the County of Tripoli, comparing them to wall paintings at Qara and in the region of Qalamoun, probably before 1271 when Crac des Chevaliers fell to Baibars.[103] She argues further that the kneeling female donor in the St. Sergios icon was the patron of that particular icon, and discusses the issue of women's spirituality at some length as an important factor during the Crusader period. At this point in the unresolved debate, Mouriki's and Hunt's arguments are more provocative and persuasive than Weitzmann's tentative idea that they were done by a South Italian artist, or that they were done on Cyprus itself as George Sotiriou had originally proposed.[104]

Mouriki's and Hunt's discussions of these icons bring out two important points. In the case of the icons with the mounted soldier saints, it is clear that, despite the integration of East and West that these works exemplify and the iconographic features that identify these panels with Crusader patrons – the military saints, the red cross banners and eclectic representation of arms and armor, the kneeling female figure with a black veil –, they are still problematic in regard to their place of origin – Sinai, Cyprus, Acre, Tripoli? – and the origins of the artists who did them – South Italian, Venetian, Cypriot, Syrian? They are, however, in my opinion, no less Crusader because of these difficulties. Unless the Crusader characteristics can be shown to be misinterpretations, which is not the case here, these works merit a place in the *corpus* of Crusader art.

In this instance the need for continual reexamination of these icons, for which Weitzmann repeatedly called, is obvious without necessitating the removal of this work from the hypothetical Crusader *corpus* of painting in Syria-Palestine. As Mouriki said, "we may wonder if Crusader painting, according to the traditional definition, is a less substantial reality than has been assumed."[105] There can be no doubt that many difficult questions remain to be answered about these paintings, but as research continues, the idea of Crusader art will not be any less valid as a concept even though its definition can and must evolve as studies move ahead. This process of reevaluation will proceed as we learn more about Crusader art in Syria-Palestine, Byzantine and Crusader art in Constantinople and on Cyprus, Frankish art in Greece, and other Mediterranean artistic traditions.

The questions raised by Demus, Belting, Bulst, Pace, Mouriki, and Hunt referred to earlier have generated fruitful debates about the idea of Crusader art to date, but they are by no means the only significant ones. Bianca Kühnel, Annemarie Weyl Carr, Lucy-Anne Hunt, Doula Mouriki, Barbara Zeitler, and Robin Cormack in particular, among others, have raised other issues with substantial and important discussions.[106] The first scholar focused on aspects of Crusader art in the twelfth century, which formed the foundation for Crusader developments in the thirteenth, but she did not create limits beyond which the later works and their artists could explore. Bianca Kühnel attempts to draw the most systematic picture, concluding with the following comments:

> The element of continuity and unity in this apparently chaotic artistic life of the Crusader kingdom, as it emerges... was assured by the general sensibility towards the *loca sancta*, and by the obvious attention accorded to their artistic history and appearance.... The receptivity of the Crusader artist, whatever his place of origin or his training, towards Eastern sources, Byantine, Muslim, or local, went far beyond that of contemporary Western artists working in the West. All these factors together confer its specific character upon Crusader art.

She then speculates that one alternative interpretation of this idea derives from how we understand "local" factors.

> All the sources of influence labeled and documented as Byzantine, provincial-Byzantine, local early Christian, and Muslim, may be considered as one, local. They may well be separate features with a common denominator, different aspects of a Christian school of art existing with no interruption from the early Christian period,... experiencing a revival with the re-establishment of Christian rule over the holy places. The driving force behind the preservation of a Christian artistic presence in the Holy Land before the Crusades would naturally be local Orthodox Christianity under the Byzantine Protectorate. So we can easily imagine that when Christian rule was renewed in Jerusalem and the arts flourished in the service of new masters, the local Orthodox Christian artists were enrolled. Perhaps [this happened] not immediately after the conquest [in 1099], but after a little while, and in cases where local skill was needed, either because Western artists were not always sufficiently available, or because the locals had particular crafts unknown in the West, and therefore especially attractive.[107]

This is an interesting reflection on the early circumstances of the art of the Crusaders and who the artists were. She further nuances this idea as follows:

> It seems... more correct to... seek the local character of Crusader art in its local roots and not in hypothetical attributions to putative locally-bred artists of an unbroken tradition. As we have seen, "local" does not necessarily and exclusively mean local artists, but mainly local past, local interests, local beliefs. This definition of the local character of Crusader art may be much more productive than the search for lost identities or indirect, written proofs of artistic activities. Its advantage consists in giving priority to monuments, weight to their similarities and dissimilarities, preference to form and style, and importance to content and intrinsic message.[108]

Her view represents a significant expansion of the role of the local in the art of the Crusaders. In proposing it she goes far beyond what Buchthal identified as "local style" or "local tradition," privileges workshops over artists, and because she is focusing on the twelfth century, we do not know how this will play out in the thirteenth. However, the emphasis she places on the likely role of the Eastern Christian artistic tradition and their workshops and artists as part of Crusader developments is an important contribution to the construction of a fully articulated idea of Crusader art.

Lucy-Anne Hunt also contributed to the discussion and critique of Crusader art conceptualized as a colonial art, and as Kühnel's predecessor, she first emphasized the role of indigenous Christians in the development of Crusader art. She writes that the idea of Crusader art had developed out of a Eurocentric frame of reference, that

> The art historical concept of "Crusader" art is grounded... in a preoccupation with colonialization from a western point of view. It is envisaged as a composite, the output of western artists of different nationalities confronting Byzantine art.[109]

However, she argues on the basis of her analysis of the major project to decorate the Church of the Nativity in 1167–9, during the reign of King Amaury I, that Crusader art here was rooted in the dynamics of the local Christian tradition. She concludes her discussion by saying that

> there is, then, every reason to suppose that the mosaic work at Bethlehem belongs within a lively artistic tradition maintained by indigenous artists throughout the period of the Latin Kingdom. The major building and renovation projects of the twelfth century were understandably undertaken with an eye to surpassing the major local Muslim monuments of the past....
>
> This interpretation of the mosaic program at Bethlehem identifies a third, indigenous, dimension to an understanding of art in the Latin East, challenging the concept of an exclusively bipolar western-Byzantine "Crusader" art.[110]

This, in effect, in 1991 laid the basis for the interpretation of Kühnel in 1995.

Annemarie Weyl Carr as a Byzantinist has mostly addressed the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land indirectly, but she has devoted a substantial part of her scholarly career to the art of medieval Cyprus. Dealing with Cyprus, she has raised important issues that have relevance to the art of the mainland Crusader States. For example, in 1995 she wrote:

> On many levels – of style, iconography, ornament, Morellian detail – thirteenth-century Cyprus belongs with Syria and South Italy to an artistic commonwealth. Its shared elements are as yet impossible to sort out and assign to a one-way stream of artistic influence, be it eastward from Italy to Cyprus and Syria, be it westward from Cyprus and Syria to Italy. Bound in the twelfth century to the Constantinopolitan circle of influence, Cyprus became in the thirteenth a constituent in a very different circle that stretched from Italy to the Syrian mainland. The play of artistic borrowing within this circle is not well understood. Syrian immigration to Cyprus was heavy in the thirteenth century, but if one explains the

> appearance of similar forms in Italy as a radiation of influence from Cyprus, then the Orthodox art of Cyprus in the thirteenth century acquires a centrality that is still hard to imagine. What seems clear, however, is that the island had an Orthodox artistic tradition, a tradition that was sturdy enough to subsume within it the patronage of westerners who sojourned on Cyprus. Moreover, it was an artistic tradition with its own geography. Though it incorporates elements that are seen in the west, these elements are in no sense specifically Lusignan or in any clear sense Crusader: they can be called Crusader only in the most generic sense, in which sense "Crusades" serves as a shorthand for the vast range of commercial and religious networks that spun across the Mediterranean in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[111]

As for direct interaction between the art of Cyprus and the mainland Crusader States, she too sees the development largely in terms of a shift from the Latin Kingdom to the Kingdom of Cyprus in the late thirteenth century.[112] Despite the fact of joint rule by the kings of Cyprus over both the island and the Latin Kingdom, starting in 1268 with Hugh III, very little is known of Crusader art patronage on Cyprus until later. "Only when the fall of Acre dispatches a group of practiced patrons to Cyprus does Latin patronage make its visible appearance. This is a full century after the Lusignans had arrived on the island."[113]

Beyond Cyprus, Annemarie Weyl Carr has also studied the painting of Cilician Armenia and its relationship to both Byzantine and Crusader art in the thirteenth century. It is out of her discerning analysis of stylistic links between certain Sinai icons with regard to Cilician Armenian work that one of the most difficult and fascinating issues is identified yet again. In discussing a late-thirteenth-century double-decker icon now in the Monastery of St. Catherine, which contains the Crucifixion above and the Nativity below Sinai, she draws attention to its remarkable characteristics, both hybrid and unique.[114] The combination of these two scenes presented in this manner is unusual, and it is particularly notable that the Crucifixion is represented in a smaller image than the Nativity. The dramatic colorism, the preponderance of eight-pointed stars, the explosive star of Bethlehem, the angular forms, and jagged outlines all suggest a vigorous Armenian style related to the early fourteenth-century artist, Sargis Pitsak. However, in the end, Weyl Carr wonders whether the icon might not conceiveably be Latin. She notes the Gothic style three-nail Crucifixion, the style of Christ's loincloth, the nature of the stars, the bursts of light, and the colors, along with the lack of any Armenian inscriptions. The only inscriptions are, in fact, the standard Greek abbreviations, done in letters of variable size and shape. The iconography is challenging, not only the Crucifixion type, but also the exotic three magi, two with Armenian-type headdress and one swarthy and oriental-looking with an intriguing round type of cap. The issue is, clearly, who could the artist be? What is the artist: Is he Armenian or Crusader, or something else? It is one of the classic issues that one faces constantly when studying painting in the multicultural context of the Near East in this period. We are still searching for new ways to evaluate this problem.

Another Byzantinist who has also contributed to the discussion of Crusader art is Robin Cormack. As he noted in his 1984 article, "there is no agreement yet over the proper use of the term 'Crusader Art,' and the methods for discovering whether individual artists involved were trained in western Europe or Byzantium need assessment and refinement."[115] This discussion has been proceeding as we have indicated. However, now Cormack has recently followed Hans Belting in identifying the Venetian sphere of influence in the Mediterranean as constituting a crucial multicultural zone within the Byzantine orbit in which the Crusaders also operate. Cormack has lately drawn particular attention to the importance of artistic developments on Crete in the period 1210 to 1669, during which time it was under the jurisdiction of Venice.[116] He points out that Crete offers an exceptional opportunity for modern scholars to understand better the process of icon making, because of the late medieval practice of signing and dating icons, by among others, more than 120 painters who lived and worked in Candia in the second half of the fifteenth century. Noting that Kurt Weitzmann decided that the first step in dealing with hundreds of unstudied icons in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai was to "identify the leading ateliers," a similar approach can be tried on Crete. The difference is that notarial records associated with Crete may be combined with signed and dated icons to help us understand how work was carried out, for whom, and for what purposes. None of the same type of documentary evidence exists for the Crusader icons on Sinai, but careful study of the material relating to Crete in the fifteenth century may substantially assist research on the icons from somewhat different circumstances in thirteenth-century Sinai. Interpretation of the new material will be challenging. Nonetheless, these Cretan icons in the fifteenth century offer the best opportunity – better than those on Cyprus – to observe the final stage in the history of the Byzantine icon, a stage in which the artists knew Western ideas from material on the island, or from direct knowledge of Italy, in particular the art of Venice. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is a situation comparable to the production of the so-called Crusader icons at St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai, *c.*1250–91, in which Western ideas and contact with Italy were also important factors.

We can also mention Maria Georgopoulou's work in presenting our remarks here. Along with Robin Cormack and other Byzantinists of late, such as George Galavaris, among others, Georgopoulou has also focused her attention on Crete, most directly on the late medieval architecture.[117] However, she has also sought an understanding of the Levantine market as it existed in the later Middle Ages in the eastern Mediterranean, beginning with the thirteenth century. In this art historical material, she has endeavored

> to view the arts of the crusades as a product of a rich and complex society that reflects its multiethnic makeup and actively constructs its identity. The crusader states which were established in the area of Greater Syria in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries offer paramount examples of polyglot and multicultural societies. The eclectic/hybrid arts produced in this environment are usually viewed (and taught) as products of two clashing traditions, East and West. In the end of the twentieth century distinctions between East and West are not only unhelpful, but are increasingly difficult to sustain and theoretically suspect. First, the vagueness of such essentialist terms makes them hard to define – especially for the study of artifacts and buildings which were made in the plural societies of the crusades. Second, this reasoning posits a constant struggle between Western Latin, Byzantine Orthodox or other Oriental Christian, and Islamic cultures and implicitly denies the possibility of any consensus among the ethnic

groups residing in this area. In fact, such paradigms recall the testimony of the medieval "Western" settlers who grouped all the inhabitants of the crusader states into one category.[118]

Finally, we should note that the debate over the nature of Crusader style, the identification of Crusader artists, and the idea of Crusader art continues at a brisk pace with a wide spectrum of views. Following on from Mouriki's proposal that "we may wonder if Crusader painting, according to the traditional definition, is a less substantial reality than has been assumed,"[119] one art historian has recently written: "Perhaps another question emerges from the preceeding discussion [of two iconostasis beams from Sinai]: does it not appear that the concept of 'Crusader icons' is the figment of an art historical imagination?"[120] Taking a more constructive view is Robin Cormack in his recent article on "Crusader Art and Artistic Technique: Another Look at a Painting of St George." Here he discusses the views of Doula Mouriki published in 1986 and 1990, shortly before her untimely death, and adds his own valuable analysis and comments. He observes that,

> as a consequence of her systematic studies on the icons of Cyprus and Sinai, she [Mouriki] reached the conclusion that the category of Crusader icons which Weitzmann had proposed should almost entirely be deconstructed. The category as a whole represented a very small amount of the surviving icons from Sinai, something like 120 icons out of the thousands in the collection, and only a few pieces in this small group seemed to her indisputably linked to the production of artists from the West. She was overall critical of the binary framework set up by Buchthal and Weitzmann, in whose analysis it was implied that Western artists produced the *maniera greca* for the contemplation of Western patrons, while Byzantine artists produced traditional "pure" Byzantine imagery for Orthodox patrons.
>
> The criticisms of the binary division of Crusader art into "pure" and "composite" made by Mouriki and other art historians is clearly fundamental. Such a polarity does not do justice to the complex artistic production and viewing of any multi-cultural society, nor indeed to the variety of Byzantine art itself.[121]

I certainly agree that this binary paradigm and the assumptions associated with it constitute an oversimplification with regard to Crusader painting in the thirteenth century, one that I have attempted to discuss in the chapters in this book at some length. Viewed from the perspective of whom the artists may have been and what we can know about them, it seems to me we must change our assumptions about and understanding of who made Crusader art. Some artists seem to have been purely Byzantine trained, with all the variety and complexity that that implies. Some artists seem to have been purely Western trained, such as the Paris–Acre Master. A few artists may have been Westerners who came to the Latin East early in their lives and were mostly trained in the Latin East, but it is difficult to identify very many of them. However, the majority of the artists we seem to have doing Crusader art appear to have been Crusader artists, that is, Frankish artists mostly born locally and trained locally by other Crusader artists.

To this expanded and reconfigured paradigm, I gladly add the suggestion introduced by Cormack in his article, in which he proposes that, in addition to traditional art historical methods of stylistic and iconographic analysis, "an alternative approach must be to ask whether technical considerations might be able to offer the possibility of progress over the nature of production of some of these paintings."[122] However, I think we should be realistic about the fact that although scientific study can no doubt help us, technical considerations can only help to some extent. Interpreting the best data correctly will still be the challenge and the serious task of the art historian, and as we have seen in other such endeavors in other fields – I am thinking of Early Netherlandish Painting, or the Rembrandt Project – technical considerations often raise as many questions as they answer. That being said, it would nonetheless be quite wonderful if arrangements could be made to submit the Crusader icons at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai to scientific study in a first-rate conservation laboratory.

CRUSADER ART VIEWED TODAY

The ideas and the discussions cited in the previous section have all contributed to our idea of "What is Crusader art?" and to what works of art and architecture constitute the *corpus* of this art. What, then, have our researches enabled us to see about Crusader art in the thirteenth century since 1957–63? It appears that more of the ecclesiastical architecture and the architectural sculpture is to be dated to the twelfth century, whereas even though many castles are built in the twelfth century, more fortification architecture seems to have been built in the thirteenth century – newly built, added on to, repaired, rebuilt – as we have seen. Crusader painting is spread – however unevenly – over the nearly two-hundred-year period, 1099 to 1291. In architecture, clearly R. D. Pringle's efforts to survey and publish a *corpus* of Crusader churches, the first two volumes of which were published in 1993 and 1998,[123] is a truly major contribution, but there are major *desiderata* as yet unclaimed: a monograph on the Holy Sepulcher, and monographs on other major churches like the Church of Notre Dame in Tortosa. We need major architectural studies of Crusader Jerusalem and Acre like that of Michael Burgoyne on Mamluk Jerusalem,[124] and more archaeological work on major sites. We have a recent book on Jerusalem,[125] but we need others on sites like those of Margat Castle, Saone (Sahyun), Antioch (Antakya), and Edessa (Urfa). In architectural sculpture, the *corpus* of Crusader sculpture begun by the late Zehava Jacoby is still in need of completion and publication. Although it is true, as we mentioned earlier, that much work has been done on Crusader sculpture since 1977, only when we have a complete catalogue raisonnée can we fully assess the charge that Demus laid in his review, namely, that the sculpture was so heterogeneous as to defy a common label such as Crusader art.[126]

Meanwhile in the realm of monumental painting, Gustav Kühnel will hopefully publish shortly a study of Crusader mosaics, focusing his attention on the extremely important mosaics in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, a companion volume to his excellent work on Crusader fresco painting, which appeared in 1988 with outstanding plates.[127] Although we have significantly more extant monumental painting – mosaics and fresco painting – in the twelfth century, which accords with the extant architectural work, manuscript illumination and icons are important media demonstrating that the figural arts link Crusader developments of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. On the other hand, we should remember that the significant majority of illustrated manuscripts and icons appears to date to the period from 1250 to 1291, yet not all the known material is fully published in either medium. The fact remains that of the approximately 120 "Crusader" icons at Sinai with Greek and Latin inscriptions, something just over half have been previously published, and we have added certain other icons from this group at St. Catherine's in this volume, along with a preliminary illustrated handlist to introduce the others into the scholarly debate.[128]

Other media in the so-called minor arts – ivories, textiles, metalwork, seals, and coins – need to be brought more fully into the overall picture of Crusader artistic developments. Recently the famous ivory covers on the Melisende Psalter have received serious study by Bianca Kühnel, and several other studies are in progress.[129] Two recent publications of Crusader numismatics have expanded our knowledge of this essential field,[130] and we also await the publication of the Grierson collection of Crusader coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Also the varied and important metalwork recently published needs to be integrated into the picture of Crusader developments in the Near East. It is the coins and the metalwork in particular, along with some of the icons and frescoes, that are opening up our view of Crusader art outside of the Latin Kingdom, that is, in the northern Crusader States, such as Antioch and Tripoli. We especially need further investigation into the metalwork, enameled glass, and other minor arts of the "Levantine market" to shed further light on the identifiable objects, the artists, and the dynamics of Crusader minor arts all through the thirteenth century.

In sum, it is certain that the study of Crusader art, especially thirteenth-century Crusader art, is currently a lively field of inquiry – witness the debates over what it is and about which works of art belong to the *corpus*, as well as the major projects underway at this moment. It continues to be invigorated by certain new discoveries, recent finds, and important publications that have been published in the decade of the 1990s up to the present day. Let me mention just a few:

1. Martin Biddle and his team are in the process of doing a full photogrammetric study of the aedicule of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and have already made a number of finds of significance for the structure in the Crusader period as seen in his recent book (1999) and in previous articles.[131]
2. Thilo Ulbert's volume on the Crusader period silver treasure discovered in the excavations at Resafa in Syria appeared in 1990, greatly expanding the type of metalwork known from Crusader ateliers *c.* 1200.[132] We look forward to future archaeological discoveries and publications of this importance to further deepen our understanding of Crusader metalwork.
3. In 1991 Peter Edbury, in the course of his work on a new edition of the *Livre des Assises* by Jean d'Ibelin, discovered a "new" manuscript illustrated by the Paris–Acre Master in Acre – the artist formerly known as the Hospitaller Master – in a codex of the *Livre des Assises*, now in the Marciana Library in Venice.[133]
4. In 1997 John Porteous published the catalogue of the John J. Slocum collection of Crusader coins. This collection contains fine examples of all the major issues of the thirteenth century, and this catalogue is clearly an important contribution to the further study of Crusader numismatics.[134]

We look forward to other important new finds and new publications in the future.

What then can we say about the nature of Crusader art today? Over 107 years ago, in 1897, the great French Byzantinist and Orientalist, Charles Diehl, published a paper on "Les monuments de l'orient latin."[135] His Crusader monuments were limited to major castles, churches, sculptures, mosaics, frescoes, and coins – he cited no manuscripts, no metalwork, no panel paintings – and he characterized the art as produced by a "société latine transplanté dans la terre de Syrie." Nonetheless he clearly understood that this society was both composite and complex, and that the art reflected the same character.

In 2004, Crusader art looks very different to us in many ways: impressively expanded in the *corpus* of examples, significantly richer in its variety and multiculturalism with significant artistic interpenetration, and more complex in terms of its development. Moreover in contrast to Diehl, today we are beginning to distinguish clearly among separate developments in the greater Crusader East: Along with the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land (1098–1291), we also find Crusader art on Cyprus after 1191, the art of Frankish Greece after 1204, and the art of the Latin Empire in Constantinople (1204–61), not to mention the art of the Armenians in Cilician Armenia, and of the Maronites and Melkites, Greek Orthodox, and Syrian Orthodox in mainland Syria-Palestine.

It seems clear that all of these Eastern Christian developments are important for understanding Crusader art. Whereas the art on Cyprus and Armenian art have both received a certain amount of attention,[136] the other developments remain somewhat mysterious and require further investigation. Important studies have been published in all of these other areas, but more attention is needed to understand the relationship between Crusader art and these local traditions. For the art of the Latin Empire, the pivotal work remains the frescoes of the St. Francis chapel in what is now the Kalenderhane Djami,[137] but important questions exist with regard to the production of illustrated manuscripts and icons in Constantinople, as well as frescoes elsewhere in the lands of the Latin Empire in this period.[138] The work of local Christian artists in Syria-Palestine during the era of the Crusader States is particularly crucial in assessing artistic identity and workshops, for which we have a number of recent studies that contribute substantial new light on very difficult, but very fascinating and rewarding material.[139]

In sum, then, our proposition here is that the major art produced in the mainland Crusader States between 1098 and 1291 was produced for Frankish or Crusader patrons, by local Crusader or even Frankish and sometimes indigenous Christian artists, many or even most of whom were associated with the Crusade movement. As such it merits being called the "art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land," rather than "colonial art in the Crusader States," or the "art of the Crusader settlers," the "art of the 'lingua franca,'" or even primarily "Crusader art," although we regularly use this last term as a shorthand reference. This art is diverse and includes pilgrimage art, ecclesiastical art, royal art, art for the military orders, especially the Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights, religious and secular art for knights, men, and women of the aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and merchants, most of whom initially were Franks from the West, and later many were Frankish settlers in the Crusader States of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa. By contrast, this art does not include the work of indigenous Christians done for their own communities, be they Orthodox Greeks or Arabs, Syrian Orthodox or Jacobites, Maronites, or Armenians, Copts, or Ethiopians, but the work of these Eastern Christians is crucial for understanding what is Crusader about the art of the Crusaders as I have indicated previously. By our working hypothesis then, a Crusader work was either commissioned by a Crusader or Frankish patron and/or produced by a Crusader artist in the Crusader States. We have also addressed questions of function, of form, of content, of technique, even of medium, but these cannot as yet be fully spelled out in Crusader terms in all examples.

So, even if we cannot as yet fully answer the question, "What is Crusader art?" on mainland Syria-Palestine, we can say that it is a major chapter in the history of European and Near Eastern art in the Mediterranean world of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that is now starting to take shape. We can also say that just as dramatic advances were made in the study of Crusader art in the periods from 1910 to 1934 and 1957 to 1977, the two decades from 1990 to 2010 promise equally significant contributions in light of all the important work currently underway by so many scholars. No doubt when we observe the 900th anniversary of the Crusader capture of Tripoli on 12 July 1109, in 2009, and in 2099 the 1,000th anniversary of the taking of Jerusalem by the First Crusade on 15 July 1099, the answers to the question "What is Crusader art?" will be much more clearly in view!

THE END OF CRUSADER ART AND REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPACT OF THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS ON WESTERN EUROPE

To conclude this discussion we can briefly comment on the phenomenon of Crusader art in terms of how it ended. It is a remarkable fact that when Saladin inflicted a catastrophic defeat on the Crusaders at Hattin in 1187 and then invaded the Latin Kingdom capturing Jerusalem, he nearly succeeded in ending the Crusader States during his mostly successful campaign, 1187–9. For a brief time there was in effect an hiatus in the production of Crusader art until the Third Crusade reconquered Acre, at which time Crusader art resumed there, so to speak, in the new capital of the kingdom. When Acre fell in 1291, however, the Crusaders were effectively eliminated from mainland Syria-Palestine, with only a few small holdings left, such as the Templars on the small island of Ruad off the coast of Tortosa until 1303.

In these new circumstances Crusader art only continued, at a much reduced level, not on Ruad, but on the island of Cyprus. It was recognizably Crusader, but a different version. Perhaps the surprising thing is that it did not reidentify itself as the new Crusader art, as we saw it happen in Acre in 1191. Crusader artists and patrons did not choose to continue the developments seen in the previous decades, under the influence of the refugee Crusaders from Acre in 1291, especially the Hospitallers and the Templars, and the fleeing clergy. Rather it developed as the Crusader art of Lusignan Cyprus, which is distinctive and separate despite a brief period of what we might call overlap and interactive dynamics in the late 1280s and early 1290s.

When Crusader art on the Syro-Palestinian mainland ceased to be produced, we notice certain important consequences. One effect in certain media is like that of turning out the lights. In panel painting, for example, we do not, perhaps cannot, know whether any Crusader work was continued at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai after 1291, but it appears that such work stopped. This suggests clearly that patronage for such works stopped, and the Crusader artists who had been there were no longer available. What happened in the West of course was that the substantial impact that Byzantine-influenced painting and Byzantine- or Crusader-trained painters had been having, in the second half of the thirteenth century especially, declined precipitously in strength and importance. Such stimulus did not stop after the fall of the Latin Empire in 1261, but it ceased after 1291. In Tuscany, for example, the strongly Byzantine-influenced styles of Cimabue and Duccio gave way to the art of Giotto in the early fourteenth century. To some large extent this must mean that the stimulus provided by Crusader panel painting in terms of actual works, painters and their techniques and styles, as well as their patrons, and the functions of the art they produced was terminated, and so Western art changed accordingly. The specific details of how, when, and where this happened remain to be worked out.

It is, however, notable and important to observe that in manuscript illumination, the French Gothic style of the Paris–Acre Master did live on in the West briefly, for about a decade after 1291.[140] We see this in the output of French artists working in the style of the Paris–Acre Master, producing a series of miniature cycles done between 1291 and the early fourteenth century. See, for example, a codex with two *romans* (Paris, BN MS fr. 19166) and a manuscript of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (Paris, BN MS fr. 1533). There are also manuscripts of *Tristan* (London, Brit. Lib. Royal MS 20.D.II), of the Arthurian vulgate cycle (Tours, Bibl. Mun. MS 951), and, not surprisingly, of the *History of Outremer* (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9492-3). Overall these manuscripts contain the work most closely related to the style of the Paris–Acre Master, and this last codex is important as containing the illustrations in which the stylistic tradition of the Paris–Acre Master finds its strongest reflection in the West.[141]

There are other manuscripts in which the style of the Paris–Acre Master is followed more distantly. We have a manuscript in Lyon, unfortunately now very damaged (Lyon, Palais des Arts MS 29), which has a fragmentary cycle from the *History of Outremer*, but is the work of an artist closely linked to the Brussels codex (MS 9492-3) just mentioned. There is also a *Histoire Universelle* codex now in Brussels (Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 18295) that is related more distantly. In Epinal we have another *History of Outremer* (Epinal, Bibl. Mun. MS 45), which is very handsomely done by two artists, obviously related to the group of manuscripts done under the influence of the Paris–Acre Master, but demonstrating a rather independent approach to the imagery of the cycle. Finally, at the end of these developments, we have two other manuscripts, one in Milan, a *Guillaume* *d'Orange* (Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana, MS 1025), and the other a Bible in Copenhagen (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott MS 7) in which the style related to that of the Paris–Acre Master is last seen in any recognizable form.[142]

It is perhaps not surprising that the Crusader styles found in the miniature cycles in Acre had much less of an impact in formal terms. There is, of course, the case of the *Histoire Universelle* now in Paris, BN, MS fr. 9682, dated about 1300, which Buchthal characterized as "a faithful and very unattractive second-rate copy of a manuscript from Acre, in a style clearly derived from that of the miniatures in Dijon [MS 562] and Brussels [MS. 10175]."[143] There is also the case of the single miniature in the Vegetius manuscript now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, a case still unresolved.[144] However, beyond this the impact of Acre school miniatures seems otherwise to have been mainly effected in iconographical terms. Indeed, we can see the spread of miniature cycles from the Acre school into not only France and England, but also Italy and the Netherlands. Some of these examples are found in the manuscripts cited earlier related to the French Gothic tradition of the Paris–Acre Master. From Italy, however, we have manuscripts in very different styles, a *History of Outremer* (Paris, BN, MS fr. 2631) possibly done in Lombardy after 1291, and two other codices, one a *History of Outremer* and the other a *Fait des Romains*, both done in Rome in 1295 and 1293, respectively, for a member of the Savelli family (Paris, BN, MS fr. 9082, and Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 10168-72).[145]

The Epinal codex mentioned earlier raises another issue that is also part of the impact of the Acre school miniatures on the West. In most cases these manuscripts done in the West follow Western cycles for the texts involved, but we do have some cases of manuscripts done in the West in a local Western style that follow Acre school iconographic paradigms. Such is the case for a manuscript in Baltimore (Walters Art Museum, MS 137), which follows some of the same models used by the Epinal codex, but reflects their common sources more faithfully. Such is also the case for another manuscript in Baltimore (Walters Art Museum, MS 142), which follows Acre school iconographic cycles and format for nineteen of its twenty-two historiated initials.[146]

The irony of the situation is that the latest manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* to show links with Crusader Acre simply add a new text to, as it were, finish the story. Two codices exist in which this new text is also given an illustrated panel (Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat. MS Reg. Suec. Lat. 737) or an historiated initial (Paris, BN MS fr. 2825), both done *c.*1300 or shortly thereafter. These illustrations demonstrate that the narrative style of earlier cycles could be drawn on for use with a new text, namely, the account known as the "*De Excidio Urbis Acconis.*" Thus in both of these manuscripts the basic translated text of William of Tyre's History is combined with the continuation to 1261, which is the usual continuation found in the West. Then the intervening thirty years are ignored and the story of the fall of Acre, in the form of the "*De Excidio Urbis Acconis,*" is appended to bring the story up to 1291. Just as the first illustrations are being done for texts about the fall of Acre, all connections are being lost with the Crusader art that had been done there.[147]

Amazingly enough, however, it is worth observing that the greatest impact of Crusader art on the West in the thirteenth century so far recognized is associated with the painting medium, which has most recently been identified to have a strong Crusader development. The problem is that our understanding of what that impact was and the dynamics of how it occurred are still to be explained in detail. Whereas with icons and panel painting there seems to be clear indication that Crusader painting played an important role in the transmission of Crusader- and Byzantine-inspired ideas to the West, the specific mechanisms for understanding the process are still to be revealed. The situation with manuscripts is also quite unclear, but there seems to have been much less influence in the West than that with the icons.

In other media, even though mosaics were very important in the twelfth century in the Crusader East, in the thirteenth century the largest Crusader mosaic project appears to have been a program of secular decorations carried out for the palace at Beirut, whereas by contrast it is religious mosaics that are most important in the West, especially in Venice at San Marco and in Florence in the baptistery of the Duomo. There are so few extant examples of fresco painting and stained glass from the Crusader States yet identified in the thirteenth century that it is difficult to know what the relationship may have been in comparison with the prodigious output in Italy and France, for example, in these media at this time.

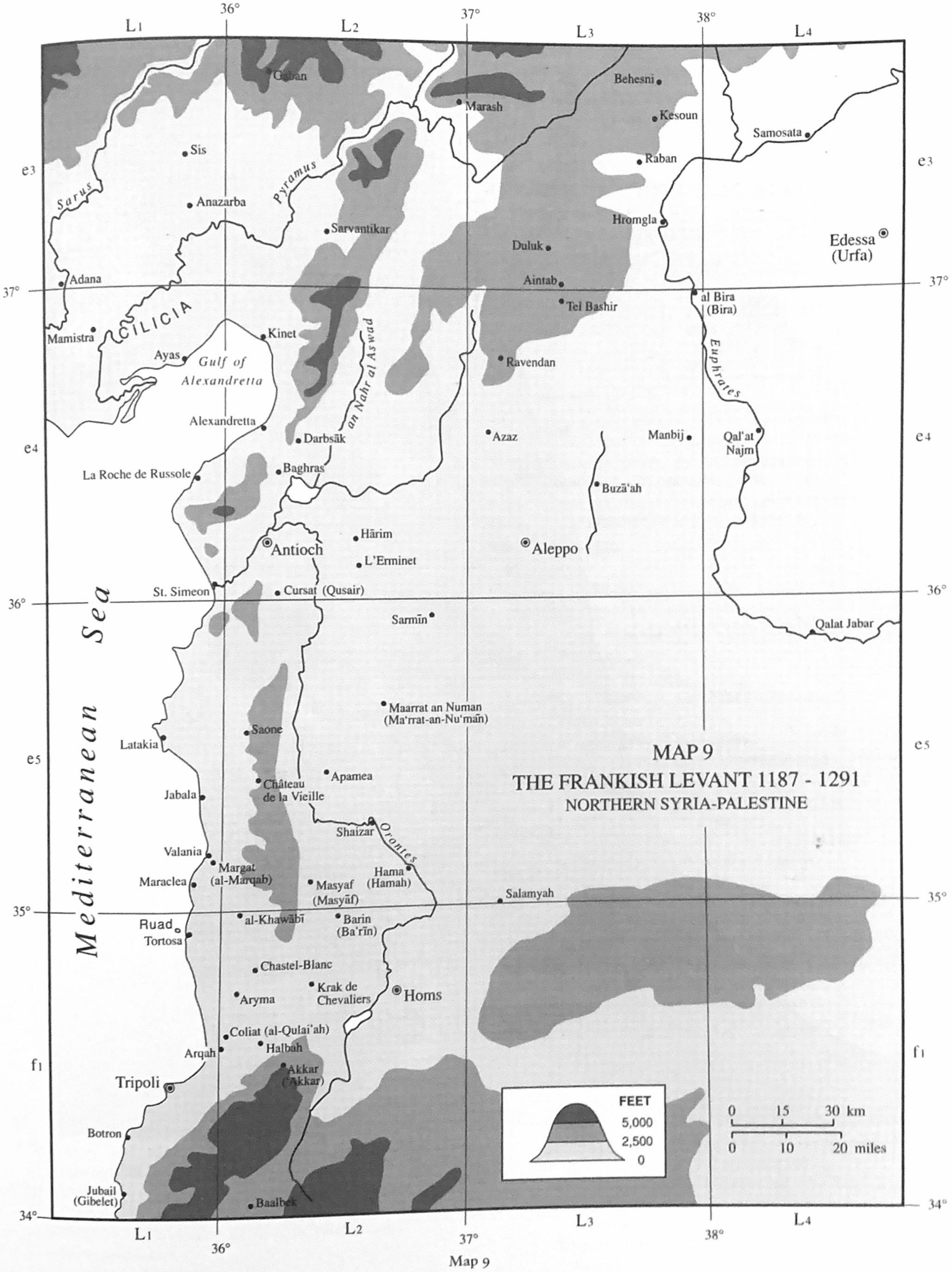
Other media, especially those in the so-called minor arts, are linked to the West in different ways. Clearly the coinage of the Crusader States has its own distinctive character, but as the thirteenth century moves along, and especially in the second half of the century, the interactive links between the Crusader East and France especially grow stronger. Just as Crusader panel painting may have played an important role in stimulating Italian Dugento artists, especially in Tuscany, it is also likely that Crusader coinage stimulated developments in France, especially in regard to the introduction of the *gros Tournois* in 1266.

The coins and seals are invaluable documents for certain types of development in the imagery of the Crusader States. The media of metalwork and glass, silk and luxury textiles are, however, more of a mystery to some extent. Although we have important examples in the first two media, as we have discussed earlier, the majority of works appear to be the products of Mamluk rather than Crusader workshops, but they are works attuned to the Levantine market in which the Crusaders participated. Does this mean that the production of luxury metalwork and glass devolved largely into the hands of Muslim artists accessible to the Crusaders? How and why are these media in particular specifically then associated with Venice from the end of the thirteenth century onward? To what extent were the Crusaders handling the commerce in silk, and to what extent were they contributing to its production, manufacture, and distribution? With regard to the minor arts referred to earlier, future research offers the potential for significant advances in our understanding as the dynamics of the Levantine market with regard to metalwork and glass, the study of silk making and the silk trade, and the further and fuller documentation of the production and distribution of pottery all become better known.

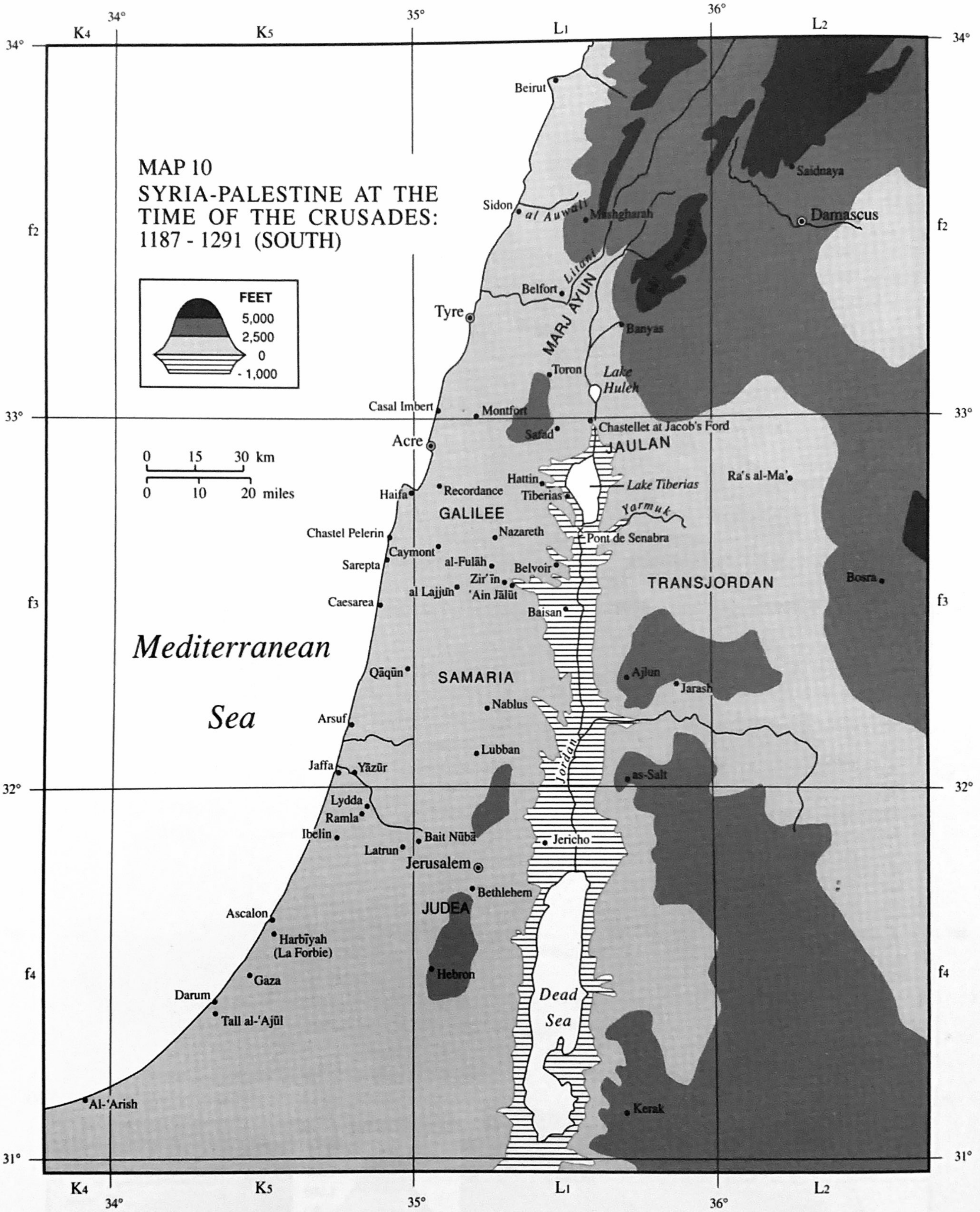
What is clear is that our picture of thirteenth-century art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land is very fragmentary, that much remains to be learned about the developments in certain media, and that our knowledge of what was produced for the Crusaders is very incomplete. The explanations for this are no doubt several, but we attribute the main reasons to be because of the serious destruction that surrounded the exit of the Crusaders from the Holy Land in 1291, the many works that must have been lost because of the upheavals that surrounded the momentous events of the turbulent years from 1268 to 1291, and even the impact that the establishment of the Latin Empire had on art production in the Crusader States farther east.

Finally we can reflect on the fact that after 1291, besides a few European attempts to reconquer the Holy Land in the ensuing decade,[148] a new attitude toward the Holy Land emerged in the West, a new mentality expressed in the "recovery" treatises that started to be written shortly after 1300.[149] Interest in the recovery of the Holy Land was still great and enthusiasm for the Crusade was still strong, as the widely circulated story of the Il Khan's, Ghazan's, recapture of Jerusalem in 1300 demonstrates.[150] However, the reality of the old Crusader Kingdom was gone. Not only had the Crusaders left the Holy Land, but also one of the main Crusader institutions was about to disappear, the Knights Templar. Furthermore, Pope Boniface VIII continued to be preoccupied with Sicily and France, and the French king, Phlippe IV le bel, was focused on royal power in the face of papal claims. To this latter end to some extent the Templars fell victim, and in 1312 the abolition of the Order of the Templars was announced by Pope Clement V. Everywhere on Cyprus and in Europe, except in the Iberian Peninsula, their possessions were given to the Hospitallers. In Spain, the possessions of the Templars were given partly to the Hospitallers, and partly to a new order approved by the pope, the Order of Montesa, in Valencia in the kingdom of Aragon. In Portugal, a second new order was established, the Order of Christo, which received the Templar possessions there.[151]

The trial of the Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, resulted in his imprisonment as a relapsed heretic on 18 March 1314. However, in the face of his vigorous protests and the retraction of his confession, he was condemned to burn at the stake as an obdurate heretic.[152] It was a dramatic end to a sordid chain of events, which had effectively started on Friday, 13 October 1307. Thus by the spring of 1314, the Knights Templar as an institution, which had been one of the pillars of the Crusader States in the Near East, had effectively disappeared from the scene; only individual and mostly isolated Templars survived.[153] Although the pope arranged for their possessions to go mostly to the Hospitallers, in order to maintain these resources for the recovery of Jerusalem, as he said,[154] the era of the great Crusades was past. Few future Crusader expeditions would touch the coast of Syria-Palestine, and these endeavors mostly took the form of raids, such as those by Peter of Cyprus in 1367 and 1369 or Jean Boucicaut in 1403. No more Crusader art would be produced on the mainland of what had been the Crusader States. Also the Crusader art on Cyprus, sponsored by the Lusignans, and on Rhodes, sponsored by the Hospitallers, now belonged to a new and different late medieval phase of European and Near Eastern history. Following the fall of Acre in 1291, the era of the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land was abruptly and definitively over.


MAP 9
THE FRANKISH LEVANT 1187 - 1291
NORTHERN SYRIA-PALESTINE
36°
37°
38°
L1
L2
L3
L4
e3
e4
e5
f1
37°
36°
35°
34°
Gaban
Marash
Behesni
Kesoun
Samosata
Sis
Raban
Sarus
Pyramus
Anazarba
Sarvantikar
Hromgla
Edessa
(Urfa)
Duluk
Adana
Aintab
Tel Bashir
al Bira
(Bira)
CILICIA
Mamistra
Kinet
Ayas
Gulf of
Alexandretta
an Nahr al Aswad
Ravendan
Euphrates
Alexandretta
Darbsāk
Azaz
Manbij
Qal'at
Najm
La Roche de Russole
Baghras
Buzā'ah
Hārim
Antioch
Aleppo
L'Erminet
St. Simeon
Cursat (Qusair)
Sarmīn
Qalat Jabar
Mediterranean Sea
Maarrat an Numan
(Ma'rrat-an-Nu'mān)
Saone
Latakia
Château
de la Vieille
Apamea
Jabala
Shaizar
Orontes
Valania
Margat
(al-Marqab)
Hama
(Hamah)
Maraclea
Masyaf
(Masyāf)
Salamyah
Ruad
Tortosa
al-Khawābī
Barin
(Ba'rīn)
Chastel-Blanc
Krak de
Chevaliers
Homs
Aryma
Coliat (al-Qulai'ah)
Halbah
Arqah
Tripoli
Akkar
('Akkar)
FEET
5,000
2,500
0
0 15 30 km
0 10 20 miles
Botron
Jubail
(Gibelet)
Baalbek

Map 9


MAP 10
SYRIA-PALESTINE AT THE TIME OF THE CRUSADES: 1187 - 1291 (SOUTH)
FEET
5,000
2,500
0
- 1,000
0 15 30 km
0 10 20 miles
K4
K5
L1
L2
34°
35°
36°
33°
32°
31°
f2
f3
f4
Mediterranean Sea
Beirut
Saidnaya
Damascus
Sidon
al Auwali
Mashgharah
Litani
Belfort
MARJ AYUN
Tyre
Banyas
Toron
Lake Huleh
Casal Imbert
Montfort
Safad
Chastellet at Jacob's Ford
Acre
JAULAN
Hattin
Tiberias
Lake Tiberias
Ra's al-Ma'
Haifa
Recordance
GALILEE
Yarmuk
Nazareth
Chastel Pelerin
Pont de Senabra
Caymont
Sarepta
al-Fulāh
Belvoir
Zir'īn
'Ain Jālūt
al Lajjūn
TRANSJORDAN
Bosra
Caesarea
Baisan
Qāqūn
SAMARIA
Ajlun
Jarash
Nablus
Arsuf
Jordan
Lubban
Jaffa
Yāzūr
as-Salt
Lydda
Ramla
Ibelin
Bait Nūbā
Latrun
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
JUDEA
Ascalon
Harbīyah
(La Forbie)
Gaza
Hebron
Darum
Dead Sea
Tall al-'Ajūl
Kerak
Al-'Arish

Map 10

APPENDIX

ANNOTATED HANDLIST OF WESTERN-INFLUENCED ICONS FROM THE MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE AT MOUNT SINAI AND ELSEWHERE

Presented in the following the reader will find a brief handlist of the Western-influenced icons from the collection found in St. Catherine's Monastery. The identification of these Sinai icons as Western influenced, or "Crusader," was initially made by Kurt Weitzmann and has been discussed and, in some cases, expanded by others as research has continued. The information contained in each entry includes the following:

- List number, which refers to my listing in the Appendix;
- Kurt Weitzmann's inventory numbers; his personal system of numbering the icons is retained here for art historical interest;
- The inventory number of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai and the Sinai Archive located in the Department of Art History at the University of Michigan; and
- Figure number, which refers to the reproduction in this book.

For example, in the following reference, "1. Gp 2-4/36 (Fig. 126)":

"1." is our handlist number;
"Gp 2-4" is the Weitzmann inventory number for group 2, number 4, in his system;
"36" is the unique sequential inventory number at the Sinai Archive of the University of Michigan; and
"Fig. 126" is the number of the reproduction in this book.

In citing these icons in my text, I have referred to the Michigan Sinai Archive inventory number because of the practical value of having a listing with numbers that are both sequential and distinctive for ease of reference and identification. Please note that the Sinai Archive number is neither a catalogue number for the photos of icons in the Sinai Archive nor a catalogue number for the icons in the Monastery at Mount Sinai; they are inventory numbers unique to the Sinai Archive. They came into existence according to the needs of the leaders of the Michigan–Princeton–Alexandria Expedition as their campaigns of photography progressed through the years. I use them to help identify the icons clearly for purposes of discussion.

This information is followed in each catalogue entry by four other components as available:

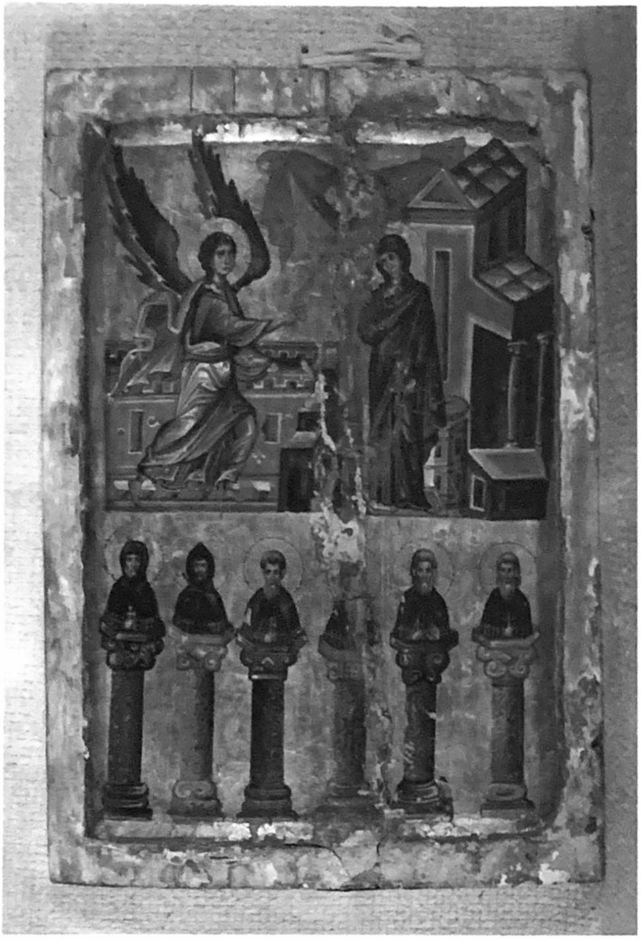
- Nature of the panel and measurements;
- Identification of the imagery of the icon, briefly stated;
- Condition notes; and
- Basic working bibliography.

This bibliography is meant to include important bibliographical references to the individual icons, but it should be understood that with the constant and widespread appearance of new publications on these icons, the bibliography cannot possibly hope to be complete. Readers should regard this as a working bibliography in progress, a point of departure.

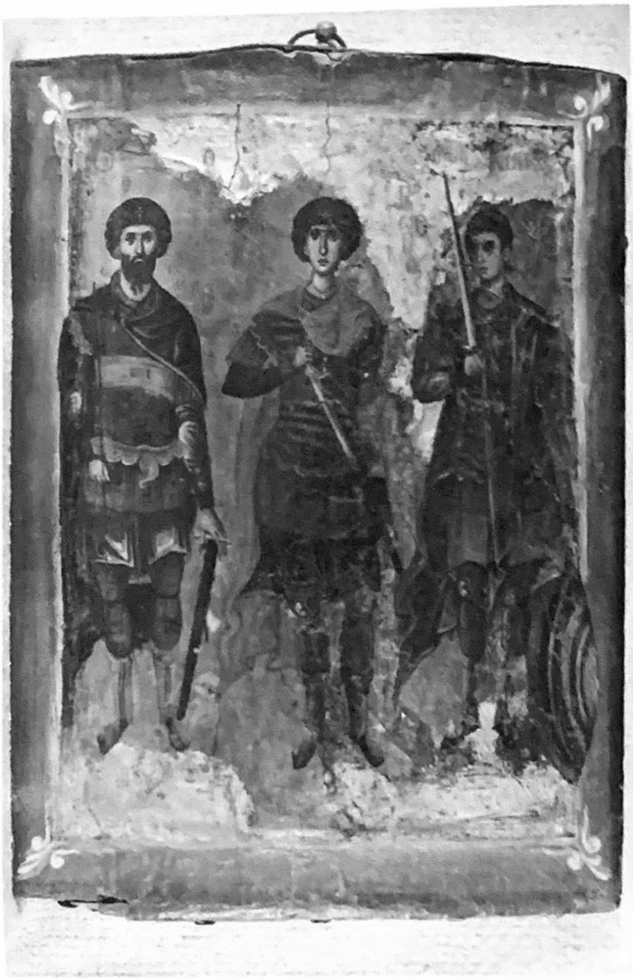
Please note that the abbreviations used throughout this Appendix are presented earlier in the List of Abbreviations at the start of this volume.

"Western-Influenced" or "Crusader" Icons in the Collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: A Handlist

1. Gp 2-4/36 (Fig. 126), panel: Intercessory Virgin, bust-length.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 6.
2. Gp 2-3/37 (Fig. 125), panel: Christ *Pantocrator*, bust-length.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 6.
3. Gp 2-21/38 (Fig. 127), panel: Intercessory St. John the Baptist, bust-length.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 6.
4. Gp 3-10/41 (Fig. 353), panel: Two register panels with Annunciation above, six stylite saints below.
    Unpublished.
5. Gp 3-8/44 (Fig. 180), small panel in excellent condition:
    Annunciation.
    Belting, "Introduction," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'Arte del XIII Secolo*, Bologna, 1982, p. 2, and Fig. 3.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
6. Gp 4-32/53 (Fig. 354), medium-sized panel:
    Three standing soldier saints: Saints George, Theodore, and Demetrius.
    Benesevic, V. N., *Monumenta Sinaitica Archaeologica et Palaeographica*, fasc. 1 [in Russian], Leningrad, 1925, col. 45, and Pl. 24.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
7. Gp 4-24/54 (Figs. 182, 355), small- to medium-sized panel, 32.0 cm h × 25.5 cm w × 2.0 cm (thick):
    Obverse: Virgin and Child standing, *n tns Batou*, with three holy figures: Moses, Elijah, and St. Nicholas/St. Gregory Nazianzen.
    Reverse: painted double-armed cross, and label with no. 263.
    Wood seriously warped with some splitting. Frame partly separated from the panel.



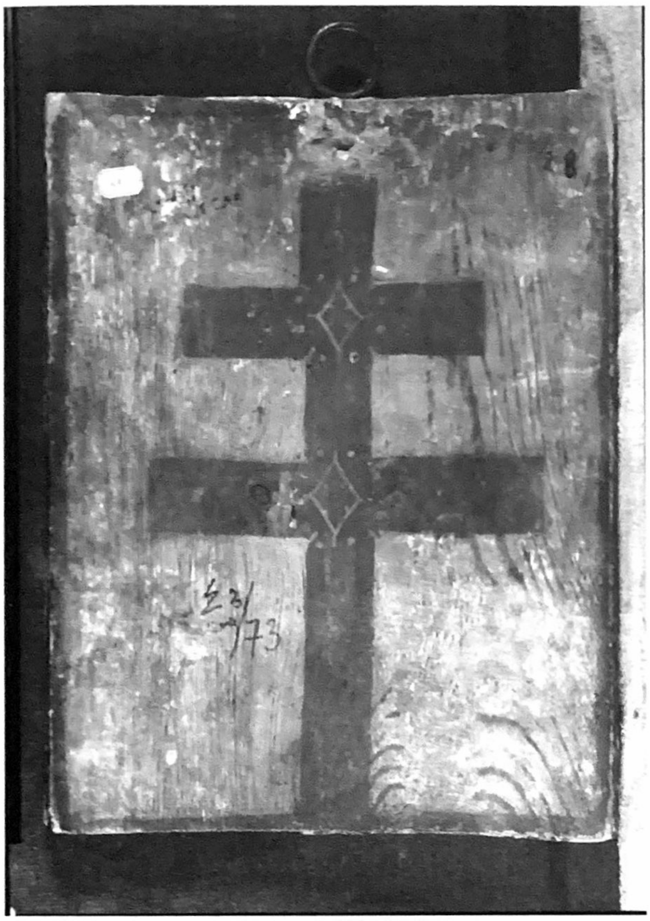
353. Sinai, App. no. 4/41. Annunciation and six Stylite Saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



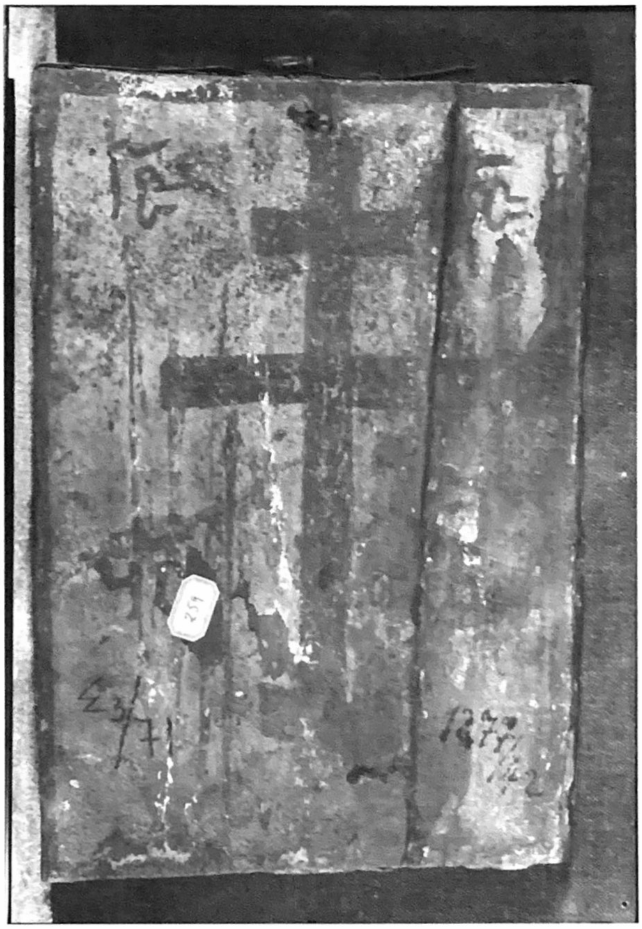
354. Sinai, App. no. 6/53. Standing Soldier Saints: Sts. George, Theodore and Demetrius. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Benesevic, V. N., *Monumenta Sinaitica Archaeologica et Palaeographica*, fasc. 1 [in Russian], Leningrad, 1925, cols. 39 ff., and Pl. 21.
Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 199–200.
Weitzmann, "An Encaustic Icon with the Prophet Elijah at Mount Sinai," [4 (1966)], pp. 720–2.
Weitzmann, *The Icon* [11 (1982)], pp. 217, 218, "French artist working at Sinai." Weitzmann changes his identification of the bishop from Gregory of Nazianzen to Nicholas in this discussion without explanation.
Icons, the Fascination, p. 72, "French artist working on Mount Sinai."
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

8. Gp 4-23/55 (Figs. 181, 356), small-sized panel, 24.5 cm h × 18.0 cm w × 1.7 cm (thick):
    Virgin and Child *Hodegetria Dexiokratousa*, bust-length.
    Reverse: double-armed cross, and label with no. 254.
    Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons" [1 (1963)], p. 200, Fig. 22.
    Weitzmann, *The Icon* [11 (982)], p. 219, "French artist working at Sinai."
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
9. Gp. 1-37/56 (Fig. 267), medium-sized panel, 33.7 × 26.6 cm:
    Crucifixion with Virgin swooning, John and four others.
    Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 194, 2, p. 177.
    Mouriki, *Sinai Treasures*, pp. 118, 193, no. 67; this work could have been produced "in an area of the Eastern Mediterranean where Venetian control was strong, such as Cyprus or Crete. I consider the work 'Crusader' since it may have been painted by a Western artist in the Latin-occupied East. However, there are no indications that the icon was commissioned by a Crusader."
    Derbes, A., "Siena and the Levant in the Later Dugento," *Gesta*, 28 (1989), pp. 192–7.
    Carr, A. Weyl, "Icon-Tact: Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, Symposium Papers (1994), ed. T. Mathews, New York, 1998, pp. 96–8.
    Evans, H. C., "224. Icon with the Crucifixion," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 367–8.
10. Gp 1-20/63 (Figs. 197–8), very large panel, 94.2 cm h × 62.8 cm w × 3.8 cm (thick):
    Bilateral icon; good condition, but major split in the wood down the center.
    Reverse: Two mounted soldier saints, Sergios and Bacchus; paint surface in excellent condition.
    Obverse: Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*, bust-length; paint surface heavily flaked; some repainting done in modern times.
    Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Figs. 185, 186, 2, pp. 170–1.
    Galey, *Sinai*, Fig. 99.



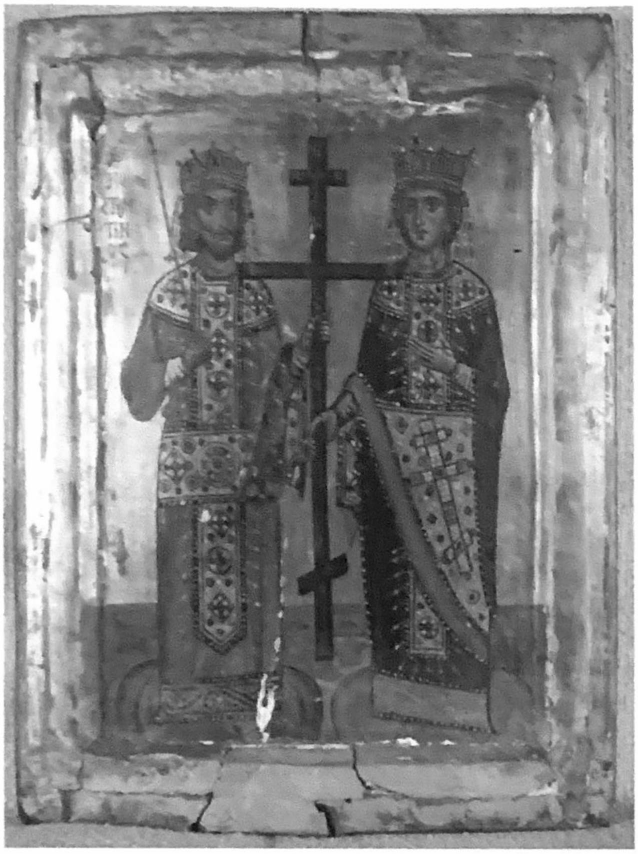
355. Sinai, App. no. 7/54. [Front: Virgin and Child *n tns Batou* with Moses, Elijah and St. Gregory Nazianzus] Reverse: Image of the True Cross. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



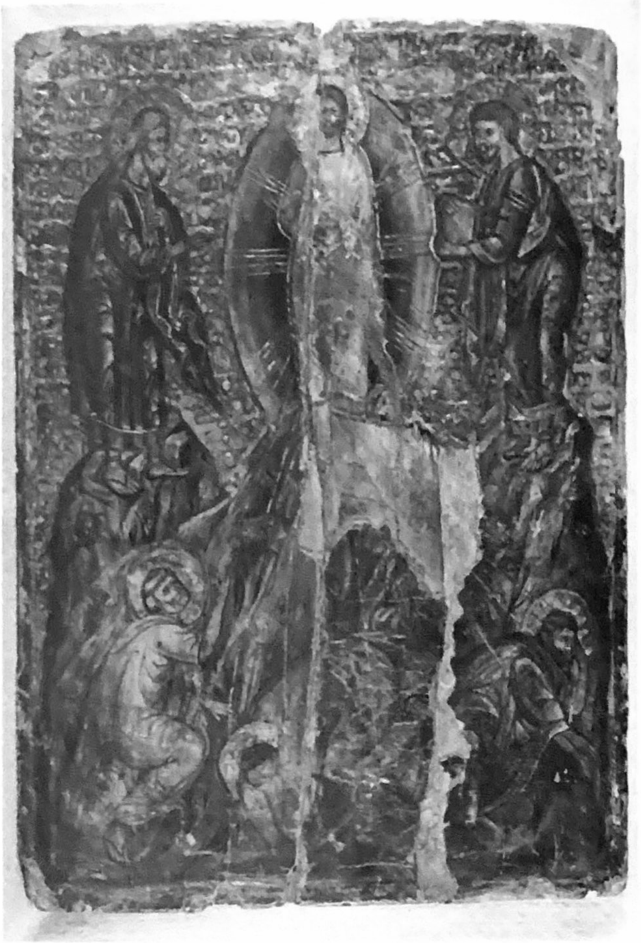
356. Sinai, App. no. 8/55. [Front: Virgin and Child *Hodegetria Dexiokratousa*] Reverse: Image of the True Cross. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14 (1984)], pp. 148–9, Figs. 3, 4, by an "artist who may, perhaps, have come from the South of Italy, though this is still an open question, and who . . . worked at Sinai."
Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," pp. 67–71, 112 Figs. 63, 64.
Pace, "L'analisi 'stilistica'," pp. 515, 525 Fig. 5.
Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer," p. 97, Figs. 2, 3.
Mouriki, *Sinai Treasures*, pp. 119, 192, no. 66, "dated to the end of the 13th century and attributed to a Crusader workshop located in Cyprus . . . and more specifically, to the resident Syrian minority."
Sinai, Byzantium, Russia, pp. 252–4, #S 63, "artist is likely to have been an Armenian icon-painter from Cilicia commissioned by a knight of the Kingdom of Antioch around 1260–1270."
Paliouras and Damianos, *The Monastery*, p. 26 and Figs. 125, 126.
Gerstel, S., "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. Laiou and R. Mottahedeh, Washington, DC, 2001, p. 268, and Fig. 5.
Folda, "230. Two-Sided Icon with the Virgin . . . and Saints . . . ," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 374–5.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

11. Gp 1-15/64 (Fig. 193), medium-sized panel, 33.0 × 25.0 cm:
    St. Simeon stylites and St. Barbara.
    Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 184, 2, pp. 169–70.
    Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 70–1, Fig. 46.
    Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer," p. 98, Fig. 7.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
12. Gp 2-11/76 (Fig. 213), small panel, 20.0 × 16.0 cm:
    Aaron and Moses standing.
    Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 179, 2, pp. 166–7.
    Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 198.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
13. Gp 2-9/78 (Fig. 211), small triptych, central panel with wings open, 42.0 × 29.0 cm:
    Crucifixion triptych with round hole in the central panel; Moses and Aaron on the wings.
    Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 193, 2, p. 175.
    Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and the Maniera Greca," p. 153, Fig. 11, "French painter from the third quarter of the 13th century."
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
14. Gp 1-19/80 (Fig. 199), small panel, 28.7 cm h (28.9 right side, 28.1 left side) × 23.2 cm w × 2.5 cm (thick):



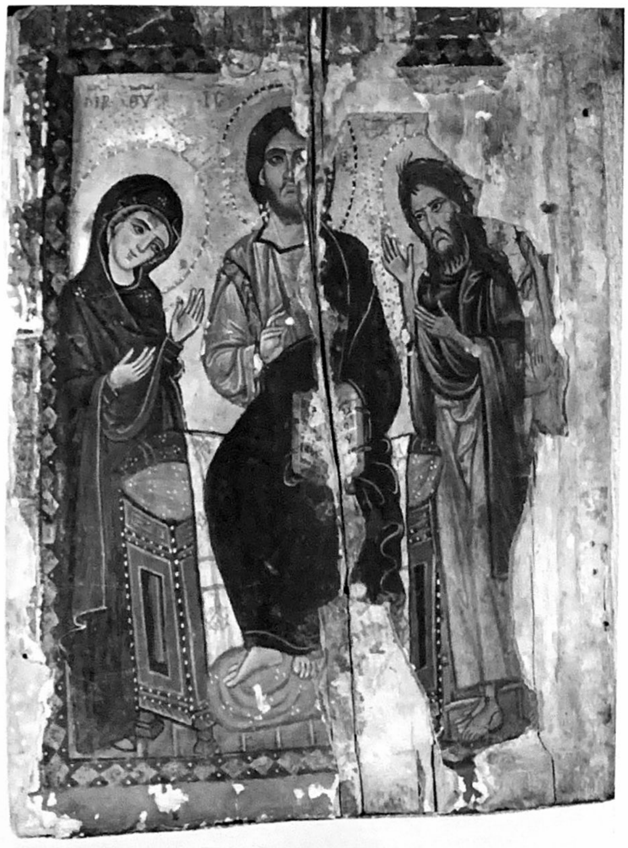
357. Sinai, App. no. 17/125. Sts. Constantine and Helena with the True Cross. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



358. Sinai, App. no. 19/154. Transfiguration. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Good condition, but serious split in the wood on the right side.
Mounted soldier St. Sergios, with kneeling female donor/supplicant.
Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 187, 2, p. 171.
Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 71, 72, Fig. 49.
Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 232, "Italian artist, perhaps Apulian, working at Sinai."
Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer," pp. 96–124, Fig. 1.
Icons, The Fascination, p. 73, "Italian artist working on Mount Sinai."
Gerstel, S., "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. Laiou and R. Mottahedeh, Washington, DC, 2001, p. 268, and Fig. 4.
Folda, "229. Icon with Saint Sergios on Horseback...," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, p. 374.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

15. Gp 2-14/109 (Fig. 128), panel:
    Intercessory Virgin bust-length.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 6.
16. Gp 2-13/110 (Fig. 129), panel:
    Christ *Pantokrator* from a *Deësis*.
    Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, p. 179.
    Bakalova, E., "217. Icon with Christ *Pantokrator*," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, p. 359.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 6.
17. Gp 4-34/125 (Fig. 357), panel:
    Sts. Constantine and Helena.
    Unpublished.
18. Gp 2-2/137 (Figs. 177–9), large panel, 66.0 cm h × 45.5 cm w × 3.6 cm (thick):
    Deësis with 14 standing Evangelists and Apostles.
    Good condition, but major split down the center of the panel with some serious flaking of the paint; paint surface heavily varnished and very dirty.
    Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai," [5 (1972)], pp. 279–88, Figs. 1–7.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
19. Gp 4-27/154 (Fig. 358), panel:
    Transfiguration.
    Unpublished.
20. Gp 1-31/172 (Fig. 359), panel:
    Dëesis.
    Unpublished.
21. Gp 1-4/180 (Figs. 360, 361), central panel of a tiny triptych:
    Virgin and Child *Hodegetria Dexiokratousa*, bust-length.
    Reverse: decorative painted scroll design reflecting textile pattern.
    Unpublished.
22. Gp 1-39/200 (Fig. 289), medium-sized panel, 37.3 cm h × 27.6 cm w × 1.7 cm (thick):
    Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*, bust-length with chrysography.



359. Sinai, App. no. 18/137. *Deësis.* (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Good condition, but major loss in upper left corner has been replaced with modern wood insert, unpainted; panel is heavily varnished and very dirty.

Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], p. 81.

Aspra-Vardavakis, M., "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych," pp. 97 and 103, Fig. 7.

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

23. Gp 2-8/205 (Fig. 191), medium-sized panel, 31.0 × 24.8 cm:

Virgin and Child *n tns Batou* with four standing saints and Moses and Elijah.

Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], 192, Fig. 17.

Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)], p. 221, "French artist working at Sinai."

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

24. Gp 4-2/212 (Fig. 262), medium-sized panel, 39.5 × 32.4 cm:

The Last Judgment in five tiers.

Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], p. 58.

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

25. Gp 2-7/220 (Fig. 208), Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* (bust-length), small panel.

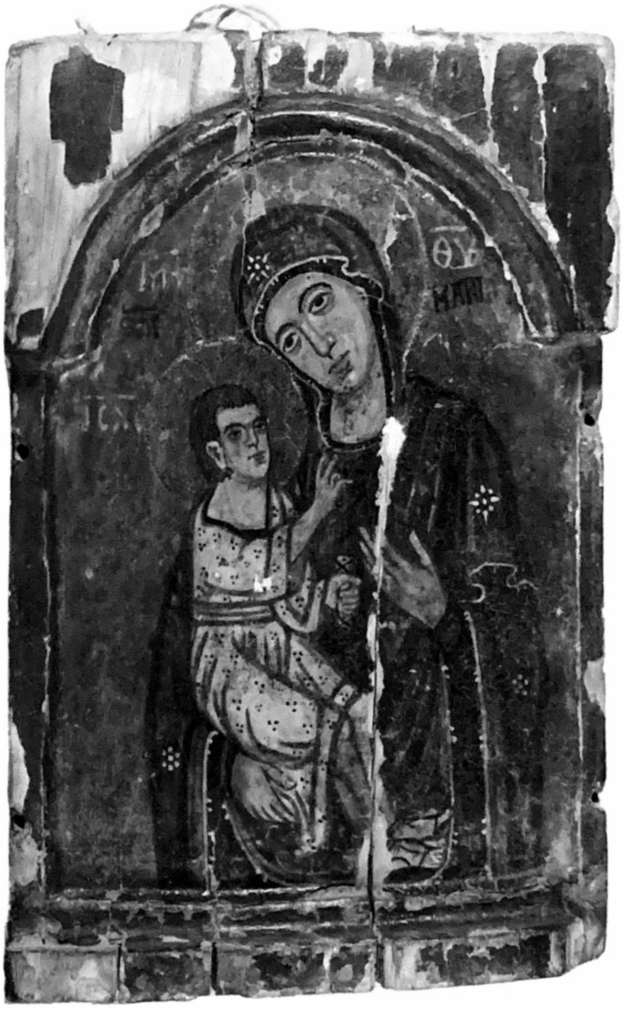
Unpublished.

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

26. Gp 1-26/224 (Fig. 362), panel:

Virgin and Child *Eleousa* (bust-length).

Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557, p. 351, no. 210.



360. Sinai, App. no. 21/180: Front, Virgin and Child *Hodegetria Dexiokratousa.* (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

27. Gp 4-9/242 (Fig. 363), panel:

St. Nicholas, with Christ and Virgin (all bust-length), panel.

Unpublished.

28. Gp 3-9/248 (Fig. 290), triptych:

Deësis central panel.

Two standing saints with Peter (bust-length), left wing, and two standing soldier saints with Paul (bust-length), right wing.

Unpublished.

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

29. Gp 4-8/260 (Fig. 364), panel:

St. Nicholas standing with Christ and Virgin (bust-length), panel.

Unpublished.

30. Gp 3-2/261 (Fig. 365), panel:

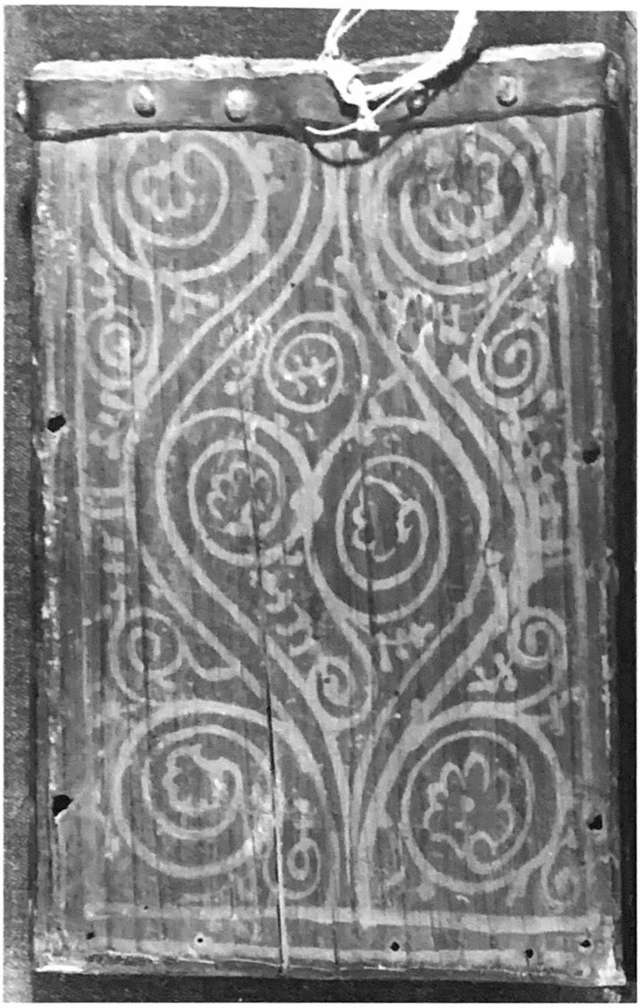
Crucifixion surrounded by bust-length saints on frame including Deësis and 15 saints, and a diminutive nimbed monk(?) donor(?) at the lower central left position (cf App. no. 104, Gp 3-1/1732, for a closely related example, perhaps a model for, or copy of, no. 261 (?)).

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

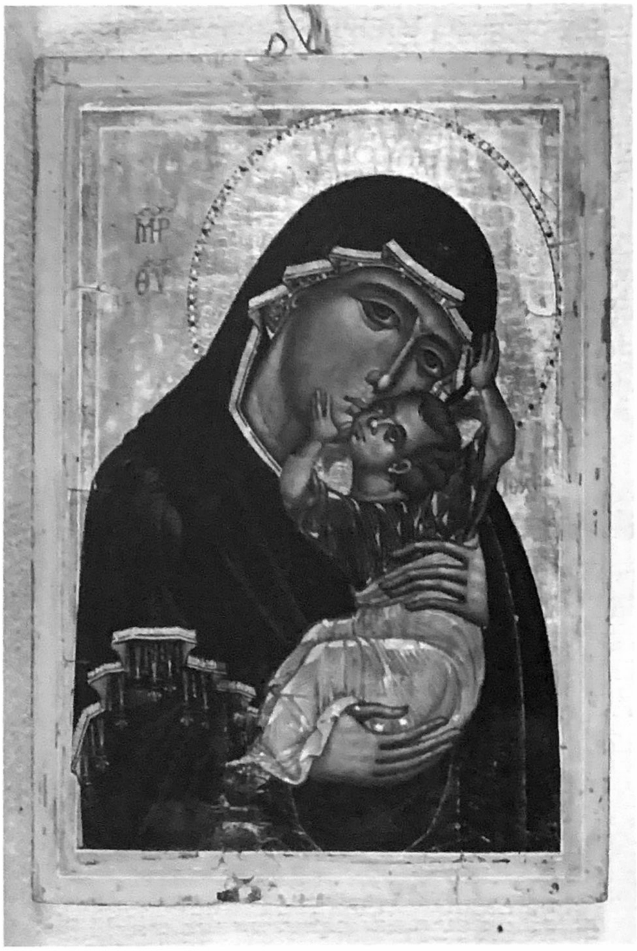
31. Gp 1-10/273 (Fig. 366), panel:

Archangel Michael standing with staff and orb.

Galey, Fig. 66.

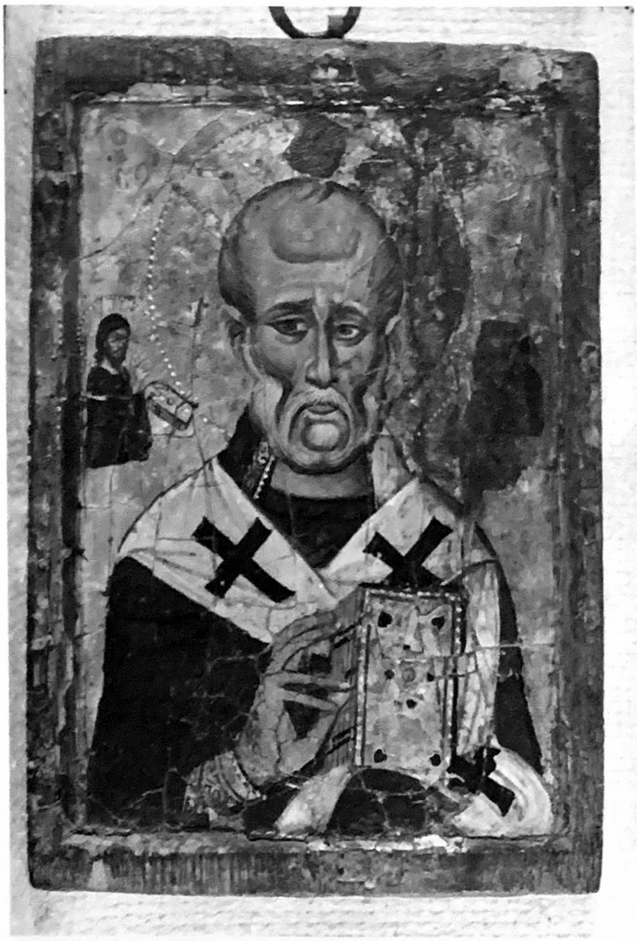


361. Sinai, App. no. 21/180: Reverse: Vine Scroll Textile pattern. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

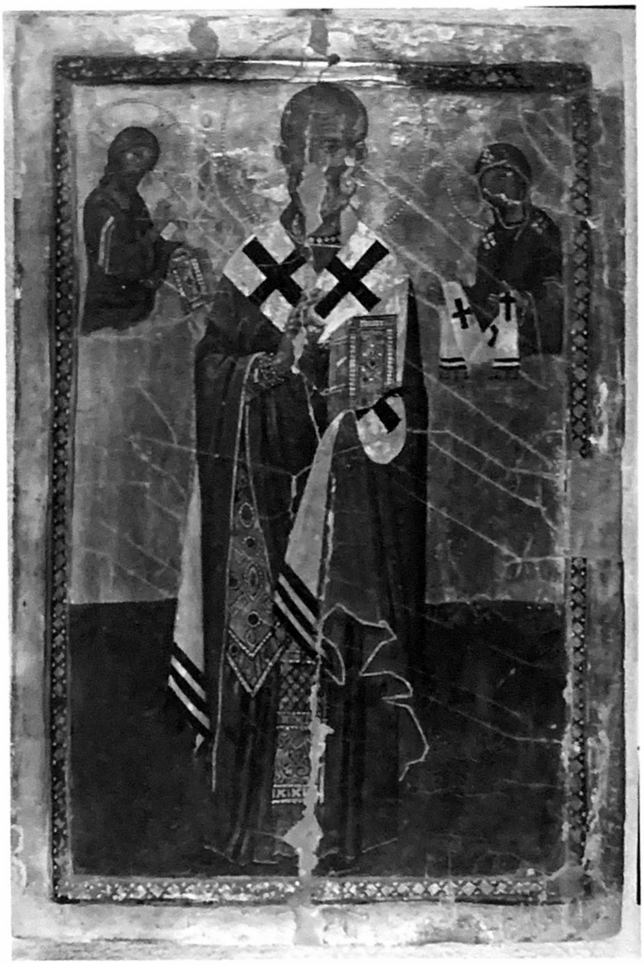


362. Sinai, App. no. 26/224. Virgin and Child *Eleousa*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

32. Gp 4-17/285 (Fig. 75), medium-sized panel, 38.5 × 28.0 cm:
    Crucifixion, with Virgin swooning with two women, John and a soldier, two mourning angels.
    Mouriki, *Sinai Treasures*, p. 184, no. 58.
    Hunt, L.-A., "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," *ARAM*, 9 & 10 (1997–8), p. 303, Fig. 15.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 4 and Ch. 5.
33. Gp 3-7/293 (Fig. 187), small double-decker panel, 27.0 cm h × 19.1 cm w × 2.5 cm (thick):
    Deësis above in upper register, with three standing saints below.
    Small split at the top, otherwise in excellent condition; extremely heavily varnished.
    Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 194, Fig. 18.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
34. Gp 4-4/308 (Fig. 51), small panel, 21.1 cm h × 13.9 cm w × 1.3 cm (thick):
    Maestas Domini.
    Serious flaking with most of the front surface of the border lost; cable border along the concave inner border from underpainting of phase one of the icon. Two levels of painting on the main central surface evident with bits of the original painted seated figure and cushion visible overpainted with current seated figure.
    Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai," [5 (1972)], pp. 291–2, Fig. 11.
    Nelson, R., "An Icon at Mt. Sinai and Christian Painting in Muslim Egypt during the 13th & 14th Centuries," *AB*, 65 (1983), pp. 201–12.
    Hunt, L.-A., "Christian-Muslim Relations in Painting in Egypt of the 12th to mid-13th Centuries: Sources of Wallpainting at Deir es-Suriani and the Illustrations of the New Testament MS Paris Copte-Arabe 1/Cairo, Bibl. 94," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 33 (1985), p. 141.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 3, 4, and 6.
35. Gp 4-12/331 (Fig. 367), panel (damaged):
    Elijah in the wilderness.
    Unpublished.
36. Gp 4-25/357 (Fig. 185), panel (damaged):
    St. George mounted with the youth of Mytilene.
    Cormack, R., and S. Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St. George: 'Maniera Greca' or 'Lingua Franca'?", *Burlington Magazine*, 127 (1984), pp. 133–41.
    Folda, "The St. Marina Icon," p. 109, Fig. 103.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

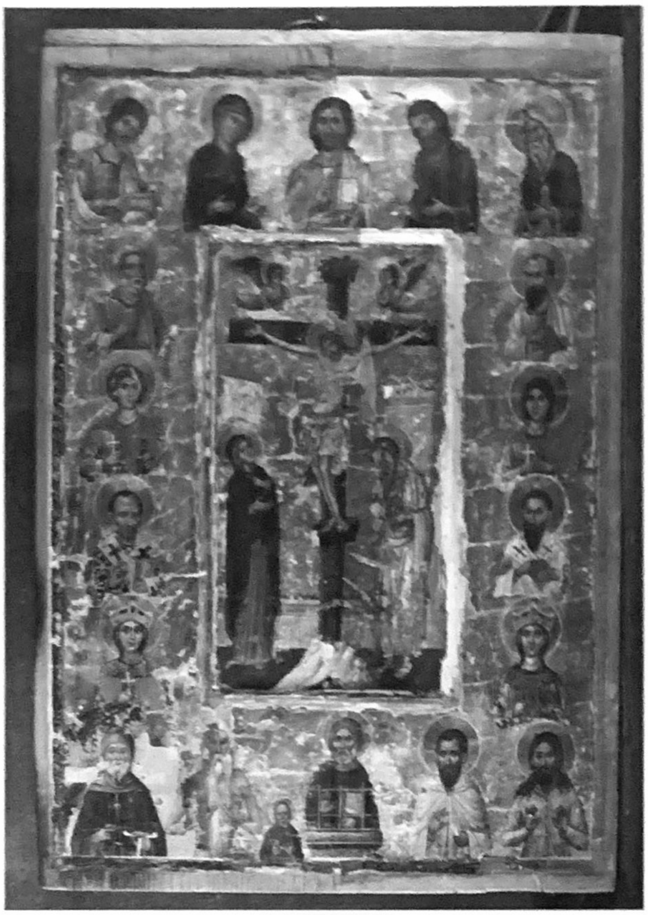


363. Sinai, App. no. 27/242. St. Nicholas with Christ and the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



364. Sinai, App. no. 29/260. St. Nicholas standing with Christ and the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

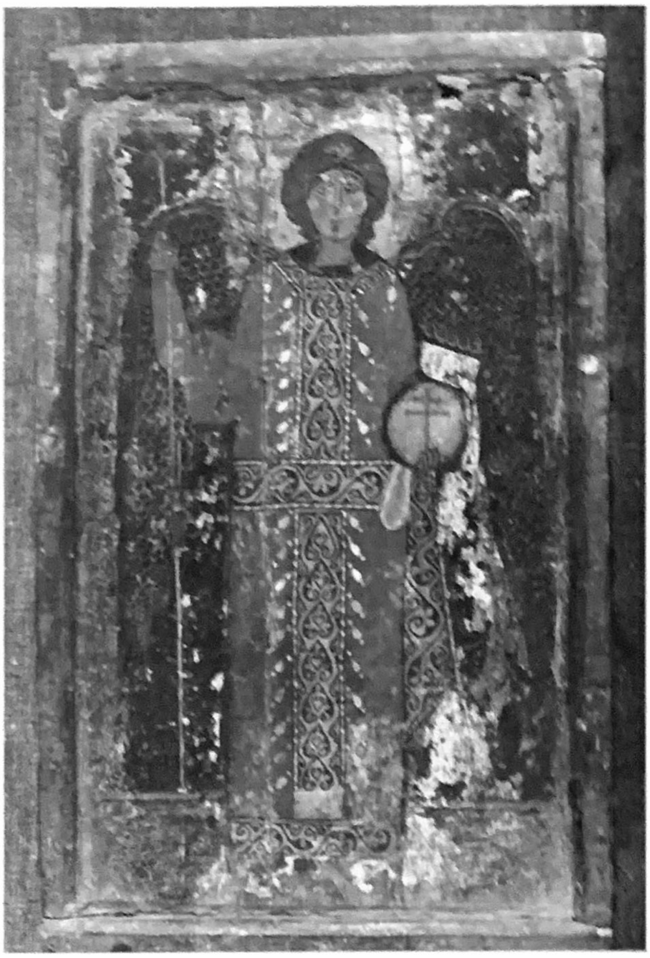
37. Gp 1-21/363 (Fig. 368), panel (damaged):
    St. John Chrysostom (bust-length).
    Unpublished.
38. Gp 1-8/366 (Fig. 369), panel:
    Deësis with two additional standing male saints.
    Unpublished.
39. Gp 1-2/383 (Fig. 370), medium-sized panel, 33.3 × 23.7 cm:
    Double-decker panel with six standing male saints; three above and three below.
    Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 54–6.
    Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)], p. 209, "perhaps southern Italian (Calabria?), 1150–1200."
    Boehm, B. D., "233. Icon with Saints," *Byzantium: Faith and Power:1261–1557*, p. 378.
    Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 461–3.
40. Gp 2-30/386 (Fig. 184), small panel, 23.7 cm h × 16.1 cm w × 2.0 cm (thick):
    Two mounted soldier saints: Sts. Theodore and Demetrios.
    Good condition of central paint surface with only small damages, but most of the paint on the outer border is lost.
    Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [1 (1963)], p. 195, Fig. 19.
    Folda, "232. Icon with Saints Theodore and Demetrios on Horse back," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: Byzantine Art, 1261–1557*, p. 377.
    Folda, *ACHL 2*, Ch. 6.
41. Gp 4-7/408 (Fig. 301), Central panel of a triptych:
    St. Nicholas (bust-length) under arch with knotted columns; Christ and Virgin (bust-length) in spandrels.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL 2*, Ch. 7.
42. Gp 4-18/427 (Fig. 291), panel (damaged):
    Virgin orans with Child suspended in front of her (*Platytera/Blacherniotissa* (?)), crowned by two angels, and with two seraphim.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL 2*, Ch. 7.
43. Gp 1-22/428 (Fig. 194), medium-sized panel, 41.6 cm h × 33.0 cm w × 2.0 cm (thick):
    Virgin *n tns Batou* with St. John the Baptist and Moses, all standing.
    Excellent condition, paint surface in excellent condition.
    Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 65–6, Fig. 32.
    Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)], p. 228, "Venetian artist working at Sinai."



365. Sinai, App. no. 30/261. Crucifixion surrounded on frame by *Deësis* and 15 saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

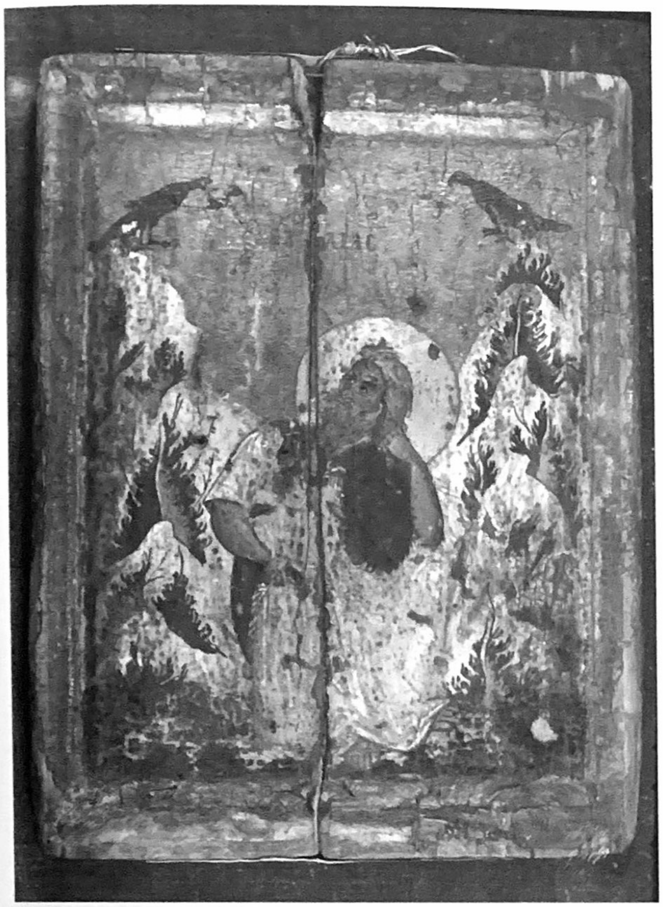
Icons, the Fascination, p. 72, "Venetian artist."
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

44. Gp 1-9/460 (Fig. 371), panel:
   St. Catherine, crowned, standing.
   Unpublished.
45. Gp 2-26/470 (Fig. 131), panel (damaged):
   St. John the Baptist interceding (bust-length), right panel of a small Deësis (?).
   Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 6.
46. Gp 3-6/477 (Fig. 372), panel (damaged):
   Forty Martyrs.
   Unpublished.
47. Gp 4-5/496 [or 647 (?)] (Fig. 265), panel (badly flaked):
   Dormition.
   Unpublished.
   Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
48. Gp 1-5/544 (Fig. 200), panel (damaged):
   Virgin and Child *n tns Batou* with Archangel Michael and St. John the Baptist, all standing.
   Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
49. Gp 1-6/557 (Fig. 373), panel (badly damaged with much flaking):
   Nativity scene.
   Unpublished.
50. Gp 4-31/571 (Fig. 374), panel (badly flaked):
   Crucifixion with Virgin and figure, John and soldier, background wall.
   Unpublished.

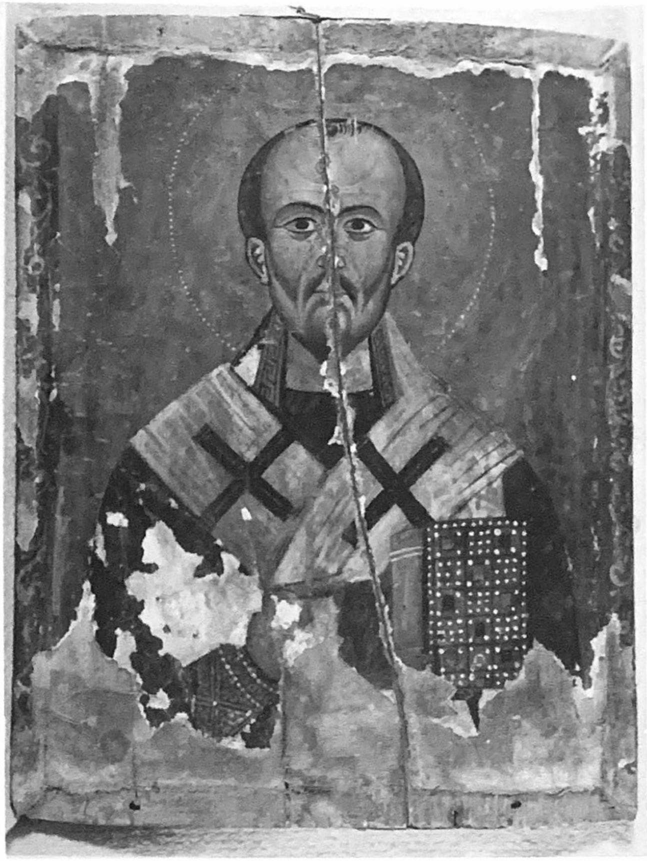


366. Sinai, App. no. 31/273. Archangel Michael standing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

51. Gp 2-27/573 (Fig. 210), medium-sized panel, 43.0 cm h × 31.0 cm w × 1.7 cm (thick):
   Enthroned Virgin and Child *n tns Batou* with kneeling donor in turban, two nimbed Old Testament figures, Solomon left, and Abraham right, in the spandrels.
   Serious split down the center of the panel with flaking of the paint surface; wings lost. Central panel of a triptych with broad pointed arch over central figures and Virgin on ivory (?) throne.
   Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 171, 2, pp. 157–8.
   Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 198–9. Weitzmann said he located the missing wings, n. 106, but he did not publish them.
   Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
52. Gp 2-5/574 (Fig. 186), panel (damaged):
   Double-decker icon with Virgin and Child enthroned and Burial of Moses, above, and Banquet of Herod and St. John the Baptist below.
   Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 190–3, 198, Fig. 15.
   Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
53. Gp 1-33/581 (Fig. 292), panel (badly damaged):
   St. Catherine, crowned, standing.
   Unpublished.
   Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

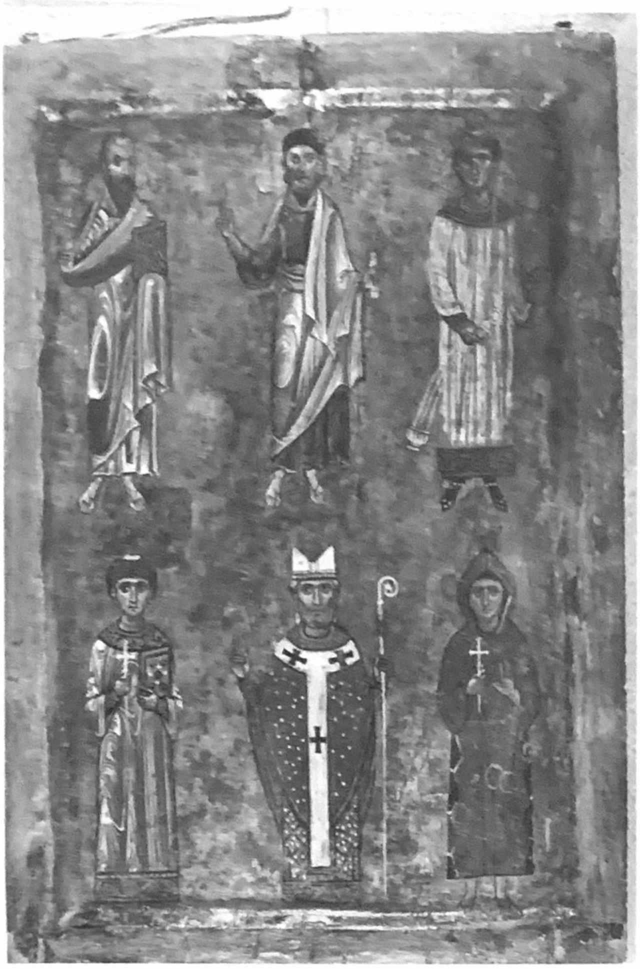


367. Sinai, App. no. 35/331. Elijah in the Wilderness. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

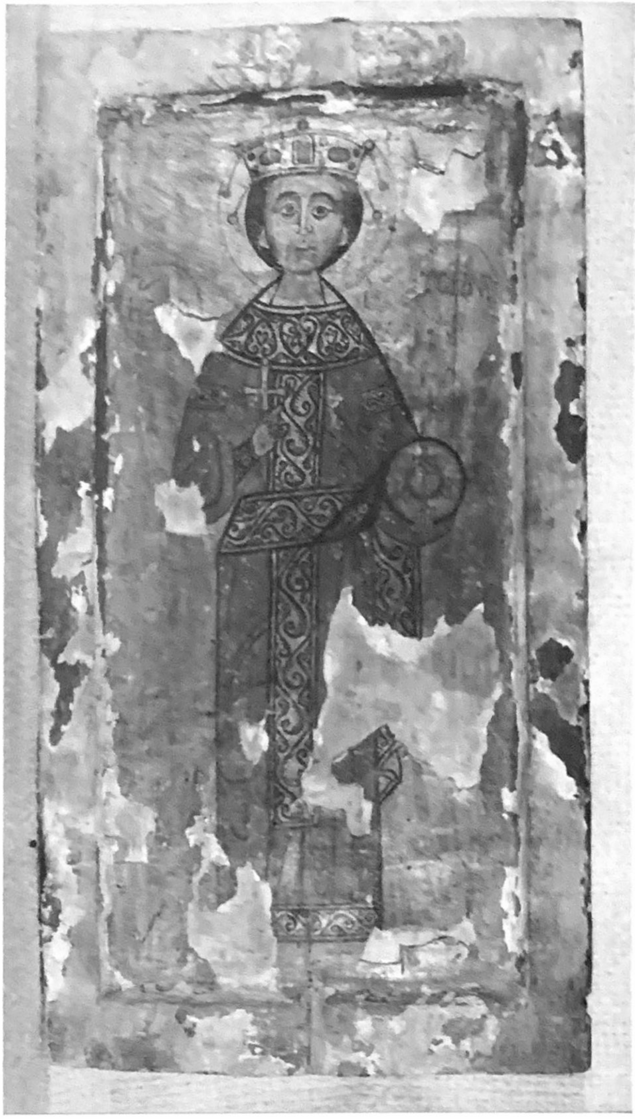


368. Sinai, App. no. 37/363. St. John Chrysostom. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

369. Sinai, App. no. 38/366. *Deësis* with two standing saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

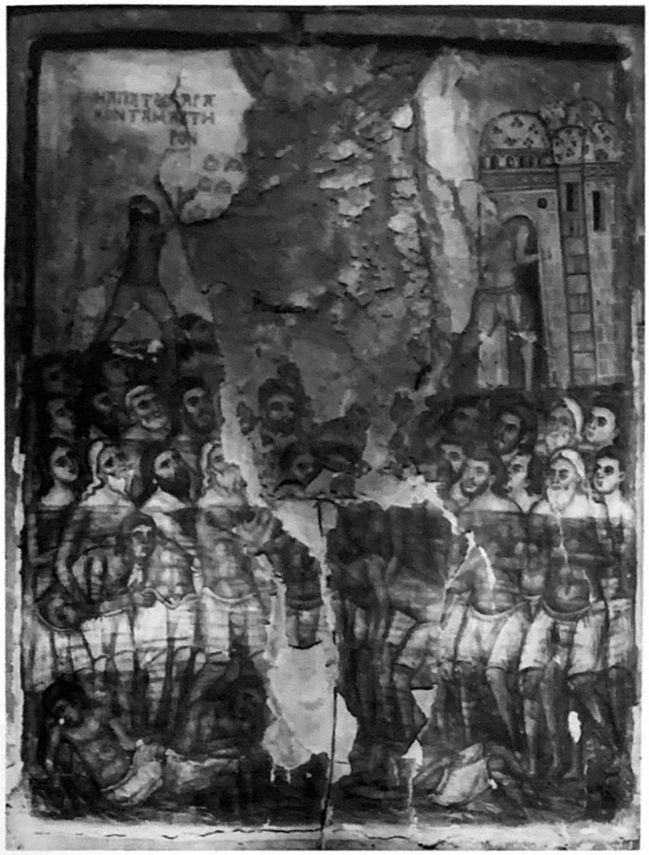


370. Sinai, App. no. 39/383. Six standing saints in two registers. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

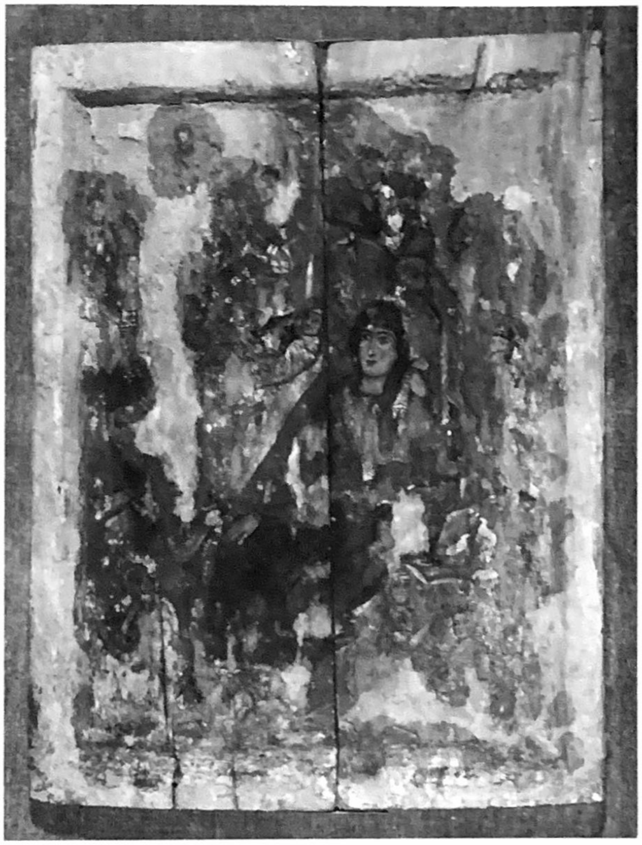


371. Sinai, App. no. 44/460. St. Catherine standing. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

54. Gp 2-6/588 (Fig. 375), panel (badly flaked):
    Virgin and Child *Hodegetria Dexiokratousa* with Latin inscriptions.
    Unpublished.
55. Gp 4-15/589 (Fig. 376), panel (raised gesso, badly damaged):
    Three standing male saints.
    Unpublished.
56. Gp 4-26/671 (Fig. 297), Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* (bust-length), panel (repainted (?) and damaged).
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
57. Gp 4-33/679 (Fig. 76), medium-sized panel, 38.6 × 26.9 cm:
    Virgin and Child *Hodegetria Dexiokratousa* (bust-length).
    Mouriki, Sinai Treasures, p. 185, no. 59.
    Hunt, L.-A., "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," *ARAM*, 9 & 10 (1997–8), p. 306, Fig. 25.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 4 and Ch. 5.
58. Gp 4-16/681 (Fig. 377), panel (repainted(?), with raised gesso):
    Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* (bust-length).
    Unpublished.
59. Gp 1-28/710 (Fig. 293), small panel, 25.0 cm h × 17.3 cm w × 1.8 cm (thick):
    Virgin (with special veil) and Child *Galaktotrophousa* (bust-length).
    Good condition, but panel split down the center with flaking along the split. Reglued together using Greek parchment manuscript pieces, with metal strip nailed to the top surface.
    Unpublished, but see forthcoming study by E. Bolman.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
60. Gp 4-28/715 (Fig. 378), panel damaged, repainted and with raised gesso:
    Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* (bust-length).
    Unpublished.
61. Gp 1-3/729 (Fig. 298), panel (damaged and repainted):
    Crucifixion with Virgin and female companion, St. John and soldier, two mourning angels.
    Galey, *Sinai*, Fig. 90.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.



372. Sinai, App. no. 46/477. The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



373. Sinai, App. no. 49/557. Nativity. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

62. Gp 4-3/730 (Fig. 379), panel:
    Three standing bearded male saints.
    Unpublished.
63. Gp 2-29/741 (Fig. 380), panel fragment, right side missing:
    Two standing soldier saints.
    Unpublished.
64. Gp 1-7/742 (Fig. 302), panel (damaged).
    Transfiguration.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
65. Gp 2-28/743 (Fig. 190), Small central panel fragment, 34.0 × 10.5 cm:
    Christ enthroned.
    Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 176, 2, pp. 163–4.
    Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai*, p. 119, n. 95.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
66. Gp 4-14/753 (Figs. 155–162), Central panel and box-like frame: 56.8 cm h × 47.7 cm w × 5.1 cm (thick). Central panel: 56.8 cm h × 47.0 cm w × 1.3 (thick), to which strips are added to make the central box. Strips of wood on side: 56.8 cm h × 3.7 cm w × 2.1 cm (thick); on top: 43.0 cm w × 3.9 cm deep × 2.5 cm (thick). Left wing: 53.7 cm h × 21.7 cm w × 1.1 cm (thick). Right wing: 53.8 cm h × 21.0 cm w × 1.1 cm (thick). N.B.: the hinges on each wing are set at 7.0, 27.0, and 46.5 cm from the top of the wings.

Triptych with Virgin and Child enthroned with full-length angels, wings with on the inside four scenes of the life of Christ and the Virgin, and on the outside two standing saints, St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist.

Good condition, some small losses, some termite damage visible on the upper right interior, varnished.

The Acre Triptych: central panel with Virgin and Child Enthroned flanked by standing angels (dimensions above); inside wings, life of Christ and the Virgin; right: (above) Finding of Christ in the Temple, 24.2 cm h × 20.4 w, (below) Threnos, 28.7 cm h × 20.4 w; left: (above) Coronation of the Virgin, 20.4 cm h × 21.5 w, (below) Dormition, 28.5 cm h × 21.5 w; outside wings, St. Nicolas (left), St. John the Baptist (right).

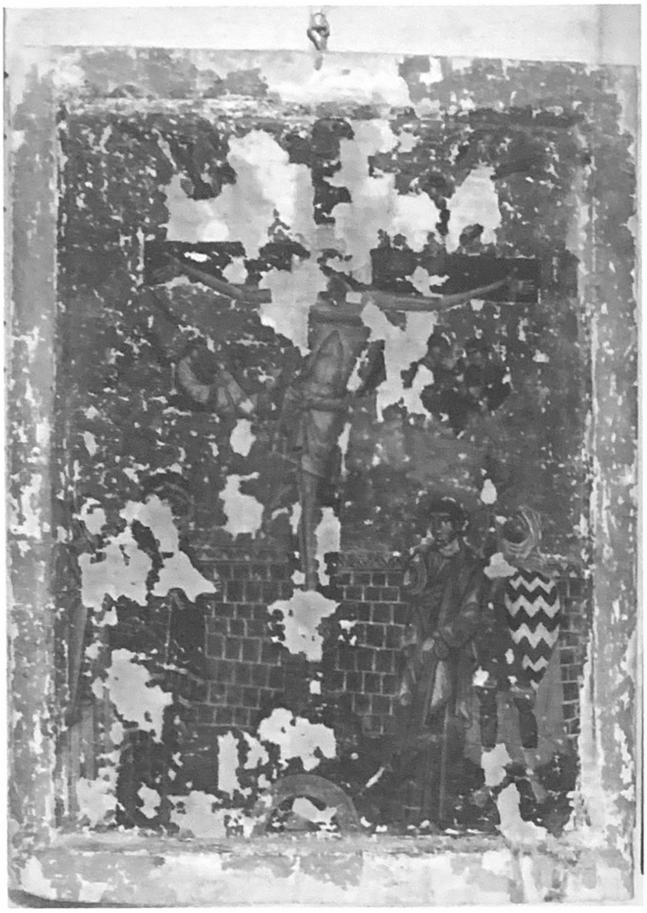
Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 185–90.

Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 59–60.

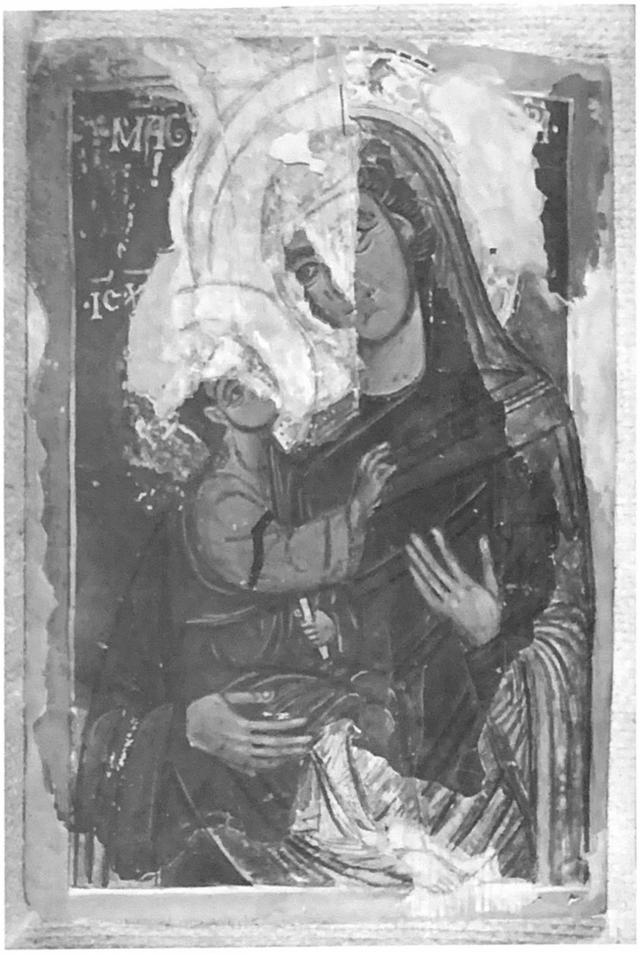
Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)], pp. 215, 216, 233, inner wings by a "French artist working at Sinai."

Folda, "216. Triptych with Virgin and Child Enthroned, ...," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 357–9.

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

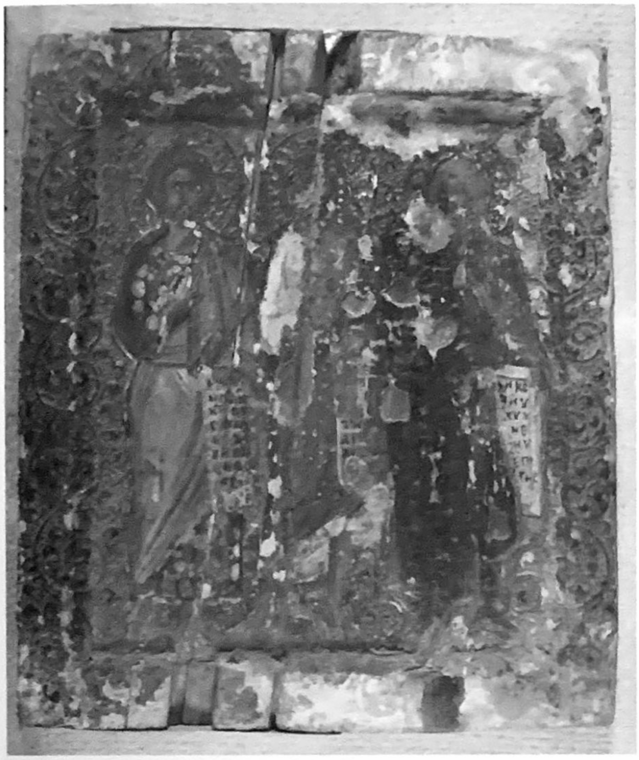


374. Sinai, App. no. 50/571. Crucifixion with Virgin, St. John, and two witnesses. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

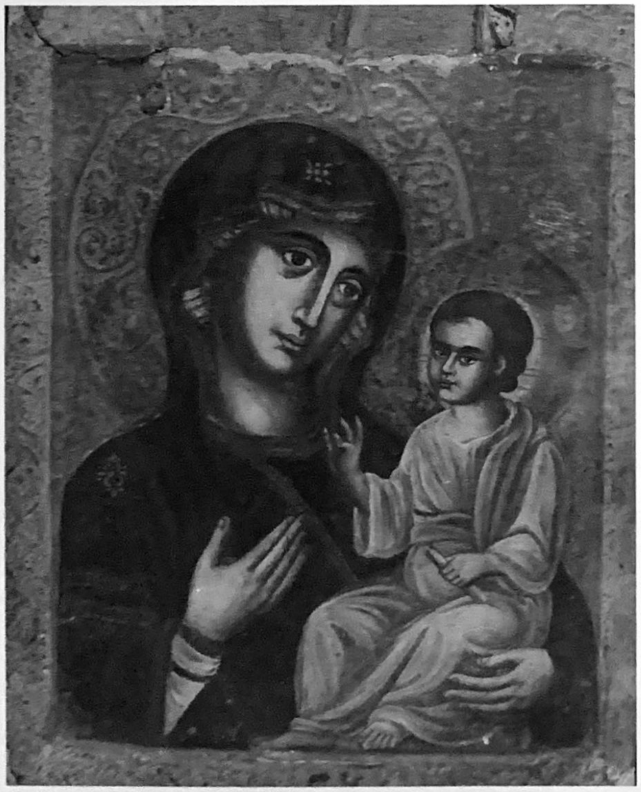


375. Sinai, App. no. 54/588. Virgin and Child *Hodegetria Dexiokratousa*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

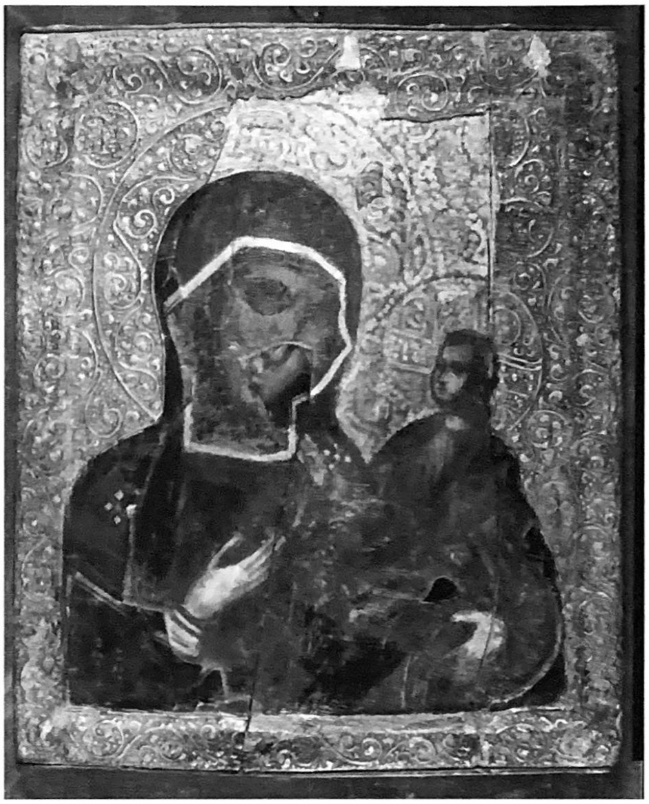
67. Gp 4-11/786 (Fig. 381), panel:
    Deposition.
    Unpublished.
68. Gp 1-23/792 (Fig. 382), Outer wings of triptych:
    Sts. Peter and Paul.
    Unpublished.
69. Gp 1-32/809 (Fig. 383), Central panel fragment (damaged):
    Crucified Christ.
    Unpublished.
70. Gp 4-10/822 (Fig. 209), triptych with central panel:
    Small triptych: central panel, 20.8 cm h × 13.6 cm w × 1.9 cm (thick) (N.B.: Where the two wings attach the thickness is only 1.1 cm.)
    Wings: each wing 17.3 cm h maximum (11.9 cm h at the point where the wing joins the central panel) × 10.4 cm w.
    Virgin and Child *Galaktotrophousa* enthroned, flanked by two diminutive female saints and two kneeling donors below; two saints in the spandrels; inner wings have, at right, scenes of the life of Christ: Crucifixion and Maries at the Tomb at right; left side badly damaged; likely scenes are Nativity (lower) and Annunciation to the Shepherds (upper). On reverse, metalwork-like cross painted in white.
    Very damaged condition. Central panel flaked down the left central portion. Left inside wing almost entirely flaked. Triptych now varnished.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
71. Gp 4-29/[844 or] 884 (Fig. 384), panel (damaged, with raised gesso):
    St. John the Baptist standing.
    Unpublished.
72. Gp 4-19/886 (Fig. 385), small triptych, central panel, 23.5 × 14.0 cm, large wing, 20.5 × 14.0 cm. (N.B.: the large outer wing originally covered the small inner wing, which is now missing.):
    Triptych with 12 standing male saints on the inner side of the larger outer wing, scenes of Moses and Elijah in the arch above, and two saints in the spandrel above; central scene on missing central panel, unknown.
    Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai," pp. 287–8, Fig. 9.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
73. Gp 4-21/909 (Fig. 386), double-decker panel with raised gesso:
    Flight into Egypt above; below, Herod and the Magi, Magi and the Virgin and Child.
    Unpublished.



376. Sinai, App. no. 55/589. Three standing male saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



377. Sinai, App. no. 58/681. Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



378. Sinai, App. no. 60/715. Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

74. Gp 1-24/1003 (Figs. 256–261), iconostasis beam/dossal with bust-length saints under pointed arches: 43.3 cm h × 168.5 cm w × 6.4 cm (thick):

Center, Deësis, right side Paul and three male saints, left side, Peter and three male saints.

Excellent condition, paint surfaces in excellent condition.

Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Figs. 117–24, 2, pp. 112–14.

Weitzmann, "Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeine eines Bamberger Graduale und ihre Ursprüngliche Verwendung," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener*, ed. F. Dettweiler, Marburg, 1967, pp. 16–17, Fig. 7.

Weitzmann, *The Icon* [11 (1982)], pp. 229–31 (details), "Venetian artist working at Sinai."

Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14 (1984)], pp. 158–9.

Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai," [15 (1986)], pp. 81–2.

Icons, The Fascination, p. 73, "Italian artist working on Mount Sinai."

Zeitler, "Two Iconostasis Beams," pp. 223–34.

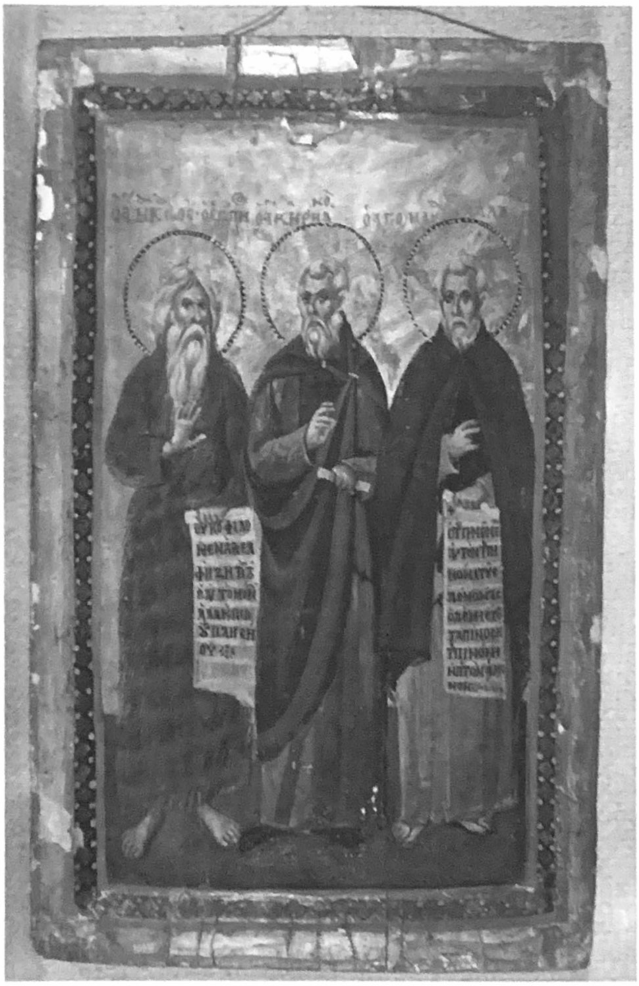
Folda, "235. Iconostasis Beam . . . ," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: Byzantine Art, 1261–1557*, pp. 379–81.

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

75. Gp 4-20/1012 (Fig. 387), panel (badly damaged with raised gesso):

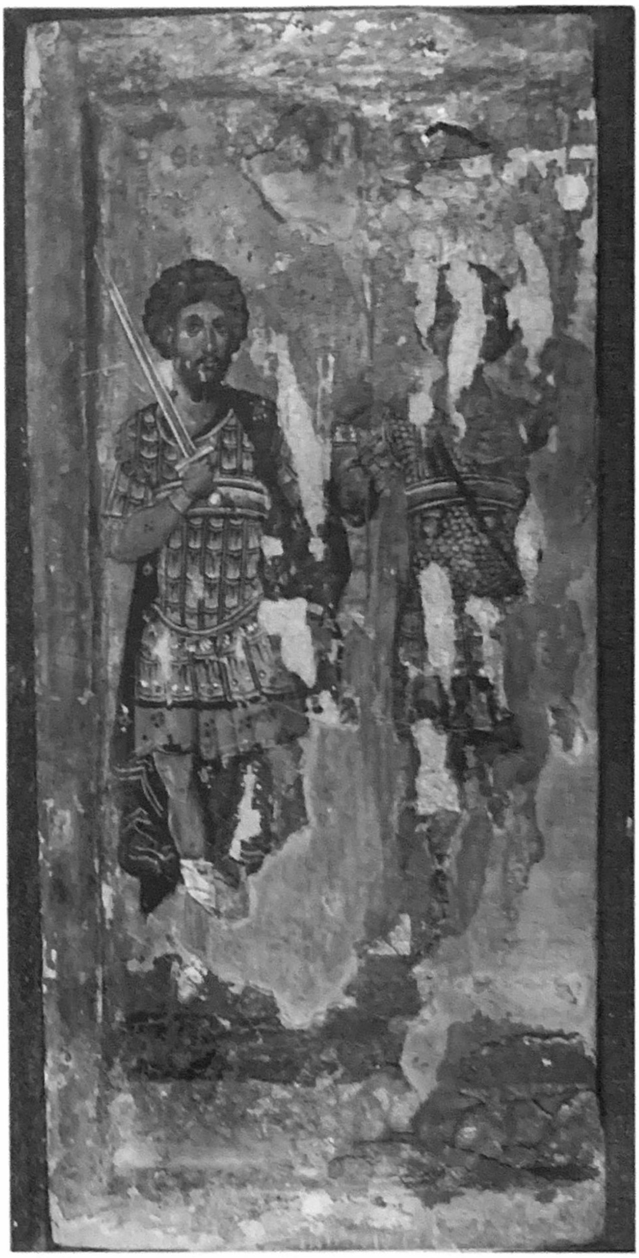
Transfiguration.

Unpublished.



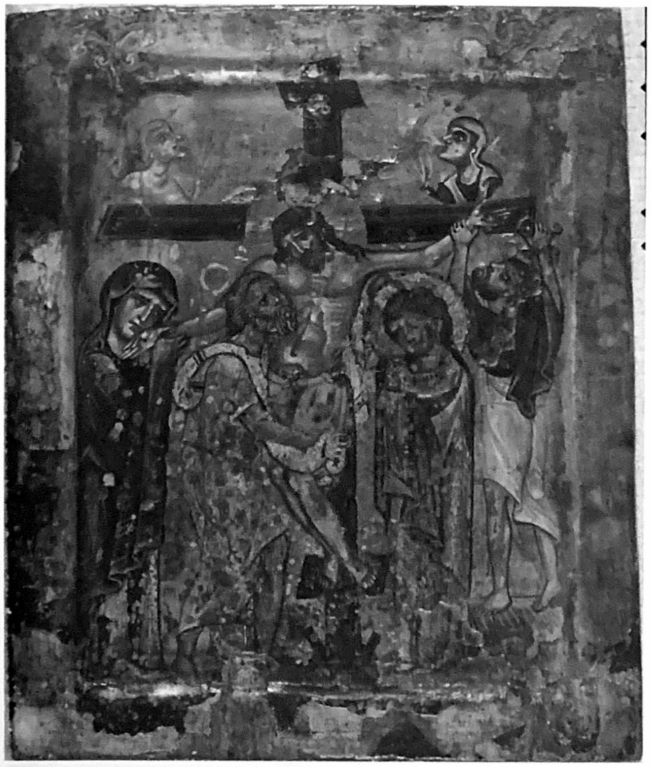
379. Sinai, App. no. 62/730. Three Standing Bearded Monastic Saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

76. Gp 1-1/1024 (Fig. 52), panel with overpaint on frame:
    Christ enthroned blessing.
    Icon overpainted with two layers of painting evident.
    Weitzmann, [3 (1966)], pp. 52–3.
    Nelson, R., "An Icon at Mt. Sinai and Christian Painting in Muslim Egypt during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *AB*, 65 (1983), pp. 201–12 (mid-thirteenth century).
    Hunt, L.-A., "Christian-Muslim Relations in Painting in Egypt of the Twelfth to mid-Thirteenth Centuries: Sources of Wallpainting at Deir es-Suriani and the Illustrations of the New Testament MS, Paris Copte-Arabe 1/Cairo, Bibl. 94," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 33 (1985), p. 141 (mid-thirteenth century).
    Nelson, R. S., "218. Icon with Christ," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, p. 360.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 3 and 4.
77. Gp 2-12/1025 (Fig. 130), central panel:
    Christ *Pantokrator* (bust-length), of a small Deësis (?).
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 7.
78. Gp 1-16/1118 (Fig. 196), panel, 34.4 × 25.5 cm:
    Three standing soldier saints.
    Weitzmann, "Icon Painting" [3 (1966)], p. 71, and Fig. 48.



380. Sinai, App. no. 63/741. Two Standing Soldier Saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

    Weitzmann, *The Icon* [11 (1982)], p. 234, "perhaps Greco-Italian artist from Apulia working at Sinai."
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.
79. Gp 4-1/1128 (Fig. 264), panel (damaged):
    The Last Judgment.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
80. Gp 1-11/1144 (Fig. 303), panel (damaged):
    Ephrem, St. John the Evangelist, and Daniel standing.
    Mouriki, "Thirteenth Century Icon Painting," p. 67.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
81. Gp 3-13/1177 (Figs. 304–6), triptych with fancy scalloped top:
    Central panel with Christ enthroned above, seven standing male ecclesiastical saints below; left wing (inside), Archangel Gabriel; right wing (inside), Virgin seated of the Annunciation.



381. Sinai, App. no. 67/786. Deposition from the Cross. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Unpublished.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

82/83. Gp 1-38/1207, 1208 (Figs. 307–8), panels with crockets:
Left (1207) Virgin Mary, and right (1208) St. John, at the Crucifixion (missing).
Unpublished.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

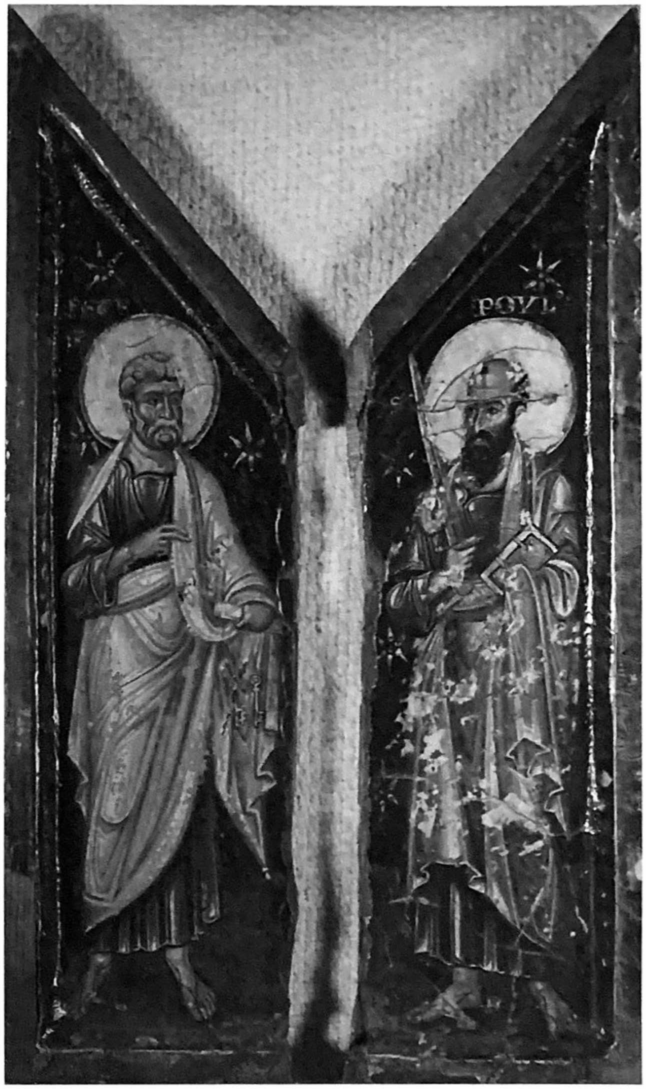
84. Gp 1-36/1352 (Fig. 294), panel (repainted (?)):
Simeon (bust-length) holding the infant Jesus.
Unpublished.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

85. Gp 2-23/1387 (Fig. 207), panel:
Archangel interceding (facing left), panel, from large Deësis.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 6.

86. Gp 3-11/1365 (Fig. 388), panel (repainted (?)):
St. Zosimos, abbot, standing, gives Eucharist to St. Mary the Egyptian, standing.
Unpublished.

87. Gp 2-18, 4-6/1394 (Fig. 266), medium-sized panel, 44.8 cm h × 33.5 cm w × 3.3 cm (thick):
Dormition (*Koimesis*).
Excellent condition with only slight flaking of the paint surface. Enamel-like colorful hues of paint not dulled by heavy varnish.
Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], p. 65.
Weitzmann, *The Icon* (1978), p. 119
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 6 and 7.

88. Gp 2-10/1412 (Fig. 212), medium-sized panel, 34.3 × 23.8 cm:
Moses.



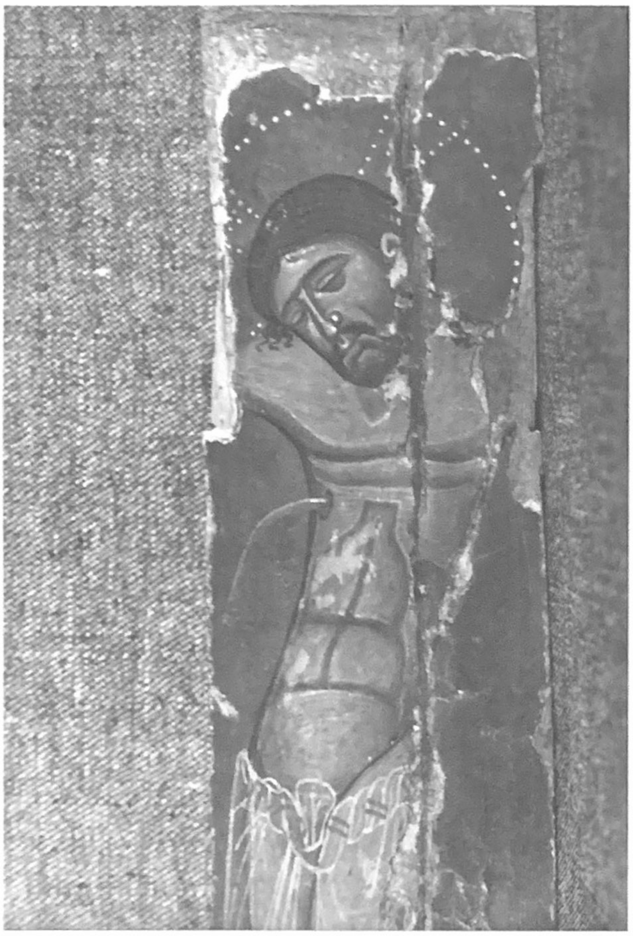
382. Sinai, App. no. 68/792. Sts. Peter and Paul (fragments of external wings). (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 195, 2, p. 178.
Weitzmann, *The Icon* (1978), p. 110, detail.
Ševčenko, N. P., "236. Icon with Moses," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, p. 381.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 6 and 7.

89. Gp 2-22/1414 (Fig. 206), panel:
Archangel interceding (facing right), from large Deësis.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Chs. 5 and 6.

90. Gp 1-18/1418 (Fig. 195), medium-sized panel, 34.6 × 24.0 cm:
St. Catherine and St. Marina standing.
Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Fig. 183, 2, p. 169.
Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 73, Fig. 50.
Weitzmann, *The Icon* [11 (1982)], p. 235, "Perhaps Greco-Italian artist from Apulia working at Sinai."
Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer," p. 98, Fig. 6.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

91. Gp 1-17/1426 (Fig. 313), panel:
Two standing male saints holding odd patriarchal crosses (?).



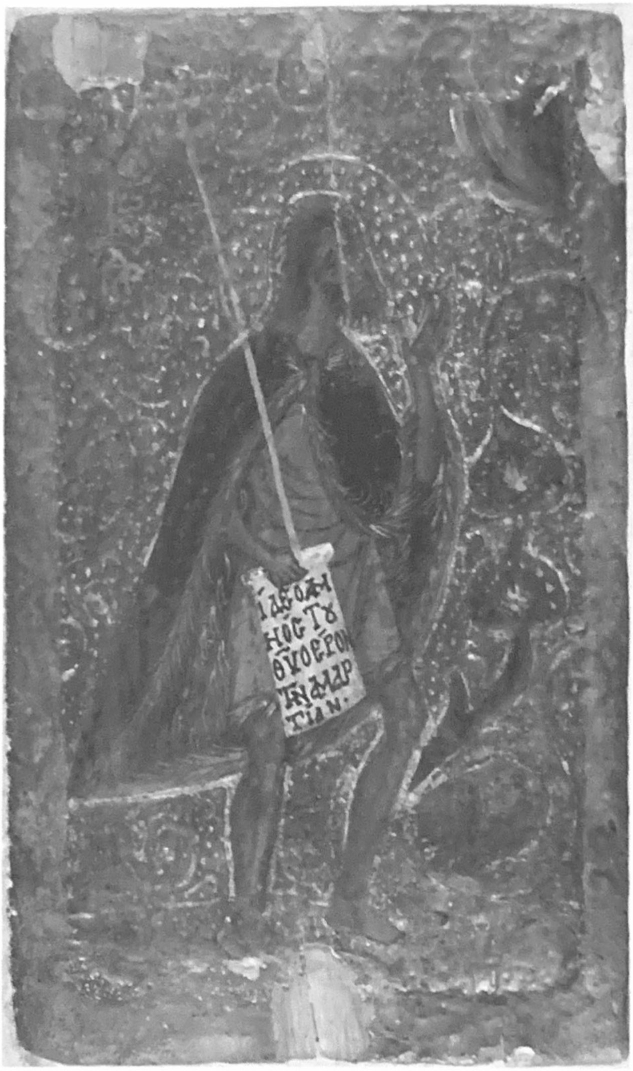
383. Sinai, App. no. 69/809. Christ Crucified (torso fragment). (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Mouriki, "Thirteenth Century Icon Painting," p. 67.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

92. Gp 1-13/1453 (Fig. 309), panel:
Three standing patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, blessing and holding scrolls.
Mouriki, "Thirteenth Century Icon Painting," p. 67 (1270s/1280s).
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

93. Gp 1-29/1454 (Fig. 314), panel:
Standing Virgin and Child *n tns Batou* (?), with two standing male ecclesiastical saints.
Unpublished.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

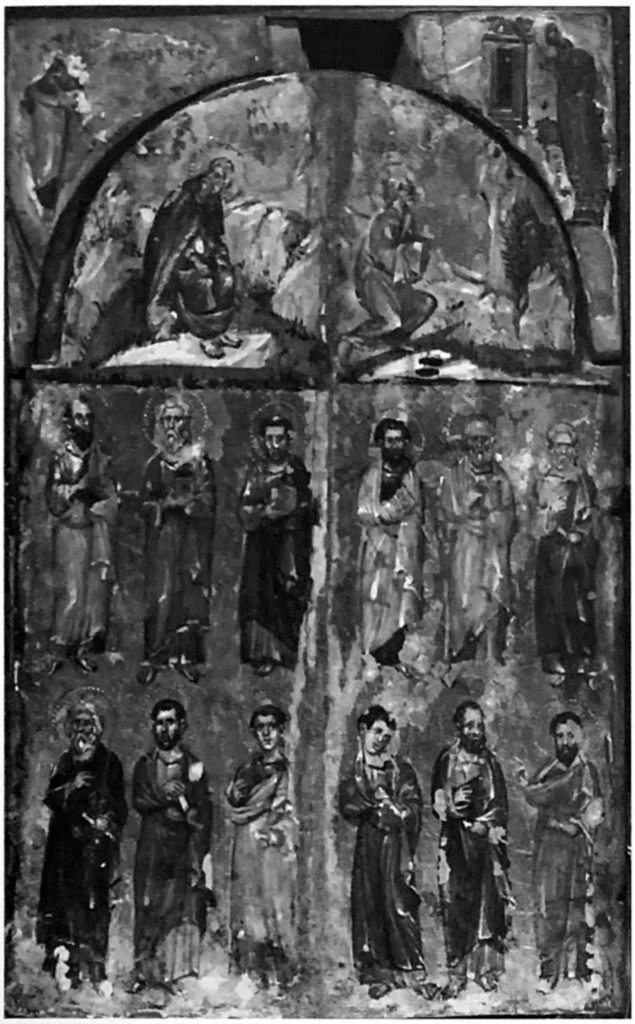
94. Gp 3-3/1463 (Fig. 74), small-sized panel, 32.8 cm h × 21.9 cm w × 2.0 cm (thick):
Two mounted soldier saints, St. George Diasorites and St. Theodore Stratelates, with kneeling donor, George, surnamed Parisi.
Good condition, but paint surface is extremely heavily varnished.
Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 79–81.
Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200," *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, New York, 1970, pp. 68, 92.



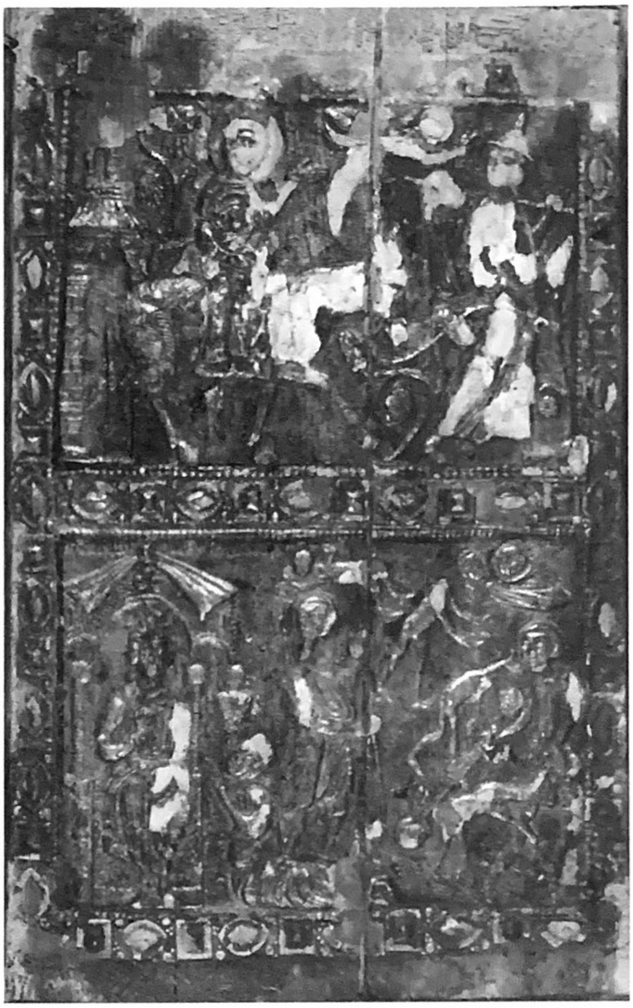
384. Sinai, App. no. 71/884. St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11(1982)], p. 220, "French artist working in the Holy Land."
Pace, V., "Italy and the Holy Land . . . ," Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 254, nt. 10, George was "a Greek with the fairly common name 'Paris.'"
Cormack, R., and S. Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St. George: 'Maniera Greca' or 'Lingua Franca'?," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), p. 134.
Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer," pp. 106–9.
Hunt, L.-A., "Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt: A Triptych of the Ascension with Military Saints Reattributed," *Al-Masaq*, 12 (2000), pp. 17–18.
Folda, "231. Icon with Saints George Diasorites and Theodore Strateletes . . . ," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: Byzantine Art, 1261–1557*, p. 376.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 4.

95. Gp 1-30/1482 (Fig. 310), panel (with raised gesso):
Standing Virgin and Child *n tns Batou* (?), with two standing male saints.
Unpublished.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

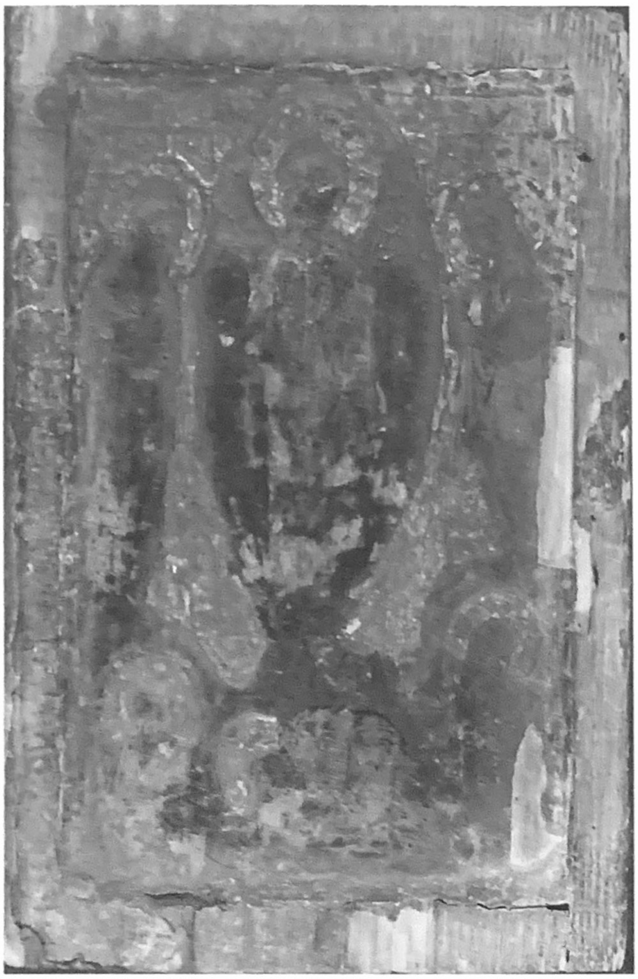


385. Sinai, App. no. 72/886. Twelve Standing Male Saints, with Moses and Elijah above in the lunette, two saints in the spandrels (central panel of a triptych). (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

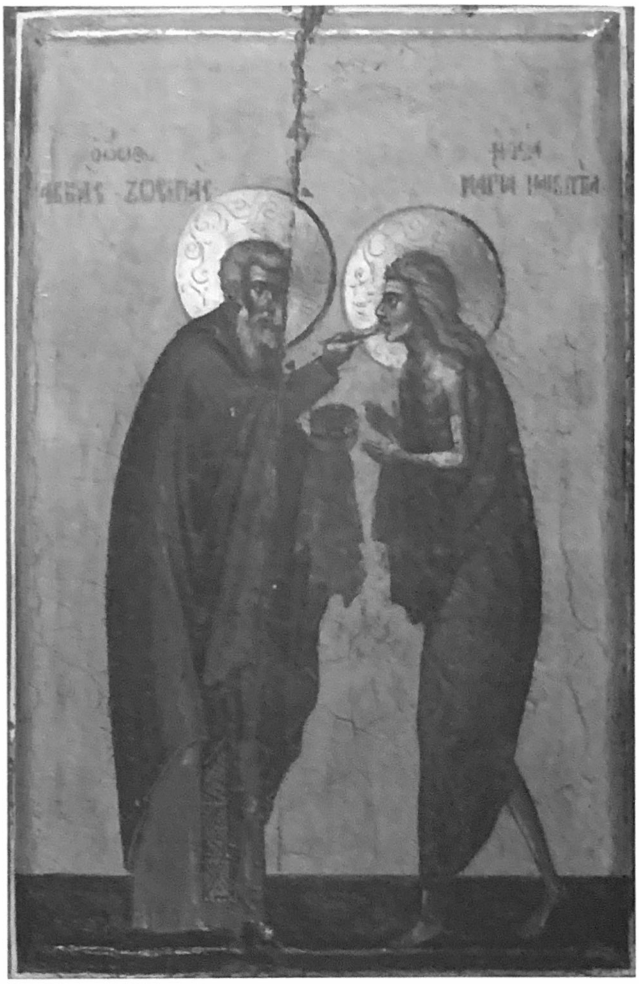


386. Sinai, App. no. 73/909. Flight into Egypt (above) and below, Herod and the Magi, Magi with the Virgin and Child (panel fragment). (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

96. Gp 4-22/1518 (Fig. 389), panel (with raised gesso):
    Virgin and Child *Hodeqetria* (bust-length).
    Mouriki, "Thirteenth Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," pp. 32, 96, Fig. 26.
    Foskolou, V., "213. Icon with the Virgin *Hodegetria*," *Byzantium: Faith and Power:1261–1557*, p. 354.
97. Gp 1-35/1568 (Figs. 269–70), very large panel, 120.5 × 68.0 cm:
    Bilateral icon: obverse, Crucifixion; reverse, *Anastasis*.
    Crucifixion: excellent condition; *Anastasis*: excellent condition, except loss at upper left corner; the face and halo of St. John the Baptist is gouged away, and the halo of Christ is gouged away.
    Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)], pp. 183–5.
    Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 64–6.
    Weitzmann, *The Icon* [8 (1978)], pp. 114–15, Pl. 38.
    Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)], pp. 225, 226, "Venetian artist working at Sinai."
    Demus, O., "Zum Werk eines Venezianischen Malers auf dem Sinai," *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. Hutter, Vienna, 1984, reprinted in O. Demus, *Studies in Byzantium, Venice, and the West*, ed. I. Hutter, London, 1998, vol. 2, pp. 283–91.
    Mouriki, *Sinai Treasures*, p. 188, no. 63, p. 189, no. 64.
    Derbes, "Siena and the Levant in the Later Dugento," *Gesta*, 28 (1989), pp. 191–6.
    Hunt, L.-A., "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," *ARAM*, 9 & 10 (1997–8), pp. 302–3.
    Folda, "223. Two-Sided Icon with the Crucifixion and the Anastasis," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 366–7.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
98. Gp 2-20/1645 (Fig. 268), large panel, 58.2 × 44.9 cm:
    St. Antipas (bust-length).
    Chatzidakis, M., and A. Grabar, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting*, London, 1965, Pl. 52.
    Weitzmann, *The Icon* (1978), p. 116.
    Galey, *Sinai*, Fig. 97.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.
99. Gp 2-31/1654 (Fig. 390), panel:
    St. Simeon stylites on his column with two standing saints below, and two flanking angels.
    Unpublished.



387. Sinai, App. no. 75/1012. Transfiguration. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



388. Sinai, App. no. 86/1365. St. Zosimos, abbot, gives the Eucharist to St. Mary the Egyptian. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

100. Gp 1-27/1680 (Figs. 295, 391), small panel, 23.2 cm h × 17.4 cm w × 1.8 cm (thick):
Virgin with special veil and Child *Galaktotrophousa* (bust-length); reverse, Cross of Victory with inscriptions: IC, XC, VC, Theta V, and vine scroll at bottom.
Excellent condition but heavily repainted in modern times. Appears to have been modeled on no. 710 (Fig. 293), or common model.
Unpublished, but see forthcoming study by E. Bolman.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

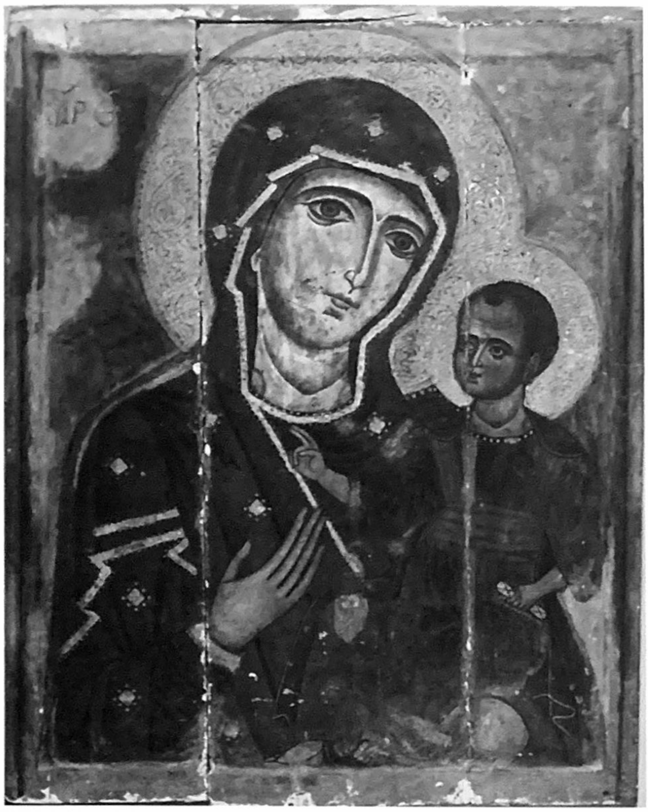
101. Gp 2-17/1725 (Fig. 263), medium-sized panel: 40.2 × 32.0 cm:
Dormition.
Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 60–1.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

102. Gp 3-?/1730 (Fig. 392), Iconostasis beam fragment:
Five scenes: (a) Entry into Jerusalem, (b) Crucifixion, (c) *Anastasis*, (d) Ascension, (e) Pentecost.
Unpublished.

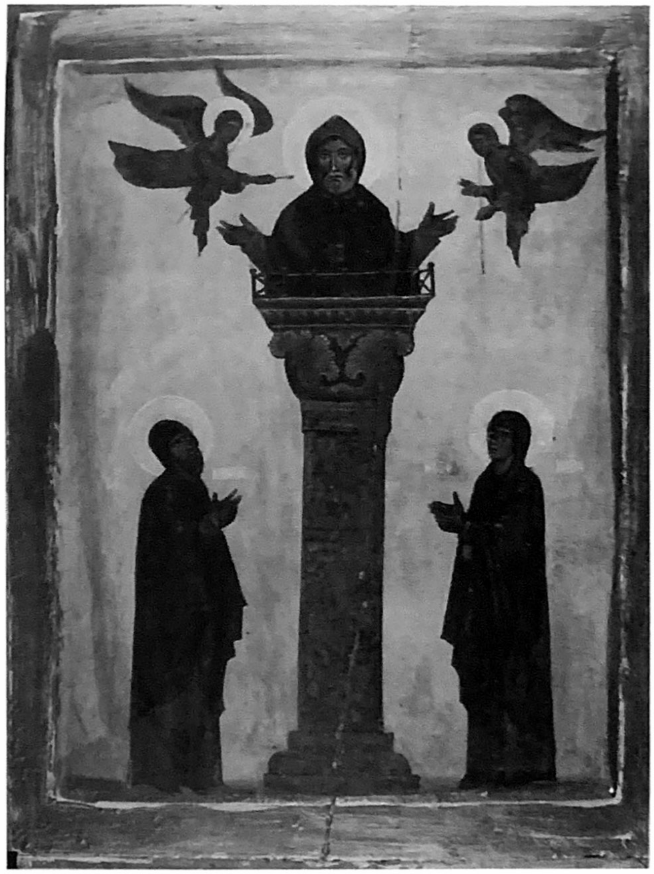
103. Gp 3-?/1731 (Fig. 296), small-sized panel:
The *Koimesis*, with top right corner cut off diagonally.
Unpublished.
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

104. Gp 3-1/1732 (Fig. 152), medium-sized panel, 37.3 cm h × 26.7 cm w × 2.0 cm (thick):
Crucifixion with Virgin and John sorrowing, two mourning angels; around the frame: Deësis, with fifteen saints, all bust-length, panel (cf no. 261, which seems to be a copy of or model for this one).
Good condition but Cross of Christ is heavily flaked, paint surface very heavily varnished.
Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)], pp. 180–1.
Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 56–8.
Weitzmann, *The Icon* [11 (1982)], pp. 211–14, "French artist working at Sinai."
Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

105/106/107. Gp 3-4/1744, 1745, 1746:
Iconostasis beam, with 13 scenes, articulated into three panels that hook together to form the whole beam.
Total width: 225.3 cm (= 2.253 m).
Beam in good condition, unfinished on the left panel with red dividers found on central and right panels left unexecuted; incidental damage and varnished surface.
Cotsonis, J., "220. Templon Beam with Feast Scenes," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 362–3.



389. Sinai, App. no. 96/1518. Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



390. Sinai, App. no. 99/1654. St. Symeon Stylites with two standing male saints. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

105. Gp 3-4/1744 (Figs. 164–7, 393), Left-hand panel (first set – four scenes):

  Annunciation (15.5 cm w), Nativity (17.2 cm w), Presentation in the Temple (16.5 cm w), Baptism of Christ (16.5 cm w).
  First, left hand section of iconostasis beam: 28.9 cm h × 68.0 cm w (front surface) × 3.5 cm (thick).
  Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)], pp. 181–3.
  Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusading Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 62–4.
  Weitzmann, *The Icon* [11(1982)], pp. 222, 223, 224 (Nativity), "Venetian artist working at Sinai."
  Zeitler, "Two Iconostasis Beams," pp. 223–34.
  Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557, pp. 362–4, no. 220.
  Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

106. Gp 3-4/1745 (Figs. 168–72, 394), Central panel (second set – five scenes): Transfiguration (17.5 cm w), Raising of Lazarus (17.4 cm w), Entry into Jerusalem (17.0 cm w), Last Supper (17.5 cm w), Crucifixion (17.5 cm w).

  Second, central section of iconostasis beam: 29.0 cm h × 87.3 cm w (front surface) × 3.5 cm (thick).
  Crucifixion:
  Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)], pp. 181–3.
  Zeitler, "Two Iconostasis Beams," pp. 223–34.
  Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557, pp. 362–3, no. 220.
  Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

107. Gp 3-4/1746 (Figs. 173–6, 395), Right-hand panel (third set – four scenes): *Anastasis* (17.3 cm w), Ascension (17.3 cm w), Pentecost (15.7 cm w), Dormition of the Virgin (16.1 cm w).

  Third, right-hand section of the iconostasis beam: 29.0 cm h × 70.0 cm w (front surface) × 3.4 cm (thick).
  Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)], pp. 181–3.
  Paliouras and Damianos, *The Monastery*, pp. 24–6 and Fig. 143.
  Zeitler, "Two Iconostasis Beams," pp. 223–34.
  Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557, pp. 362–3, no. 220.
  Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

108. Gp 3-5/1753 (Fig. 396), panel:

  Forty Martyrs with Christ above and Forty crowns in the sky.
  Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," pp. 120, 196.

109. Gp 3-12/1771 (Fig. 397), two wings of a triptych:

  Three bust-length male saints on each wing (central panel lost). These wings may be related to no. 573, pending further research.
  Unpublished.

110. Gp 1-25/1783 (Figs. 271–88), Diptych: each wing, 50.9 cm h × 39.9 cm w × 3.0 cm (thick).

Diptych with Virgin and Child *Kykkotissa* (right wing) and St. Procopios (left wing, both bust-length), frames each with six bust-length and six standing saints.

Large diptych, in excellent condition, with heavy varnish on surface.

Sotiriou, *Icones*, 1, Figs. 188–90, 2, pp. 171–3 [Cyprus origin].

Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 66–9, Figs. 33–40.

Weitzmann, *The Icon* [8 (1978)], pp. 112–13 (detail, St. Procopios).

Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)], pp. 205, 227, "Venetian artist working at Sinai" (detail of the Virgin *Kykkotissa*).

Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and the Maniera Greca," [14 (1984], pp. 150–2, Fig. 8.

Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, pp. 336–7, Fig. 205, p. 339.

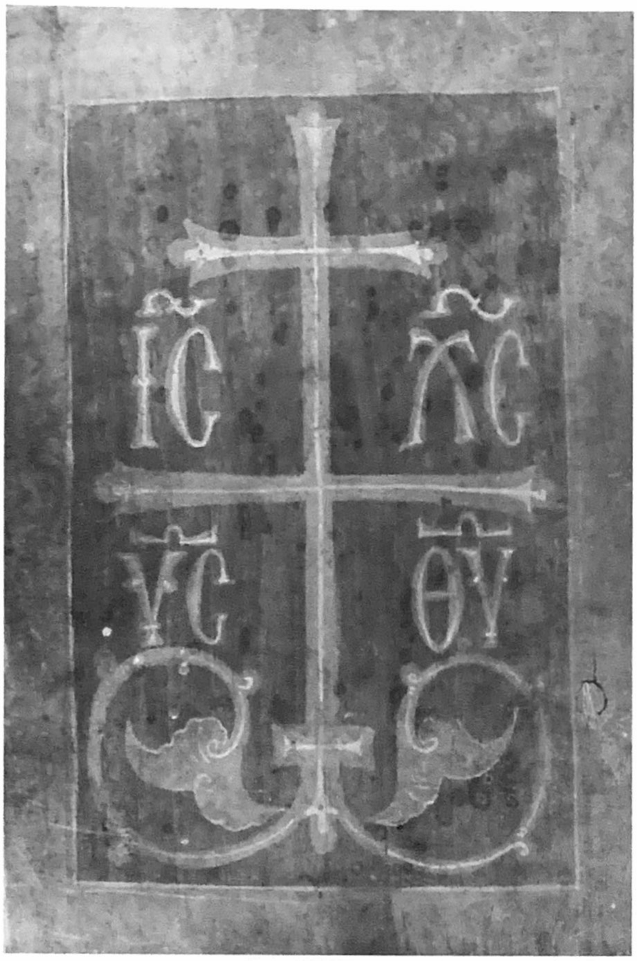
Carr, Annemarie Weyl, "Images of Medieval Cyprus," *Visitors, Immigrants, and Invaders in Cyprus*, Albany: Institute of Cypriot Studies, 1995, p. 96.

Carr, Annemarie Weyl, "Icon-Tact: Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, Symposium papers, ed. T. Mathews and R. Wieck, New York, 1996, pp. 97–8.

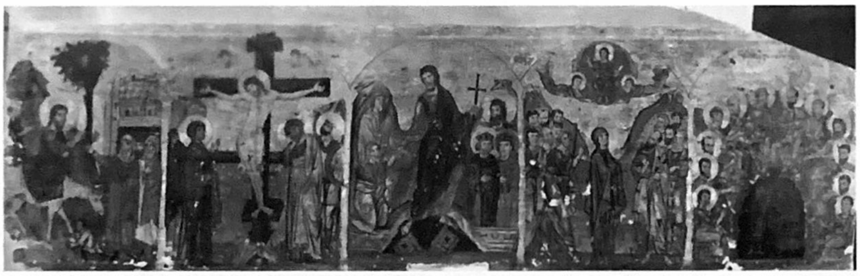
Mouriki, *Sinai Treasures*, pp. 118–19, 190–1, no. 65. "It is likely that this diptych was made in one of the organized workshops in Nicosia, where the co-mingling of Byzantine, Western, and Eastern elements is explained by historical facts."

Hutter, I., "The Magdalen College 'Musterbuch'," *Medieval Cyprus*, pp. 123–5, Figs. 16, 17, "a pair of icons with a noble Cypriot pedigree."

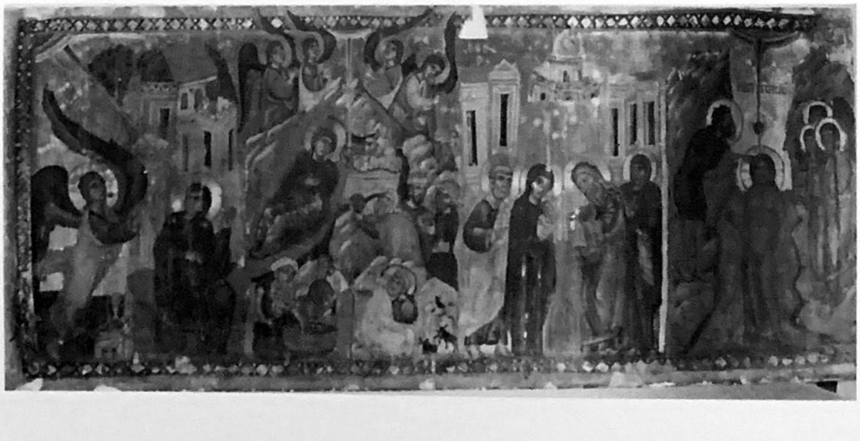
Mother of God, pp. 444–6. M. Aspra-Vardavakis partially follows Mouriki, but concludes "it must have been painted at Sinai as a special commission for some well-educated Church dignitary, perhaps the abbot of the monastery himself." The artist was "perhaps . . . a Christian monk of Syrian origin who had some connection with Cyprus and Sinai."



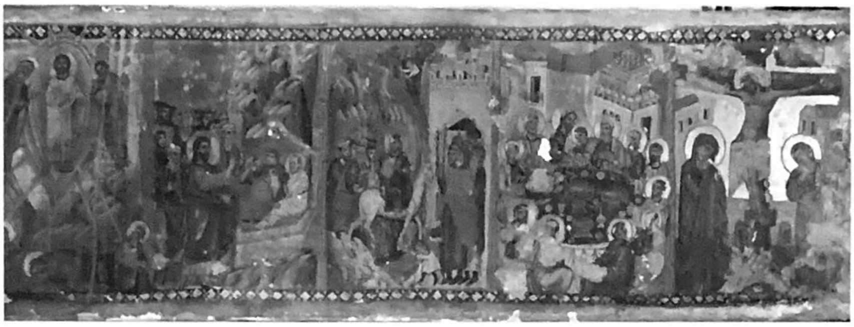
391. Sinai, App. no. 100/1680. [Front, Virgin and Child *Galactotrophousa*] Reverse: Image of the True Cross. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



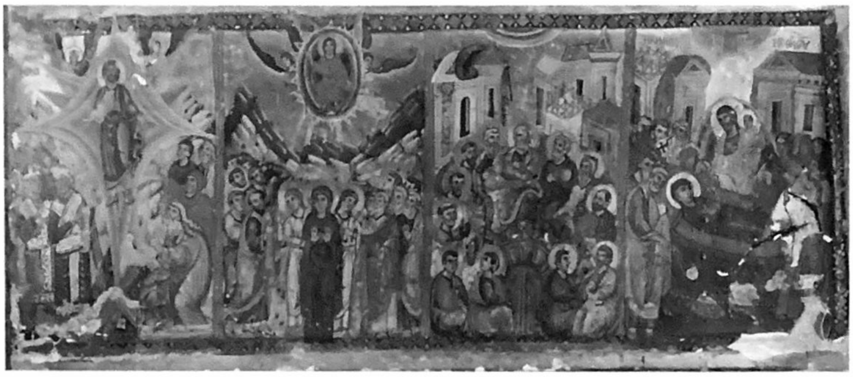
392. Sinai, App. no. 102/1730. Iconostasis Beam fragment with five scenes. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



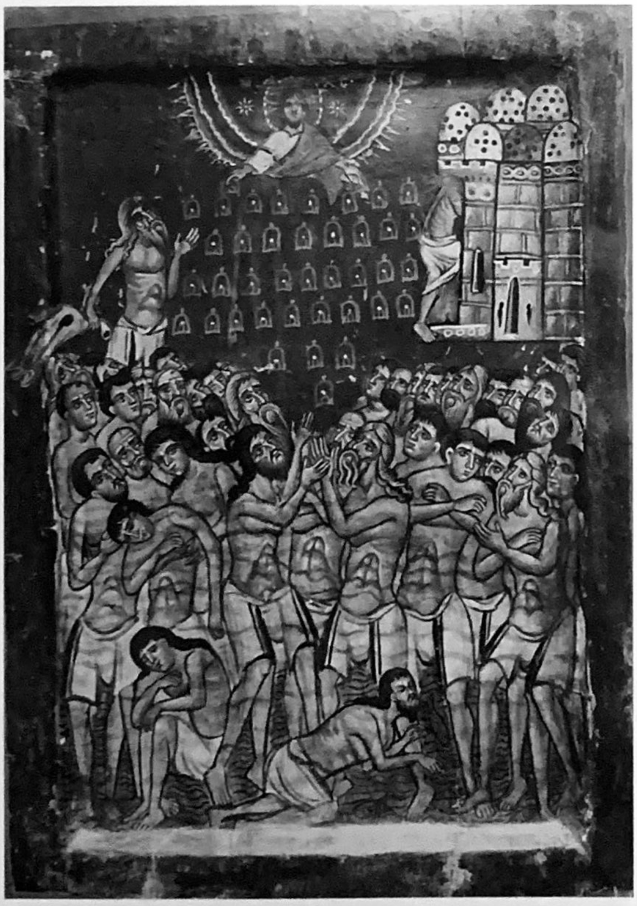
393. Sinai, App. no. 105/1744. Iconostasis Beam with the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, and the Baptism of Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



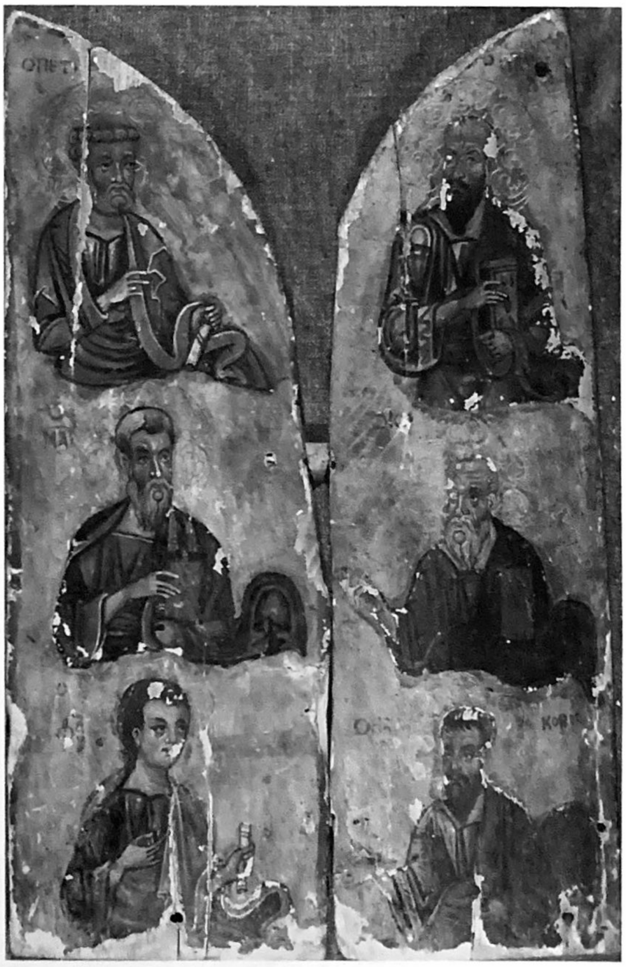
394. Sinai, App. no. 106/1745: Iconostasis Beam with the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, and the Crucifixion. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



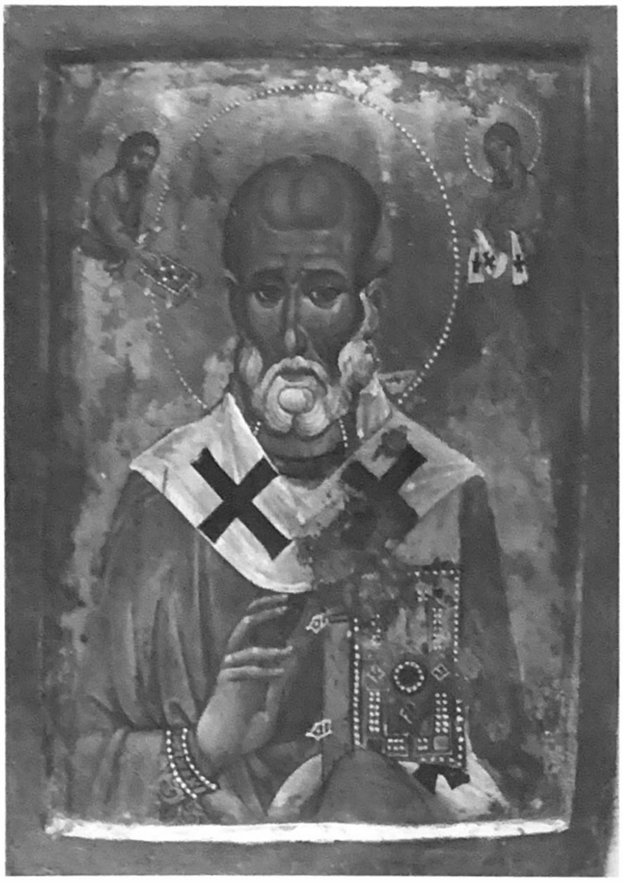
395. Sinai, App. no. 107/1746: Iconostasis Beam with the Anastasis, the Ascension, the Pentecost, and the Dormition of the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



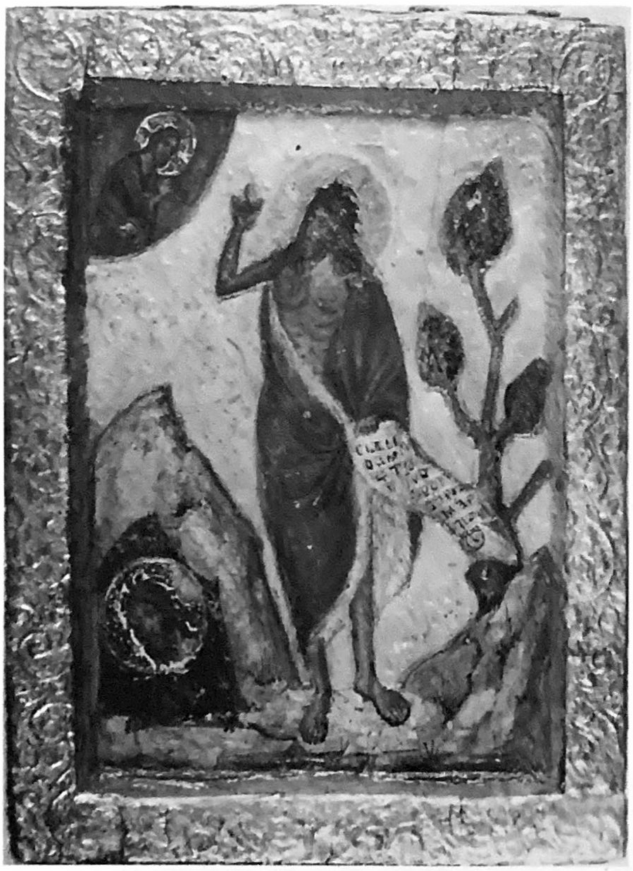
396. Sinai, App. no. 108/1753. The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



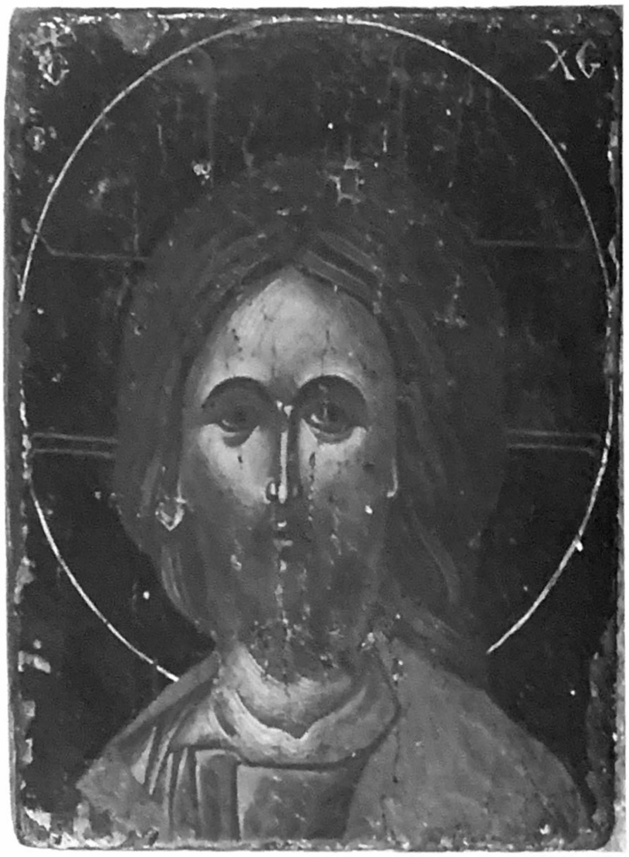
397. Sinai, App. no. 109/1771. Right and left wing fragments with three male saints each. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



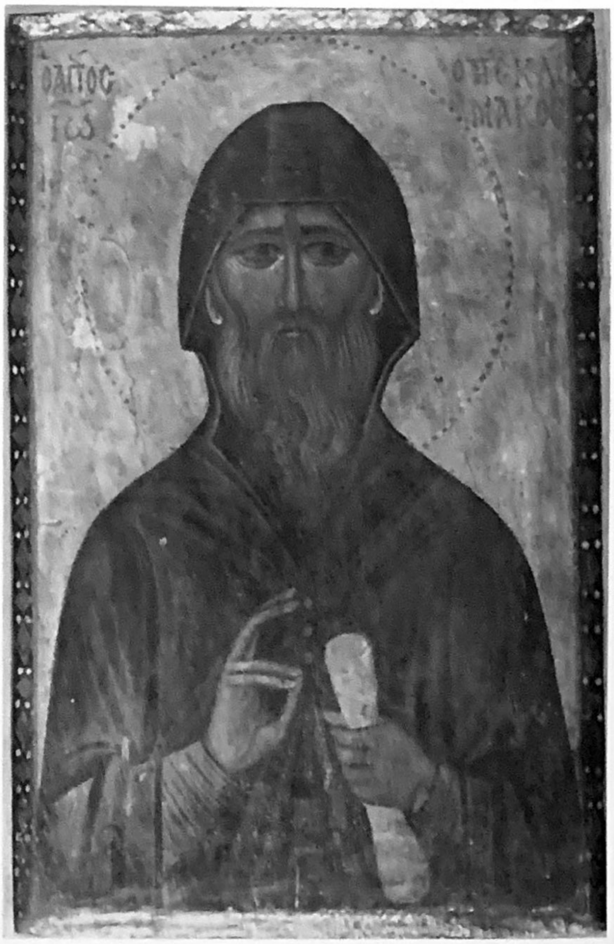
398. Sinai, App. no. 111/1802. St. Nicholas with Christ and the Virgin. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



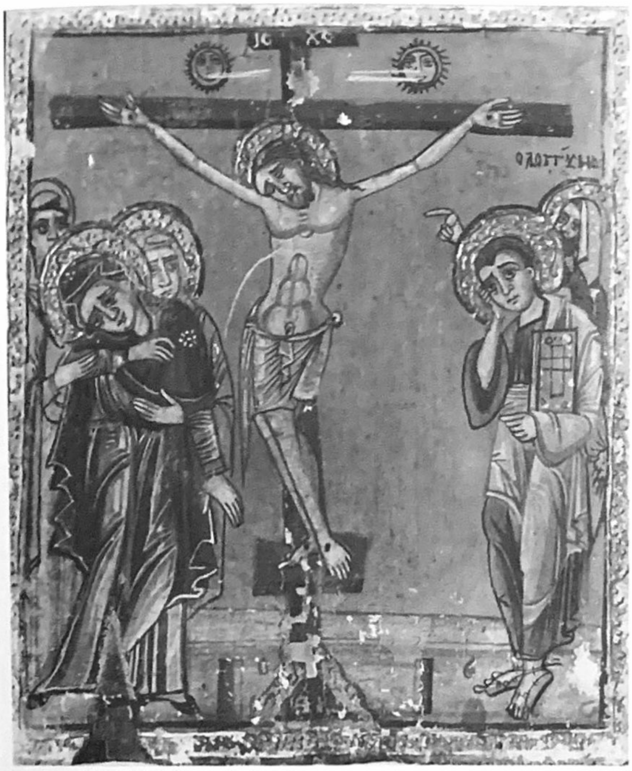
399. Sinai, App. no. 112/1803. St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



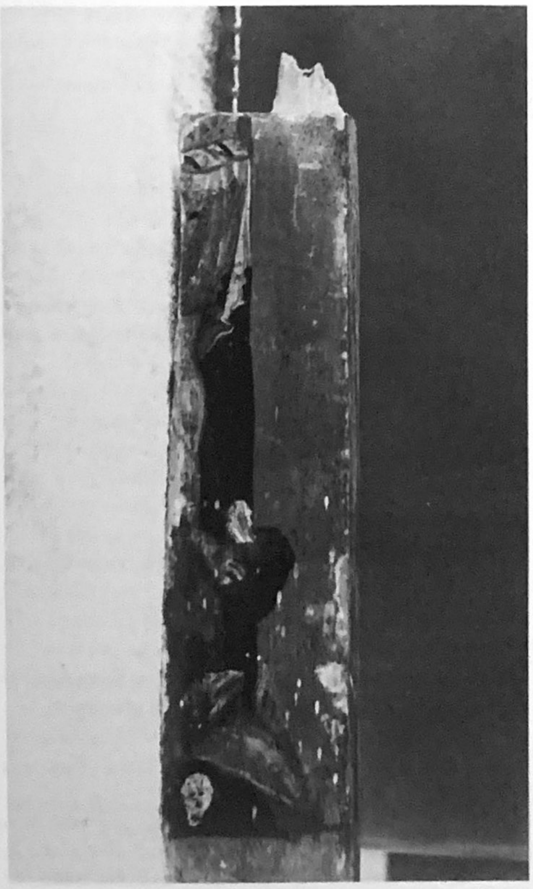
400. Sinai, App. no. 116/1885. Head of Christ. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



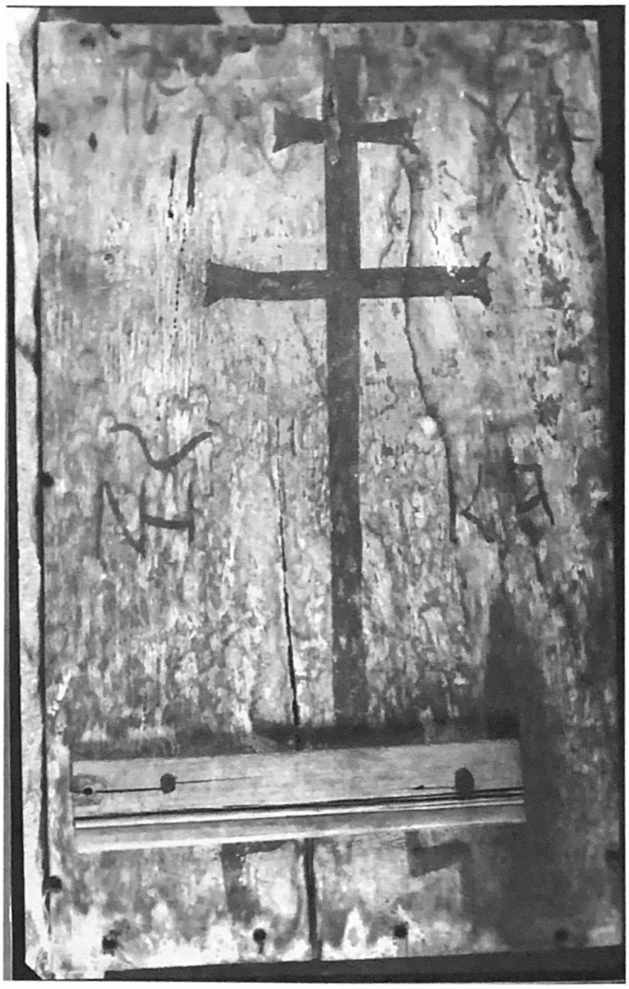
401. Sinai, App. no. 117/1901. Monastic (male) Saint. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



402. Sinai, App. no. 118/1965. Crucifixion with Mary Swooning. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



404. Sinai, App. no. 122/1230b. Painted Cross (fragmentary) with part of the torso of Christ (1230b). (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



403. Sinai, App. no. 121/1998. [Front, Intercessory Archangel] Reverse: Image of the True Cross. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Sinai, Byzantium, Russia, pp. 44–5. Cormack follows Mouriki in attributing this icon to a Cypriot artist, after which it was presented to the monastery at Sinai as a gift.

Aspra-Vardavakis, M., "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych," pp. 89–104, colorplate I.

Folda, "214. Diptych with Saint Procopios and the Virgin Kykkotissa," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 355–6.

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

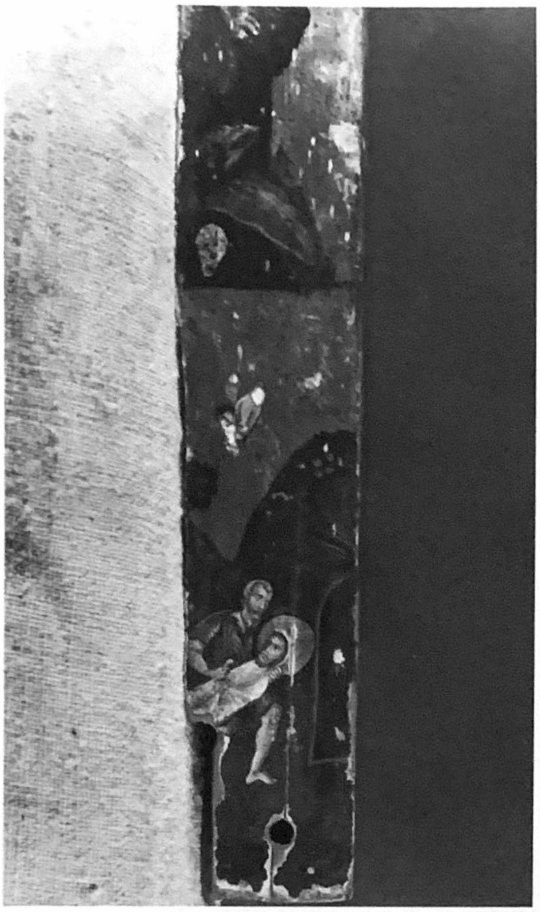
111. Gp 2-16/1802 (Fig. 398), panel:

St. Nicholas with diminutive Christ and Virgin (all bust-length), panel.

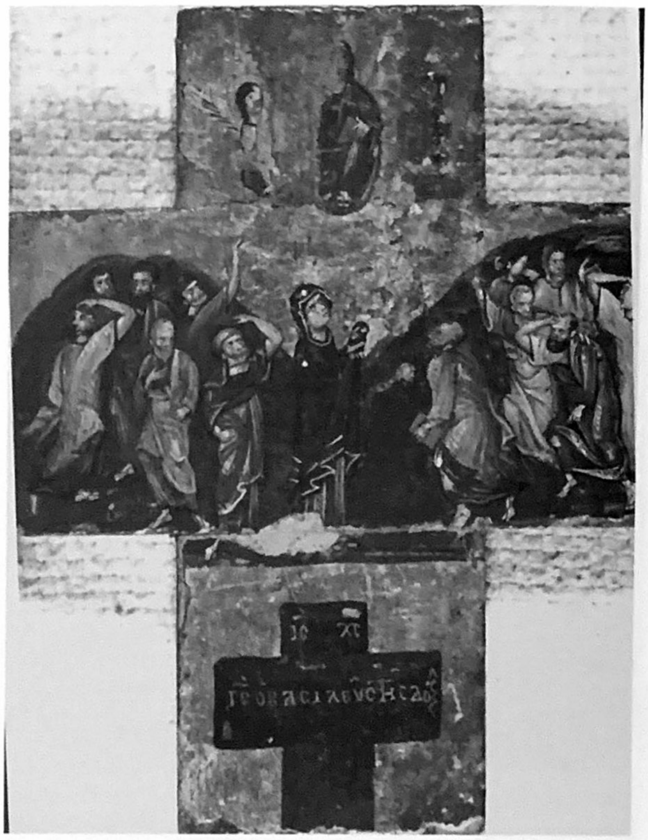
Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)], pp. 195–6.

112. Gp 4-30/1803 (Fig. 399), panel (with raised gesso on the frame):

St. John the Baptist standing in the wilderness
gesturing to Christ, head of St. John under rock at left.
Unpublished.



405. Sinai, App. no. 122/1230a. Painted Cross with the Burial of Christ (1230a). (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



406. Sinai, App. no. 122/1019. Painted Cross (fragmentary) with the titulus and the scene of the Ascension. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

113. Gp 2-1/1831 (Fig. 188), medium-sized panel, 33.7 × 24.9 cm:
    Nativity scene, with midwives below, shepherds right.
    Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai," pp. 289–91, Fig. 10.
    Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," pp. 119, 194, no. 68.
    Cotsonis, J., "221, 222. Two Icons from a Templon Beam," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 364–5.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

114. Gp 2-15/1836 (Fig. 189), medium-sized panel, 33.5 × 23.2 cm:
    Baptism of Christ scene, panel.
    Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," pp. 119, 195, no. 69.
    Cotsonis, J., "221, 222. Two Icons from a Templon Beam," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 364–5.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

115. Gp 1-14/1857 (Fig. 311), two wings with angles cut on their top surfaces.
    Moses and Aaron standing.
    Unpublished.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

116. Gp 1-34/1885 (Fig. 400), small panel:
    Head of Christ with large halo.
    Unpublished.

117. Gp 2-19/1901 (Fig. 401), panel:
    Monastic saint, blessing (bust-length).
    Unpublished.

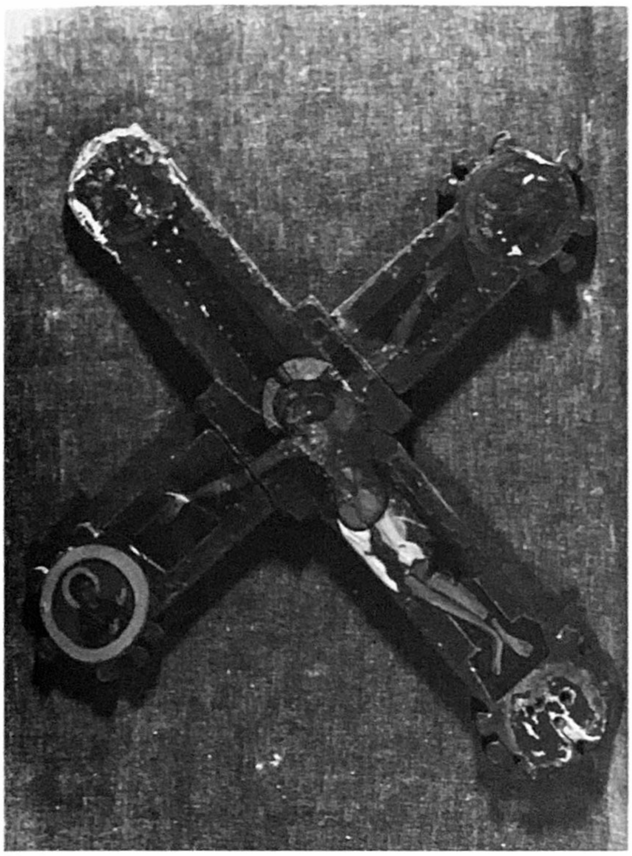
118. Gp 4-13/1965 (Fig. 402), panel:
    Crucifixion, with Mary swooning and two female attendants, John with male figure behind him, low wall, sun and moon.
    Unpublished.

119. Gp 1-12/1966 (Fig. 312), panel:
    Three Hebrews with angel above.
    Mouriki, "Thirteenth Century Icon Painting," p. 67.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 7.

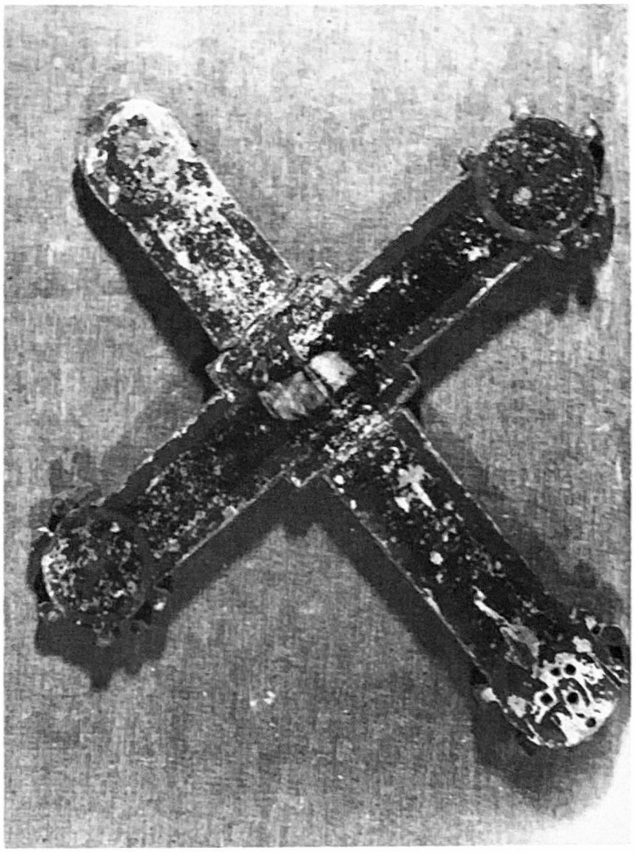
120. Gp 2-24/1997 (Fig. 123), panel:
    Intercessory archangel (seen from left) from large Deësis group.
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 5.

121. Gp 2-25/1998 (Figs. 124, 403), panel:
    Intercessory archangel (seen from right) from large Deësis group; reverse has patriarchal cross (damaged).
    Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 5.

122. Sinai Archive Inv. Nos. 1230b, 1230a, 1019 (Figs. 404–6), painted cross (fragmentary):
    Part of the Torso of Christ (1230b, Fig. 404); the Burial of Christ (1230a, Fig. 405), Below; and above, the titulus and the scene of the Ascension (1019, Fig. 406).
    Weitzmann, "Three Painted Crosses at Sinai," [6 (1972)], pp. 23–31.



407. Sinai, App. no. 123/796. Painted Processional Cross: Front: Christ and medallions of Mary and John, and two other damaged medallions. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)



408. Sinai, App. no. 123/796. Painted Processional Cross: Back: The Lamb of God and four medallions containing the four evangelist symbols. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Weitzmann, "Three Painted Crosses at Sinai," [12 (1982)], pp. 409–22.

123. Sinai Archive Inv. No. 796 (Figs. 407, 408), Painted Processional Cross:
  Front: Painted processional cross with Christ and medallions of Mary and John, and two other damaged medallions.
  Back: Painted processional cross with the Lamb of God and four medallions containing the four Evangelist symbols.
  Weitzmann, "Three Painted Crosses at Sinai," [6 (1972)], pp. 23–31.
  Weitzmann, "Three Painted Crosses at Sinai," [12 (1982)], pp. 409–22.

124. Sinai Archive Inv. No. 1276 (Fig. 409), panel with the Dodekaorta:
  Scenes for the twelve great liturgical feasts of the orthodox ecclesiastical year.
  Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 53–54.
  Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 406–8.

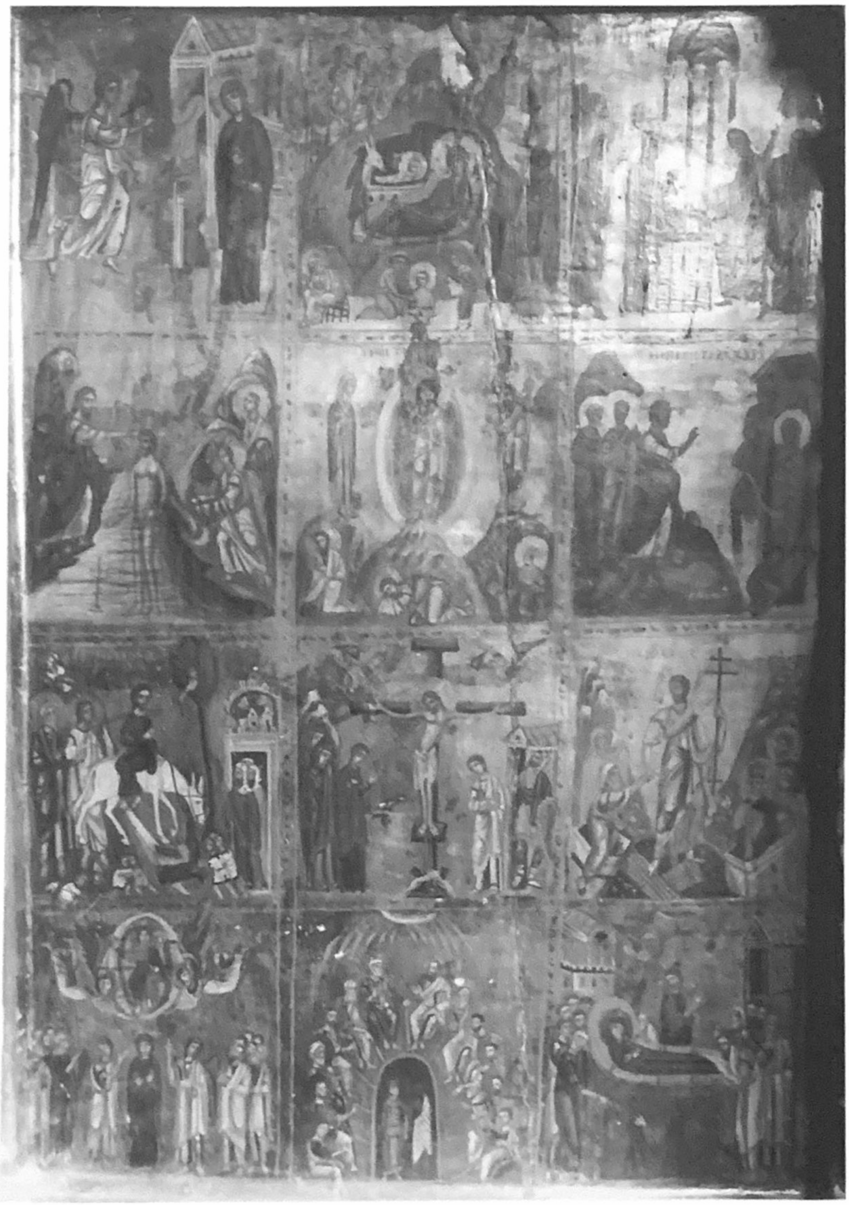
Western-Influenced Icons Identified as Having Possible Crusader Connections, Located in Other Collections

125. Icon (Fig. 183), small panel, 26.3 × 18.5 cm:
  St. George.
  British Museum, London.
  Cormack, R., and S. Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St George: 'Maniera Greca' or 'Lingua Franca'?," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 132–41.
  Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer," p. 105, Fig. 11.
  Cormack, R., "Crusader Art and Artistic Technique: Another Look at a Painting of St George," *Byzantine Icons: Art, Technique and Technology*, ed. M. Vassilaki, Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2002, pp. 163–9.
  Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

126. Icon (Fig. 192), small panel, 20.4 × 15.8 cm:
  St. Marina.
  The Menil Collection, Houston, Texas.
  Folda, J., "The Saint Marina Icon: Maniera Cypria, Lingua Franca, or Crusader Art?," *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, ed. B. Davezac, Houston, 1992, pp. 106–33.
  Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 6.

127. Icon (Fig. 410), double-decker panel of medium size, 40.0 × 24.1 cm:
  Eight saints.
  Musée Granet, Aix en Provence.
  Hetherington, P., "Byzantium in Provence, a Greek Icon for a Western Patron," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, May–June 1988, pp. 277–83.

128. Icon (Fig. 411), panel:
  Archangel.



409. Sinai, App. no. 124/1276. Panel with the *Dodekaorta*, scenes for the twelve great liturgical feasts. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Monastery of Hagios Chrysostomos.

Sotiriou, G. A., *Ta Byzantina Mnemeia ths Kuprou*, Athens, 1935, Pl. 63ff.

Mango, C., and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963," *DOP*, 18 (1964), p. 334, and Fig. 40.

Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 74, Fig. 51.

Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting," pp. 19–20, Fig. 7.

Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, p. 22, Fig. 13.

129. Icon (Fig. 122), Fragment of a panel (22.0 × 2.5 cm) *c.*1230s:

Feet of two male figures, possibly of St. John the Baptist (left) and St. Michael the Archangel (right).

Montfort Castle, excavated in 1926 in chamber "K."

Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Dean, B., "The Exploration of a Crusaders' Fortress (Montfort) in Palestine," pp. 39–40.

Folda, *ACHL* 2, Ch. 5.

130. The Ryerson Diptych (Figs. 412, 413), each wing, 38.0 × 29.5 cm, *c.*1270s:

Left wing: Virgin and Child enthroned, with donor figure, and two bust-length angels.

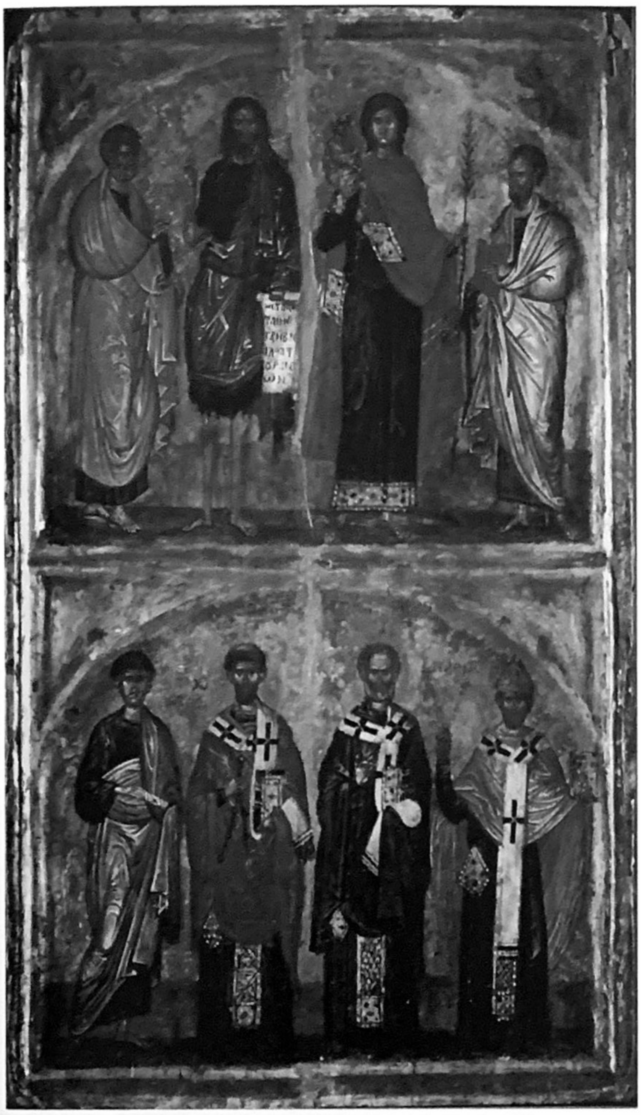
Right wing: Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John and two angels.

Now in the Art Institute of Chicago, cat. E22630.

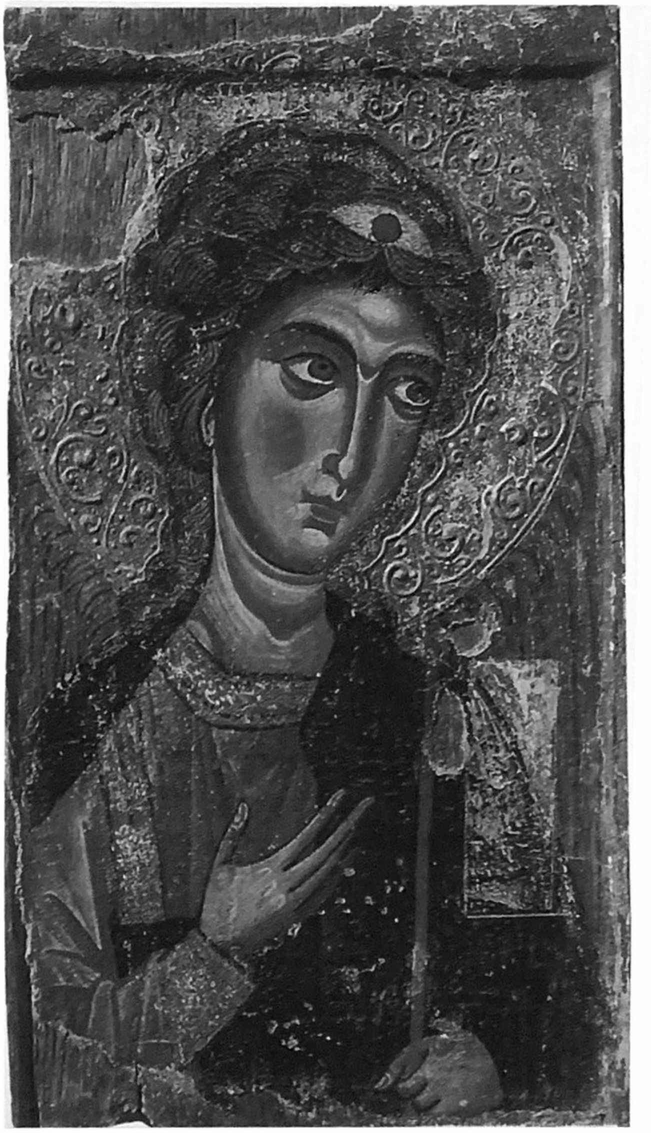
Bellosi, L., *Cimabue*, trans. A. Bonfante-Warren, F. Dabell, and J. Hyams, New York/London/Paris: Abbeville Publishing, 1998, pp. 60, 63.

Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 48f., 51, and Pl. 145.

Garrison, E. B., *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence, 1949, p. 97, no. 241, with the older bibliography, and CD version, Courtauld Institute, London, 1998, no. 241.



410. Aix en Provence, App. no. 127. Eight Standing Male Saints (Musée Granet, Aix en Provence). (photo: by courtesy of the Musée Granet, Aix en Provence)



411. Cyprus, App. no. 128. Archangel (Monastery of Hagios Chrysostomos, Cyprus). (photo after Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*)

Corrie, R., "288. Diptych of the Virgin and Child . . . and the Crucifixion," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, p. 479.

131. The Icon of the Virgin and Child, *Hodegetria* (Fig. 414):

Now on the high altar of the Church of the Basilian Convent, in Grottaferrata, Italy.

Garrison, E.B., *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence 1949, no. 87, and CD version, Courtauld Institute, London, 1998, no. 87.

Bacci, M., "Appunti sulla nascita, multiplicazione, decadenza delle imagini di culto attribuite a San Luca pittore," *Bolletino d'Arte*, 88 (1994), p. 84, and n. 40, p. 91.

Giannini, R., *(Vita) della Theotokos di Grottaferrata*, Una luminosa presenza multisecolare, Grottaferrata, 1989.

Mannino, P. Santamaria, "La Vergine (Kykkotissa) in due icone iniziale del Duecento," in *Roma Anno 1300*, ed. A. M. Romanini, Rome, 1983, p. 491.

Pace, V., "Pittura Bizantina nell'Italia Meridionale (secoli XI–XIV)," *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. G. Cavallo et al., Milan, 1982, Fig. 423.

Paribeni, R., "Il quadro della Vergine," *Badia di Grottaferrata*, Rome, 1930, pp. 29–30.

132. The Kahn Madonna, panel, (123.0 × 72.0 × 2.1 cm), *c.*1260s.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

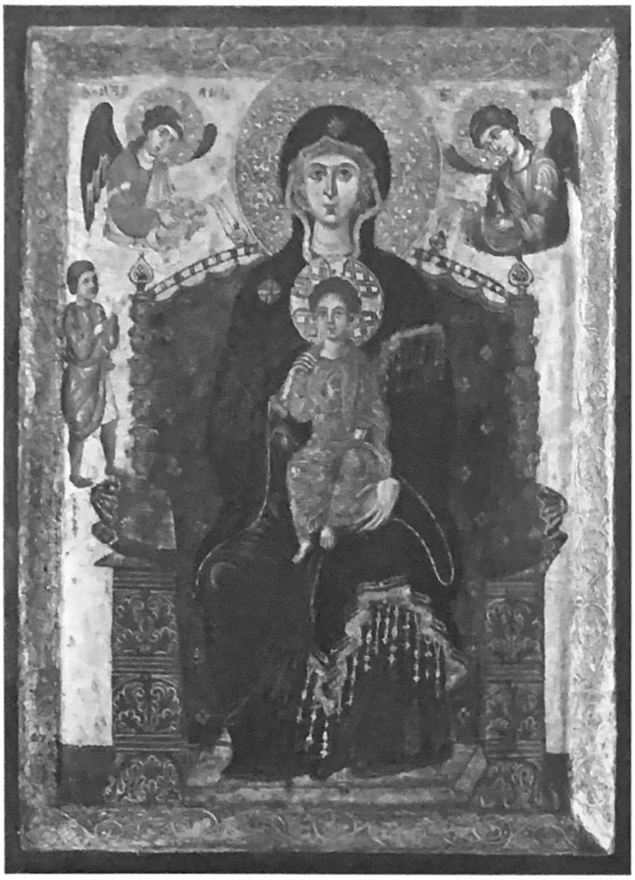
J. Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61, Symposium Papers XXXVIII (2002), pp. 122–45, with older bibliography.

R. Corrie, "286. Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 478–9, with recent bibliography.

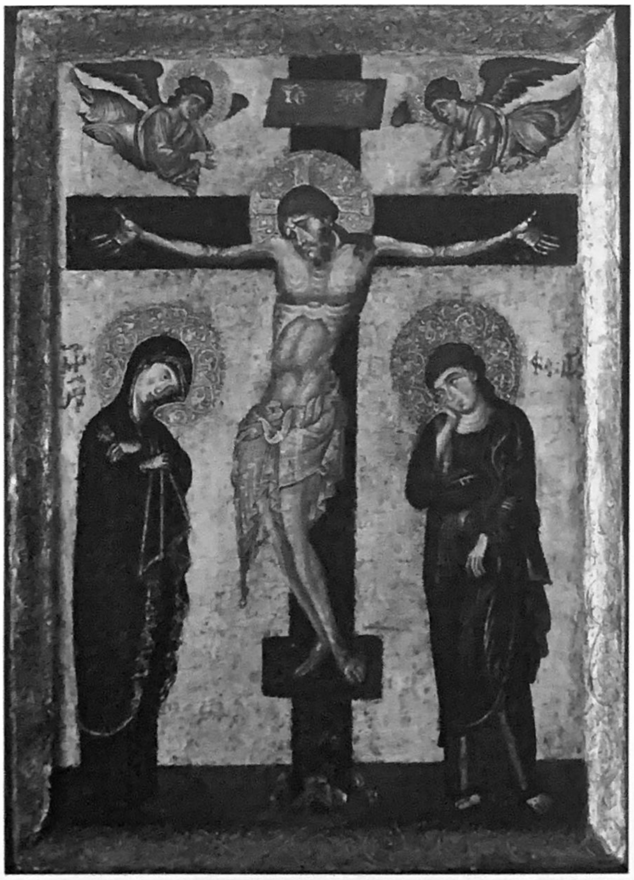
133. Mellon Madonna, panel, (81.5 × 49.0 cm), *c.*1260–1285.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

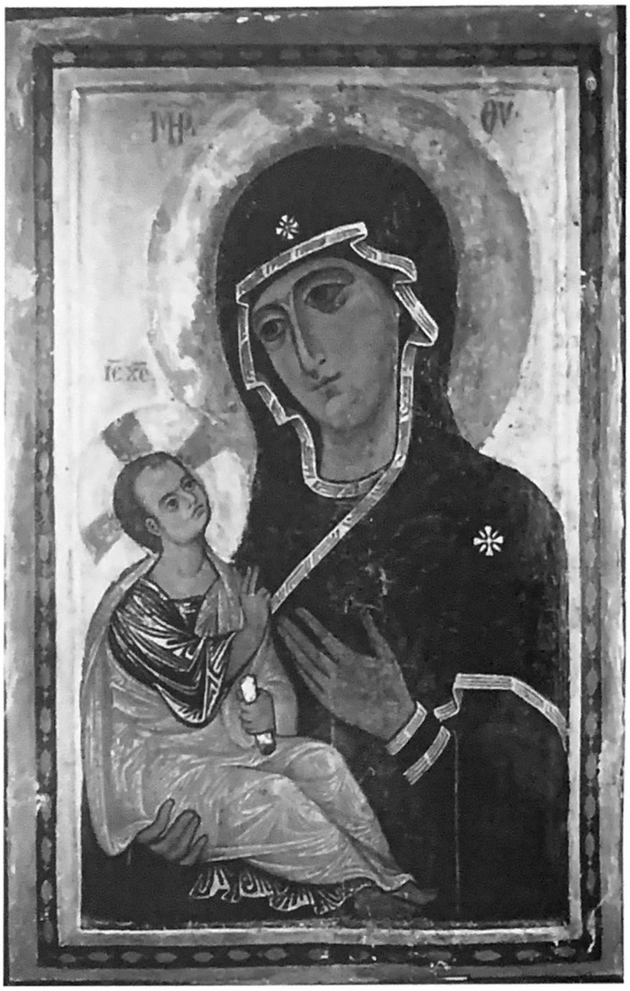
J. Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V.M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61, Symposium Papers XXXVIII (2002), pp. 122–45, with older bibliography.



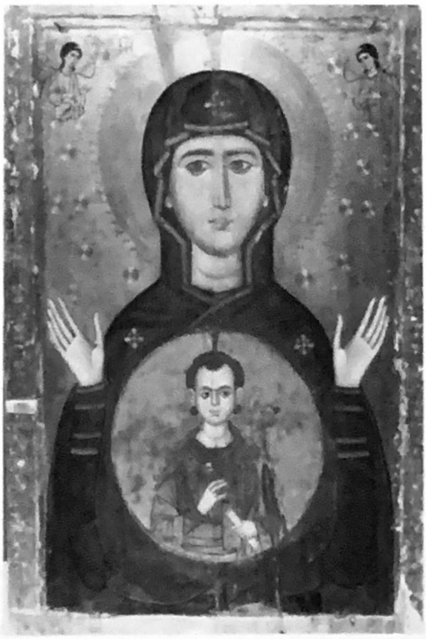
412. Chicago, App. no. 130. The Ryerson Diptych (Chicago, The Art Institute): Left wing: Virgin and Child Enthroned with standing donor figure. (photo: by courtesy of the Art Institute, Chicago)



413. Chicago, App. no. 130. The Ryerson Diptych (Chicago, The Art Institute): Right wing: Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John. (photo: by courtesy of the Art Institute: Chicago)



414. Grottaferrata, App. no. 131. Panel of the Virgin Hodegetria, Grottaferrata. (photo after color calendar reproduction from Grottaferrata)



415. Sinai, App. No. 134. The Virgin and Child Blacherniotissa. (photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and by courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

R. Corrie, "286. Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 478–9, with recent bibliography.

Addendum

134. An Additional Crusader Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai:

In the exhibition, *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, which closed in New York at the Metropolitan Museum on 4 July 2004, Helen Evans included an icon of the Virgin Blachernitissa (Fig. 415). Although Elka Bakalova calls this icon "Byzantine" in the catalogue entry, Helen Evans herself thinks it is a Crusader icon and it was presented as such in the audio tour produced for visitors to the show. Some years ago Doula Mouriki discussed some of the Crusader characteristics found in this icon,but she decided to attribute it, along with several other icons – stylistically very close to each other – to a Syrian or a Cypriot artist probably working at Sinai. I agree with Helen Evans, however, and I propose that this icon is done in the same Veneto–Byzantine Crusader style seen in the bilateral icon with the Virgin Hodegetria on the obverse, and Saints Sergios and Bacchus on the reverse, App. No. 10, Gp 1-20/63 (Figs. 197, 198). This view is seconded by Titos Papamastorakis in the article cited below from the catalogue of the Benaki Museum exhibition in the summer of 2004.

Bibliography

1. D. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery*, ed. K. Manafis, Athens, 1990, pp. 117, 186, Fig. 61.
2. Y. Piatnitsky, "Icon with the Mother of God Blachernitissa," *Sinai, Byzantium and Russia*, pp. 239–41.
3. C. Baltoyanni, "The Mother of God in Portable Icons," *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Maria Vassilaki, ed., Athens, 2000, pp. 140, 142, Fig. 85.
4. E. Bakalova, "212. Icon with the Virgin Blachernitissa," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 352–3, Fig. 212.
5. T. Papamastorakis, "The 'Crusader' Icons in the Exhibition," *Pilgrimage to Sinai: Treasures from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine*, Athens, Benaki Museum, 2004, p. 54.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens with H. E. Mayer and G. Rösch, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis*, vol. LXIII, Turnholt, 1986, Prologue, p. 99.

2. William Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, *Records of Civilization*, vol. XXXV, New York, 1943, Prologue, pp. 54–5.

3. Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum, sive ut vulgo dicitur Historia Minor*, ed. F. Madden, Rolls Series, vol. 44, London, 1866, vol. 1, p. 79.

4. R. C. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350*, Princeton, 1993, p. 261.

CHAPTER 1: REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

1. J. F. Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, first published Paris, 1811–17, in three volumes; then expanded to six volumes in the 4th edition, Paris, 1825–7. See J. Richard, "De Jean-Baptiste Mailly à Joseph-François Michaud: un moment de l'historiographie des croisades (1774–1841), *Crusades*, 1 (2002), pp. 1–12, for the story of Michaud and the evolution of his work. On Michaud, see also H. Bordeaux, *Voyageurs d'Orient*, vol. 2, Paris, 1926, pp. 133–95.

2. The *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* was guided by an editorial committee of five members, MM. Hase, Quatremère, Reinaud, Guérard, and Beugnot, and published in Paris between 1841 and 1906.

3. Louis Felicien de Saulcy, *Numismatique des Croisades*, Paris, 1847, rpt. 1974.

4. Part of the context for French scholarship in the nineteenth century on the Crusaders was the political stance of France since 1740 in regard to the Holy Land. When the Sultan Mahmud I and Louis XV signed the Capitulations of 1740, it accorded to France the confirmation of a firman granted by Sultan Murad IV to Louis XIII in 1620. By these agreements, all Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem were placed under the protection of the French flag, and all Frankish (Roman Catholic) clergy were guaranteed certain rights and privileges at the holy places.

5. R. Cagnat, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. le Marquis de Vogüé," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: comptes rendues, séances* (1918), p. 449.

6. Cagnat, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. le Marquis de Vogüé," pp. 443–73.

7. Jaroslav Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 5–8.

8. Melchior de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris: Libraririe de Victor Didron, 1860, pref. J. Prawer, rpt. Toronto and Buffalo: Les Presses de l'Université de Toronto, 1973, p. 37.

9. Ibid., pp. 40–2.

10. Ibid., pp. 42–3.

11. Ibid., p. 43.

12. Ibid., p. 392.

13. Ibid., pp. 394–400.

14. J. Wigley, *Archaeological Studies in Jerusalem*, London, 1856.

15. De Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 399.

16. Ibid., pp. 403–4.

17. Ibid., p. 405.

18. G. Rey, *Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'Ile de Chypre*, Paris, 1871.

19. E. G. Rey, "Etude sur la topographie de la ville de Saint-Jean d'Acre au XIIIe siècle," *Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, vol. XXXIX, Miscellanea Historica, VI, 33 pp.

20. See Bordeaux, *Voyageurs d'Orient*, vol. 1, Paris, 1926, pp. 77–100; P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, vol. I, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Paris, 1934, p. ix, nt. 1; and H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 3. Bordeaux reports that Deschamps lived in Chartres during his last years, at 12 rue de Beauvais, but somewhat as a recluse except for visits to use the municipal library.

21. Rey, *Etude sur les monuments*, pp. 14–16.

22. Ibid., pp. 16–17.

23. Ibid., p. 17.

24. Rey himself drew most of the plans published in the plates and in the text, presumably based on his on-site research, with the one exception of Kerak, plan by C. Mauss. The isometric views, however, seem to be by a variety of people with the famous reconstruction of Crac des Chevaliers having been executed by L. Sauvageot, an architect. Incidentally, this reconstruction of Crac distorts its proportions drastically, emphasizing the height of its walls and the overall verticality of its aspect, while shrinking the size and prominence of its round towers. Crac in this drawing is transformed into a medieval French castle.

25. Ibid., pp. 19–38, 255–64, pls. II–III. Rey cites the wrong date for the gift of Margat to the Hospitallers.

26. Ibid., pp. 39–67, 265–72, pls. IV–VII. Rey also cites the wrong date for the gift of Crac to the Hospitallers.

27. Ibid., pp. 69–83, pl. VIII. Rey also discusses the city walls of Tortosa later on pp. 211–14, illustrated in plan on pl. XX.

28. Here again Rey gives a wrong date for the installation of the Templars at Tortosa.

29. Ibid., p. 76.

30. Ibid., pp. 85–92, pl. IX.

31. Ibid., pp. 93–100, pls. X–XI.

32. Ibid., pp. 101–4; the example he uses is Karmel, south of Hebron, but he gives no date for it.

33. Ibid., pp. 105–13, pl. XII, and note the plan on p. 107, rendering the castle as oddly short and wide.

34. Ibid., pp. 115–21, pl. XXI. Rey uses Gibelet to discuss his idea of the way a Crusader castle reflected the function of similar structures in France with its feudal aristocracy, but he imagines the Crusaders were more cultured than we are disposed to think of them today. He refers to them in terms of their poetry, legal writings, and their oratory, as well as their military exploits. He even cites the evidence of the Assises of Jerusalem written in the thirteenth century as evidence of their accomplishments, even though it has nothing directly to do with Gibelet, which he dates between 1109 and 1197.

35. Ibid., pp. 127–39, pl. XIII.

36. Ibid., pp. 134–6, pl. XIV.

37. Ibid., pp. 141–2.

38. Ibid., pp. 143–51, pl. XV.

39. Ibid., pp. 153–9, pl. XVI.

40. Ibid., pp. 161–2.

41. Ibid., pp. 163–78.

42. Ibid., pp. 179–227, with a remarkably long discussion of Antioch, pp. 183–204.

43. Ibid., pp. 229–52.

44. E. Rey, "Etude sur la Topographie de la Ville d'Acre au XIIIe Siècle," *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 39 (1879), pp. 115–45, idem, *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris: A. Picard, 1883, rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1972. It is interesting that this book appeared at a point in the Third Republic when French colonialism was a strong issue articulated by Jules Ferry.

45. Ibid., pp. 1–108. Rey describes the French, Italian, and Levantine characteristics of Crusader society, politics, commerce, and cities, set against the ever-present fact of Frankish domination.

46. Rey, *Les Colonies*, pp. 297–524. Included in this section are concise discussions on major sites not dealt with elsewhere, for example, Jerusalem (p. 387: note that Rey mentions a study in preparation which apparently never was published), Nazareth (p. 443), Jaffa (pp. 410–11), Acre (pp. 448–71), and Tyre (pp. 500–8).

47. Rey, *Les Colonies*, p. 28–30.

48. Ibid., pp. 51–4.

49. Ibid., pp. 6–8, Wilbrand von Oldenbourg, "Peregrinatio," *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Bibliopola, 1864, pp. 166–7.

50. Wilbrand von Oldenbourg, p. 167.

51. Rey (*Les Colonies*, pp. 215) mentions Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, Tarsus, and Damascus as centers for silk production.

52. Rey (*Les Colonies*, pp. 211–13) mentions Jaffa, Beirut, Tyre, and Damascus as centers for production of fine pottery.

53. Rey (*Les Colonies*, pp. 224–6) mentions Tyre, Antioch, Hebron, Tripoli, Acre, and Damascus as important centers for glass production. In all three of these cases – silk, pottery, and glass – Rey does not seem to be making much of a distinction between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.

54. A. M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, Comte de Nevers," *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 32 (1871), pp. 164–206. Rey does not entertain the problem of which objects may have been produced or acquired in the Levant and which came from western Europe.

55. Rey, *Les Colonies*, pp. 228–31. The inventory list that Rey partially cites is interesting, including as it does, liturgical vessels, reliquaries, ivory combs, and evangelaries and epistolaries with bindings of gold, silver, and pearls. It does not, however, mention any icons. Rey's source for this inventory is S. Pauli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano di Malta*, vol. 1, Lucca, 1733, pp. 97–8, no. XCIII.

56. Ibid., p. 231. Rey is one of the earliest scholars to cite the Psalter of Melisende in modern times and the only one to notice the ivory bindings with the silk spine. Some of the details he cites are, however, no longer seen on the manuscript binding as it exists today.

57. Ibid., pp. 231. On this cross, see Ferdinand Courtroy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies aux Soeurs de Notre-Dame à Namur et l'Oeuvre du Frère Hugo* (Brussels: Editions de la Librairie Encyclopédique, 1953), pp. 85–95, no. XXIV. Rey also cites an Armenian inventory from Hromkla that lists the orfèvrerie of the patriarchal church. Cf. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens*, ed. Dulaurier, vol. I (Paris, 1869), p. 641. This inventory apparently dates from the thirteenth century.

58. Rey, *Les Colonies*, p. 63.

59. The view that Arabic was studied by more than a very few Crusaders has not found many supporters since Rey's time. John L. LaMonte was interested in the issue *c.*1940, but now Hussein Attiya has argued that knowledge of Arabic among the Franks was much more extensive than most historians have thought. See H. M. Attiya, "Knowledge of Arabic in the Crusader States in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History*, 25(1999), pp. 203–13. I cannot say whether Attiya would agree with Rey that "most" Franks in the Crusader East knew some Arabic, but this interesting article will cause us to reconsider the issue. My thanks to Malcolm Barber, editor of the *Journal of Medieval History*, for drawing my attention to this article.

60. Rey, *Les Colonies*, p. 181.

61. Ibid., pp. 171–8. The manuscripts he cites are Paris, B. N. MS lat. 4939, dated 1310, and Vatican lat. 1960, *c.*1300.

62. One notable aspect of his presentation is the characterization and discussion of art (ibid., pp. 211–34) under the rubric, "l'art industriel." In fact, this category accords quite well with medieval art, mutatis mutandis, and underlines the late-nineteenth-century ideas about art with regard to the "beaux arts" in France.

63. Rey, *Les Colonies*, p. 2.

64. A. Pératé and G. Brière, *Musée National de Versailles: Catalogue*, vol. I, Compositions Historiques (Paris: Musées Nationaux, 1931), pp. 5–20, nos. 25–145. A nice selection of these paintings (some in color) is illustrated by P. Lesourd and J. M. Ramiz, *On the Path of the Crusaders*, ed. M. Ismojik, trans. J. O'Dell (Israel: Masada Press, 1969), pp. 266–71 (list of illustrations).

65. G. Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington, D.C., 2001, p. 9.

66. G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1878, supplement, Paris, 1882, rpt. 1954.

67. C. Warren and C. R. Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884; and C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography and Archaeology*, vol. I, *Galilee*, London, 1881; vol. II, *Samaria*, London, 1882; and vol. III, *Judaea*, London, 1883.

68. H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883. Book 5, part II, deals with "Die bildenden Künste bei den Franken und die Einwirkung der Kreuzzügge auf die bildenden Künste im Abendlande," pp. 416–35, 566–7.

69. C. Diehl, "Les Monuments de l'Orient Latin," *Revue de L'Orient Latin*, V (1897), pp. 295–6.

70. Ibid., p. 301.

71. Diehl in fact sees the continuum as running from 1098 on well beyond the fall of Acre and the elimination of the Crusader States on the mainland, to Cyprus and then on to Rhodes, that is, to 1571. In some sense, the focus of Diehl's conception was indeed Lusignan Cyprus. It is worth remembering that Lusignan Cyprus is also where Camille Enlart began his work with the publication of *L'Art gothique et de la Renaissance en Chypre*, in 1899.

72. H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. II, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, fasc. I–II, Paris, 1914; fasc. III, Paris, 1922; fasc. IV, Paris, 1926.

73. P. Viaud, *Nazareth et ses deux églises de l'Annonciation et de Saint-Joseph*, Paris, 1910.

74. Enlart started on the basis of the studies by de Vogüé and Rey, and he also relied heavily on the work of V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine: Judée*, in 3 vols., Paris, 1868–1869, *Samarie*, in 2 vols., Paris, 1874–1875, and *Galilée*, in 2 vols., Paris, 1880.

75. C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture Religieuse et Civile*, in 2 vols., Haut Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban: Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Tomes VII, VIII, Paris, 1925 and 1928, with two albums, Paris, 1926, containing 196 plates.

76. P. Dufay, *Essai d'une bibliographie sommaire des travaux de Camille Enlart*, Paris, 1929, pp. 5–19.

77. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, vol. 1, p. 1.

78. C. Enlart, *L'Art gothique et de la Renaissance en Chypre*, in two vols., Paris, 1899. This work has recently been translated into English: C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance on Cyprus*, trans. D. Hunt, London, 1987, with an introduction by Dr. Nicola Coldstream.

79. It was Josef Stryzgowski in Vienna most prominently who was advocating the Eastern origins thesis in a series of publications after 1900. Enlart specifically cites the following: *Orient oder Rom*, Vienna, 1901, *and Die Baukunst das Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1918.

80. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, I, p. 2.

81. Ibid., p. 5.

82. Ibid., p. 4.

83. Ibid., pp. 8–9.

84. Ibid., p. 10.

85. Ibid., pp. 20–2.

86. Ibid., pp. 22–5. For signatures he mentions twelfth-century examples such as Ode, Ogier, Johannes, Jordanis, and refers to Armenian signatures at Nazareth (Ibid., pp. 24–5).

87. Ibid., p. 32.

88. Ibid., p. 34.

89. Ibid., p. 134.

90. J. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 469–71.

91. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, I, pp. 134–6.

92. Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française depuis les temps Mérovingiens jusqu'a la Renaissance*, in 3 vols., I: *Architecture Religieuse*, II: *Architecture Civile et Militaire*, III: *Le Costume*, Paris, 1902, 1904, 1916, respectively. Enlart's conceptual framework, organization, discussion, and terminology is completely based on the methods of analysis and interpretation published in the *Manuel*.

93. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, I, pp. 136–7.

94. Ibid., pp. 137–48.

95. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, album 1, pl. 52, fig. 164.

96. Ibid., I, pp. 155–201.

97. Ibid., p. 159.

98. It is an obvious concern reading Enlart today that because he was focused so strictly on the French aspect of Crusader material, he did not recognize the Italian, English, or German aspects of Crusader art, not to mention the Byzantine or Eastern Christian aspects, which according to his analysis were non-Crusader by definition. This is unfortunate because in the course of his research in the 1920s, he would have been in a position to see and study a certain amount of material no longer available to us today.

99. Ibid., pp. 162–3.

100. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 136–7.

101. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, I, p. 164. The whole issue of iconostasis screens and liturgical enclosures in the Byzantine East was addressed at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium in May 2003. Although no paper was given on the evidence for liturgical screens in Crusader churches, papers by S. Gerstel, E. Bolman, M. Hall, and J. Jung offered important new insights on the functions and importance of these screens, both East and West. In addition to the published papers forthcoming from that symposium, see also the articles by M. Hall, "The Italian Rood Screen: Some Implications for Liturgy and Function," *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, eds. S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus, vol. II, Florence, 1978, pp. 213–18; and J. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *Art Bulletin*, LXXXII (2000), pp. 622–57.

102. Gabriel Bar Kala'ì, "Poème sur la chûte de Tripoli," introduction by R. Röricht, transl., I. Guidi, *AOL*, II, pp. 462–6. The relevant part of the poem is on p. 466. This poem in Syriac, which dates to the mid-sixteenth century, is the last of a type, "Laments" for Crusader cities captured and destroyed in the late thirteenth century. Further research will be required to evaluate whether Enlart's interpretation is tenable here, but the possibility of such enclosures modeled on Orthodox church decoration is an important issue to consider.

103. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, I, pp. 165–71.

104. Ibid., p. 174. This miter is published in Courtoy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies*, pp. 103–5. Because of the unusual embroidered "lunules," that is, the crescent designs, J. Braun proposed to locate the manufacture of this miter in Sicily. Courtoy disagrees, but this issue will have to be revisited. A Crusader attribution is clearly possible for other reasons.

105. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, I, pp. 174–5.

106. Ibid., pp. 175–9.

107. Ibid., pp. 179–99. Some of this material I have already discussed as Crusader work of the twelfth century (e.g., the reliquary of St. John now in the Museum of the Greek Patriarchate, Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 297–9).

108. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 152–3, 157–9.

109. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, I, p. 200. Courtoy (*Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies*, pp. 107–8) entertains various other opinions about this crozier.

110. Ibid., p. 34. Enlart acknowledges that circumstances did not permit him to deal with the Principality of Antioch, the County of Edessa, Cilician Armenia, or trans-Jordan.

111. Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 11.

112. Paul Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*: vol. 1, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Paris, 1934; vol. 2, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1939; vol. 3, *La Défense du Comté de Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche*, Paris, 1973.

113. Paul Deschamps, *Etude sur la Paléographie des Inscriptions lapidaires de la fin de l'Epoque Mérovingienne aux derniéres années du XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1929; and idem, *French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Florence and New York, 1930.

114. Paul Deschamps and Marc Thibout, *La Peinture Murale en France; le haut Moyen Age et l'époque Romane*, Paris, 1951.

115. H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 3.

116. Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 12. I should like to record my gratitude here to Madame Deschamps and to Pierre Coupel for their gracious and helpful responses to my requests for information about the work of Paul Deschamps at Crac des Chevaliers.

117. J. Folda, "Crusader Art and Architecture: A Photographic Survey," in *HC* 4, pp. 281–8. Vol. 2 of Louis de Clercq's albums, *Voyage en Orient* (1859–60), "Châteaux," dealt with the Crusader castles.

118. Lawrence's thesis was published first in 1936 and reprinted in 1986, but now the essential new edition with detailed scholarly notes is the following: T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, ed. with notes by R. D. Pringle, Oxford, 1988. Lawrence had made numerous notes and revisions on his thesis but died before any final changes were made. Pringle's annotated edition is essential for understanding the state of the thesis at the time of publication and the thoughts of the author in regard to the issues he addressed.

119. Deschamps, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, p. 122, n. 1.

120. T. S. R. Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *JWCI*, 2 (1938–39), p. 20.

121. For a biographical summary of the remarkable career of T. S. R. Boase, see his vita in *The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts: Fifty Years*, Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, 2002, p. 221.

122. T. S. R. Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom*, London, 1967; and idem, *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders*, London, 1971.

123. T. S. R. Boase (ch. III), "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria: A. Architecture and Sculpture, B. Mosaic, Painting and Minor Arts"; (ch. IV) "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria"; (ch. V) "The Arts in Cyprus: A. Ecclesiastical Art"; and (ch. VI) "The Arts in Frankish Greece and Rhodes: A. Frankish Greece (with D. J. Wallace), B. Rhodes, *HC* 4, pp. 69–195, 208–50.

124. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Sculpture," *HC* 4, p. 74.

125. Boase, *Castles and Churches*, twenty-four color plates. Actually Paul Deschamps was the first to use color photography to illustrate his book, *Terre Sainte Romane*, Abbaye Ste-Marie de la Pierre-Qui-Vire, 1964, but there are only four color plates printed in a strangely dark process that gives the scenes an eerie, abandoned look.

126. Boase engaged Dr. Richard Cleave to do the photography. Cleave's excellent photographs were part of a large archive he amassed over a period of many years in the Near East, eventually surpassing Alistair Duncan's and Anthony Kersting's photo collections.

127. Boase, *Kingdoms and Strongholds*, fig. 74, p. 105 (Melisende Psalter), and fig. 140, p. 205 (Riccardiana Psalter).

128. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, Oxford, 1957.

129. Ibid., pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

130. Ibid., p. 93.

131. Ibid., p. 95.

132. N.B. I wish to remind the reader that I use my special set of abbreviations for Weitzmann's articles on icons, when citing his works, starting here.

K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth-Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai" [1 (1963)], pp. 179–203; idem, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom" [3 (1966)], pp. 51–83.

133. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth-Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai" [1 (1963)], p. 182.

134. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 105.

135. Ibid. The three great masters were the painters of the Riccardiana Psalter now in Florence (*c.*1235), the Arsenal Bible now in Paris (*c.*1250–4), and the main master who worked, collectively, with the group of artists who painted the Histoire Universelle now in London (*c.*1285).

136. Ibid., p. 105.

137. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom" [3 (1966)], p. 74.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid., pp. 74–83.

140. Buchthal, as in n. 128.

141. Weitzmann, as in n. 132. Besides these two articles, Weitzmann also published several others that presented additional Crusader icons to the discussion: idem, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai: New Aspects in Crusader Art" [5 (1972)], pp. 279–93; idem, "Three Painted Crosses at Sinai" [6 (1972)], pp. 23–31.

142. D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge, 1998.

143. Here I use the term "lords" advisedly, instead of "barons." Jonathan Riley-Smith (*The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London and Basingstoke, 1973, pp. 16–20) discusses the terminology of feudal lords, nobles, and barons in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, stressing the very technical meaning of baron and the baronage according to John of Jaffa, the greatest of the Crusader jurists.

144. Following World War II, C. N. Johns and B. Bagatti were the most important figures in archaeology working individually on Crusader-related sites. With the establishment of the State of Israel, however, a number of scholars took the field. In the area of Crusader history, Joshua Prawer inspired a generation of students to look at history and its physical context. After 1948, new sites were accessible in the Holy Land, for example, Belvoir Castle, and after 1967, archaeologists were able to move ahead on Crusader sites hitherto closed, for example, the Old

City of Jerusalem. When Meron Benvenisti published *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* in 1970, it provided in effect the outline of an agenda for future research.

145. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970.

146. R. D. Pringle, "The State of Research: The archaeology of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a review of work, 1947–1997," *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), pp. 389–408; idem, "The Medieval Pottery of Palestine and Transjordan (A.D. 636–1500): An Introduction, Gazeteer and Bibliography," *Medieval Ceramics*, 5 (1981), pp. 45–60; R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998; and B. Porée, "La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde des croisades (XIIe–XIIIe siècle): L'exemple du royaume de Jérusalem," *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard, Paris, 1996, pp. 487–515. A more popular overview can be found in, A. J. Boas, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine: The Frankish Period, a Unique Medieval Society Emerges," *Near Eastern Archaeology* [formerly the *Biblical Archaeologist*], 61 (1998), pp. 138–73.

147. R. D. Pringle, "The State of Research," pp. 392–405.

148. C. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 93–144, 210–56.

149. An important example recently excavated is Belmont, west of Jerusalem, a castle which was captured in 1187 by Saladin and apparently destroyed in 1191. See, R. P. Harper and R. D. Pringle, with A. Grey and R. Will, *Belmont Castle: The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 2000. See also the survey by R. D. Pringle, "Survey of Castles in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1989: Preliminary Report," *Levant*, 23, pp. 87–91; and the study of R. Ellenblum on twelfth-century fortifications: "Three Generations of Frankish Castle Building in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard, Paris, 1996, pp. 517–51.

150. R. D. Pringle (review article), "Reconstructing the Castle of Safad," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 117 (1985), pp. 139–49; and R. B. C. Huygens, *De Constructione Castri Saphet: construction et fonctions d'un château fort franc en Terre Sainte*, Amsterdam-Oxford-New York, 1981.

151. R. D. Pringle, "A Thirteenth Century Hall at Montfort Castle in Western Galilee," *The Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), pp. 52–81. See also the older study by W. Hubatsch, *Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande*, Göttingen, 1966.

152. C. N. Johns, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem), and Qal'at ar-Rabad ('Ajlun)*, ed. R. D. Pringle, Brookfield: Ashgate, 1997.

153. R. D. Pringle, "Some More Proto-Maiolica from 'Athlit (Pilgrims' Castle) and a Discussion of its Distribution in the Levant," *Levant*, XIV (1982), pp. 104–17.

154. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 33.

155. R. D. Pringle, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar), Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and the Mamluks, A.D. 1099–1516*, London, 1986. R. Ellenblum (*Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 41 ff) discusses the relationship of rural settlements and fortifications in this important book.

156. Kennedy (*Crusader Castles*, pp. 37–8), also mentions the "enclosure castle" type, distinct from the tower type, but none of the former type castles seems to be thirteenth century.

157. Besides his survey of current archaeological research (nt. 146), see also R. D. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, vol. I, eds. I. Corfis and M. Wolfe, Woodbridge, 1995, pp. 69–115.

158. M. Broshi, "Al-Malek al-Muazzam Isa – Evidence in a New Inscription [in Hebrew]," *Eretz Israel*, 19 (1987), pp. 299–302, 82*; M. Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Ayyubid Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 40 (1990), pp. 305–14; and M. Sharon, "The Ayyubid Walls of Jerusalem: A New Inscription from the Time of Al-Mu'azzam 'Isa," *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 179–93. See now also the overview contained in A. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, London and New York, 2001, pp. 43–72.

159. G. Glücksmann and R. Kool, "Crusader Period Finds from the Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem," *'Atiqot*, 26 (1995), pp. 87–104.

160. R. Frankel, "The North-West Corner of Crusader Acre," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 37 (1987), pp. 256–61.

161. B. Z. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 157–80.

162. B. Z. Kedar and E. Stern, "A Vaulted East-West Street in Acre's Genoese Quarter," *'Atiqot*, 26 (1995), pp. 105–11; see also "'Akko (Acre): Excavation Reports and Historical Studies," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 1–220, many reports by a number of authors in this issue.

163. For the port, see R. Gertwagen, "The Crusader Port of Acre: Layout and Problems of Maintenance," *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard, Paris, 1996, pp. 553–82; for outside the Old City walls, see M. Hartal, E. Stern, and Y. Gorin-Rosen, "Excavation of the Courthouse Site at 'Akko: Introduction, The Architecture and Stratigraphy in Area TA, The Pottery of the Crusader and Ottoman Periods, Medieval Glass Vessels (Area TA)," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 1–2, 3–30, 35–70, 75–85.

164. R. D. Pringle, "King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 116 (1984), pp. 133–47. See also idem, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, I, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 61–9; and idem, *Secular buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An archaeological gazeteer*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 21.

165. R. D. Pringle, "Town Defences," pp. 93–4. See also Pringle, *The Churches . . . : A Corpus*, 1, pp. 264–73; and idem, *Secular buildings*, p. 52.

166. See the several publications of I. Roll and E. Ayalon from 1977 to 1993 cited by Pringle, *The Churches . . . : A Corpus*, 1, pp. 59, 313; and idem, *Secular buildings*, pp. 20–1, 137. See also I. Roll, "Medieval Apollonia-Arsuf: Fortified Coastal Town in the Levant of the Early Muslim and Crusader Periods," *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard, Paris, 1996, pp. 595–606.

167. H. W. Hazard, "Caesarea and the Crusades," *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima*, vol. 1, Missoula, 1975, p. 87.

168. On the walls, see A. Frova, M. Avi-Yonah, and A. Negev, "Caesarea," *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. M. Avi-Yonah, vol. 1, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 282–4; K. G. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea*, New Haven/London, 1988, pp. 226–31; Y. Porath, Y. Neeman, and R. Badihi, "Caesarea," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1990), pp. 132–4.

On the cemetery and the port, see R. J. Bull et al., "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Tenth Season, 1982, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, suppl. 27, (1990), pp. 69–94; and J. P. Oleson, "Caesarea: Maritime Caesarea," *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations*, ed. E. Stern, vol. 1, Jerusalem, 1993, pp. 286–91.

On pottery and coins, see R. D. Pringle, "Medieval Pottery from Caesarea: The Crusader Period," *Levant*, 17 (1985), pp. 171–202; A. J. Boas, "Islamic and Crusader Pottery (*c.*640–1265) from the Crusader City (Area TP/4)," *Caesarea Papers*, ed. R. L. Vann, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, suppl. ser., no. 5, Ann Arbor, 1992, pp. 154–66; and R. L. Hohlfelder, "Crusader Coin Finds from Caesarea Maritima, Israel: The Joint Expedition's Excavations, 1971–1979," *Coinage in the Latin East*, eds. P. W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf, BAR International Series, vol. 77, Oxford, 1980, pp. 127–31. The archaeological work is summarized by R. D. Pringle, *The Churches . . . : A Corpus*, 1, pp. 166–83; and idem, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 43–5.

169. P. Bikai, "A New Crusader Church in Tyre," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 14 (1971), pp. 83–90. St. Thomas is a twelfth-century church. Meanwhile a more recent study of Tyre is M. Chehab, *Tyr à l'Epoque des Croisades*, 2 vols., Paris, 1979. See Pringle, "Town Defences," pp. 85–7, and his, *The Churches . . . : A Corpus*, 3, Cambridge, forthcoming, with details on the new work in Tyre.

170. R. D. Pringle, "Town Defences," pp. 88–9, esp. n. 139.

171. H. Kalayan, "The Sea Castle of Sidon," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 16 (1973), pp. 81–9.

172. R. D. Pringle, "Town Defences," pp. 87–8, n. 127. See also Pringle, *The Churches . . . : A Corpus*, 1, pp. 111–19; and idem, *Secular buildings*, p. 32.

173. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 64–6.

174. Ibid., pp. 62–6. Tripoli in the County of Tripoli was held from 1109 to 1289; Tyre in the Latin Kingdom was held from 1124 to 1289.

175. H. Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli et de sa région à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris, 1980.

176. M. Braune, "Die mittelalterliche Befestigungen der Stadt Tortosa/Tartus. Vorbericht der Untersuchungen 1981–1982," *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, 2 (1985), pp. 45–54. See also Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 132–8. No new publication has been done on the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame since P. Deschamps, "La cathédrale

Notre-Dame de Tortose," *Terre Sainte Romane*, Abbaye Ste-Marie de la pierre-qui-vire, 1964, pp. 231–6, pls. 79–94.

177. J. Folda with P. French and P. Coupel, "Crusader Frescoes at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle," *DOP*, 36 (1982), pp. 177–210. There are frescoes in both castles that may date to the year *c.*1200. See also Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 146–63, 163–79.

178. For the older study, see A. Lane, "Medieval Finds at Al-Mina in North Syria," *Archaeologia*, 87 (1937), pp. 19–78.

179. For pottery studies, see A. J. Boas, "The Import of Western Ceramics to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 44 (1994), pp. 102–22, R. D. Pringle, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Crusader States," *I Comuni italiani nel Regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, eds. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar, Genoa, 1986, pp. 449–75; B. Porée, *Un Aspect de la culture matérielle des croisades: introduction à l'étude de la céramique, XI–XIIIeme siècles*, D. E. A. d'Archéologie médiévale, Université de Paris I, Paris, 1991; and idem, "Le royaume de Jérusalem aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: les céramiques croisées, témoins des échanges culturels et commerciaux, *Pèlerinages et Croisades*, ed. L. Pressouyre, Paris, 1995, pp. 333–50.

For studies of glass, see, for example, Pringle, "Glass," *The Red Tower*, pp. 159–62; Y. Gorin-Rosen, "Excavation of the Courthouse Site at 'Akko: Medieval Glass Vessels (Area TA), *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 75–85.

180. See, for example, E. Stern, "Excavation of the Courthouse Site at 'Akko: The Pottery of the Crusader and Ottoman Periods," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 35–70.

181. O. Demus, review of *HC* IV, in *Art Bulletin*, 61 (1979), pp. 636–7.

182. J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, University Park and London, 1986; and idem, *ACHL* 1, chs. 2–9.

183. H. Belting, "Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 41 (1978), pp. 217–57.

184. H. Belting, "Introduction," and "Die Reaktion der Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts auf den Import von Reliquien und Ikonen," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell' Arte, vol. 2, Bologna, 1982, pp. 1–10, 35–53.

185. Belting, "Introduction," p. 3.

186. Ibid., p. 1.

187. Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, "Die Mosaiken der 'Auferstehungskirche' in Jerusalem und die Bauten der 'Franken' im 12. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 13 (1979), pp. 442–71.

188. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 474–80.

189. Ibid., pp. 86–7, 474–80.

190. D. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, n.s. 1–2 (1985–6), Athens, 1986, pp. 9–112.

191. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," pp. 66–71.

192. L.-A. Hunt, "A woman's prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: interpreting a thirteenth-century icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), pp. 96–124, esp. 106–10.

193. G. and M. Soteriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2 vols., Athens, 1956, 1958, I, figs. 185, 187; II, pp. 170–1.

194. B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, Berlin, 1994, p. 164.

195. Ibid., p. 168.

196. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," p. 77.

197. R. Cormack, "Crusader Art and Artistic Technique: Another Look at a Painting of St George," *Byzantine Icons: Art, Technique and Technology*, ed. M. Vassilaki, Heraklion, 2002, pp. 166, 168.

198. It is also clear that the political situation in the Holy Land has changed completely since the nineteenth century. With the breakup of the Ottoman Empire at the time of World War I, the British and French Mandates following the war, and the emergence of the new states of Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria along with Egypt and Turkey, and now very recently the Palestinian Authority on the West Bank and in Gaza, a variety of viewpoints quite different from the old French and English colonial perspectives have been fostered.

199. In the various fields mentioned in this chapter, some of the important new contributions are the following: T. Ulbert, *Resafa III: Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiupolis*, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1990; C. Connor, *The Color of Ivory: Polychromy on Byzantine Ivories*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998; D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd edn., London: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Numismatic Society and the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 1995; A. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving: AD 400 to AD 1200*, eds. E. Kislinger and J. Koder, Vienna: Verlag Fassbaender, 1997. In monumental painting there is the newly published work of Erica Dodd on fresco painting in the Lebanon. In architecture, there is the remarkable and invaluable work of R. D. Pringle that I have cited frequently in this chapter: idem, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. 1, A–K, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; vol. 2, L–Z, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, vol. 3, forthcoming; and idem, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

CHAPTER 2: SALADIN'S CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM AND THE AFTERMATH

1. M. W. Baldwin, "The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem," *HC* I, pp. 615–21. At the time, the defeat at Hattin overshadowed everything. See P. Cole, "Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)," *Al-Masaq*, 6 (1993), pp. 9–39. Eventually, however, Christian opinion refocused on the magnitude and significance of the subsequent loss of Jerusalem.

2. B. Z. Kedar and R. D. Pringle, "La Fève: A Crusader Castle in the Jezreel Valley," article XI in B. Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1993, p. 170.

3. Baldwin, "The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem," *HC* I, pp. 615–16.

4. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. M. R. Morgan, Paris, 1982, p. 66.

5. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Historiens Occidentaux*, II, p. 70. Certain coins have tentatively been identified as these special strikes. I discuss this issue later; see nt. 76.

6. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi I*, Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, ed. W. Stubbs, London, 1864, p. 21; translation: H. J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997, p. 38.

7. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 67; translation: Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 59. The True Cross reliquary owned by the Syrians in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was mentioned by the pilgrim Theodoric in the 1170s: J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099–1185*, London, 1988, p. 283. It is significant that the Christians in Jerusalem were banding together to the extent that they used each others holy relics for processions in a time of emergency.

8. C. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185–1192," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), p. 170 and n. 7.

9. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 71; translation, P. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1996, p. 62.

10. Ibn al-Athir, *The Perfect History*, ed. and trans., F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*; trans. from the Italian, E. J. Costello, 2nd edn., London, 1969, p. 142. It is interesting that the Lyon Eracles records a different payment schedule, namely, ten bezants for each man, five for each woman, but only one for each child. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 69.

11. Ibn al-Athir, *The Perfect History*, p. 144.

12. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 75.

13. Although a "normal" passage from Acre or Tyre to Italy at this time might take four weeks, in the unlikely event of consistently favorable winds a ship might do the trip in half that time. See, for example, J. Pryor, "The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships," *Mariner's Mirror*, 70 (1984), pp. 378–86, or the examples cited by S. Menache, "The Crusades and Their Impact on the Development of Medieval Communication," in *Kommunikation zwischen Orient und Okzident Alltag und Sachkultur*, ed. H. Kuhnel, Vienna, 1994, pp. 77–8. In light of this information, it is not impossible that preliminary word of the fall of Jerusalem on 2 October could have reached Rome by the 19th or 20th, about two and a half weeks later.

14. Gregory VIII, "Audita tremendi," dated 3 November 1187 and sent to Germany, in *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274*, eds. L. Riley-Smith and J. Riley-Smith, London, 1981, pp. 64–6.

15. Quite possibly one source of the pope's details about Hattin was the letter Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, sent to him in Rome, dated 20 September. See B. Z. Kedar, "Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187," *Deutsches Archiv*, 38 (1982), pp. 112–22.

16. C. T. Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,"

Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 48 (1997), p. 632. Maier places more emphasis on the defeat at the Battle of Hattin than on the loss of Jerusalem three months later. It appears that this is mostly the result of the first word coming to Rome and the West of Hattin, and that the news of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin only came later.

17. One can imagine other sites sacred to the Muslims, like Hebron, to have been cleansed as well. Furthermore, although the chronicles do not seem to discuss it, in those Crusader cities captured by Saladin, mosques that had been transformed into churches at the time of the Crusader conquest in 1099 and the years following can be expected to have been reclaimed for Islam and converted back into Muslim use.

We also have the examples of what are now the main mosques at Ramla, Gaza, and Sebaste, which were built in the twelfth century as Crusader churches but which then were later converted for Muslim use. Cf. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 306–13. The difficulty with these sites, and certain others like them, is that they changed hands a number of times between 1187 and 1291, so it is not clear which specific modifications were done to these buildings at any one of the changeovers. In any case, whatever was done at the time of Saladin is difficult to determine because of lack of evidence, written or archaeological, and what we see today of course reflects the latest transformation, after 1291, with possibly modern additions.

18. With regard to the continuations of William of Tyre's great work, I draw the reader's attention to the analysis given by M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 1–21. In particular, the analysis of the various texts of these continuations given on pp. 10–11 is important. My principle for using these texts is to rely most heavily on those versions of the continuations which are extant in manuscripts done in the Holy Land in the thirteenth century and that reflect the Eastern, that is, Crusader points of view. So, for example, for the period 1185–97, I am using the texts of the "Lyon Eracles," D the *La Continuation* edition (manuscript "d" [Lyon, Bibl. Mun., MS 828]), sometimes called the text of Ernoul, and the "Paris Eracles" = the *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, edition (manuscript "b" [Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 2628]). Those manuscripts that contain the name of Ernoul in the story about the castle of La Fève (cf. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul*, p. 41), namely, St. Omer MS 722, Bern MS 41, Bern MS 115, and Brussels MS 11142, are all Western in origin. See also the remarks of P. Edbury on the complexities of using these continuations: P. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1996, pp. 3–8; and, more recently, in idem, "The Lyon *Eracles* and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre," *Montjoie*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997, pp. 139–53.

19. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 75. It is not clear if by "le Temple" he means the Dome of the Rock, the Templum Domini in Crusader terms, or the Templum Salomonis, that is, the Aqsa Mosque, or the whole Temple Mount, which means the Haram al Sharif, the entire noble sanctuary in which the Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock are contained. From the context it appears that he is referring to the Dome of the Rock, but the broader meaning is also possible.

20. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 22–3, trans. H. J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 39,

21. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 441–56.

22. M. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, Buckhurst Hill, 1987, p. 48; M. Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Ayyubid Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 40 (1991), p. 305.

23. Imad ad-Din, *History of the Fall of Jerusalem*, ed. and trans., F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. from the Italian by E. J. Costello, 2nd edn., London, 1969, p. 169.

24. Later, in 1196–9, al-Malik al-Aziz, son of Saladin and Ayyubid governor of Jerusalem, commissioned a wooden screen to be placed around the rock. Cf. Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Ayyubid Jerusalem," p. 308.

25. Ibn al-Athir, *The Perfect History*, in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 144–5.

26. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 249–53.

27. Ibid., pp. 266–9, pls. 8A.7a–f, p. 554, n. 76. See also the review by M. Burgoyne and J. Folda cited in n. 34.

28. Ibid., p. 269, pl. 8A.7g, and Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Ayyubid Jerusalem," p. 309. The Qubba Nahwiyya was a later foundation by the nephew of Saladin, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Isa, dated 1207–8.

29. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 319, pl. 8B.22, p. 565, n. 134.

30. Ibid., p. 271, pl. 8A.8c.

31. Ibid., p. 452.

32. Ibid., pp. 442–52, pls. 10.13a–w, 10.14a–d.

33. Ibid., pp. 449–52, pls. 10.15a–d.

34. Ibid., p. 448, pls. 10.14c–d, and M. Burgoyne and J. Folda, review of H. Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem von König Wilhelm II. bis Kaiser Friedrich II.*, Vienna, 1978, in the *AB*, 63 (1978), pp. 321–4, and pl. 3.

35. Ibid., pp. 253–61, pls. 8A.5a–ii, and figs. 7 and 8. Could any of these marble slabs have been among those taken from the covering over the rock in the Dome of the Rock? See also Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Ayyubid Jerusalem," p. 308.

36. Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Ayyubid Jerusalem," pp. 305–14.

37. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 48, specifies the following establishments: the Salahiyya Khanqah was endowed in 1189 and placed in the former patriarchal residence, the Salahiyya Madrasa was endowed in 1192 and placed in St. Anne's Church, the Mosque of al-Afdal was endowed in 1193 and located in part of the Hospital opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. See also Rosen-Ayalon, "Art and Architecture in Ayyubid Jerusalem," p. 307.

38. Imad ad-Din, *History of the Fall of Jerusalem*, in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 174–5.

39. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 177–245.

40. There were also the entries to the church through the Franks Chapel, to the right of the main doors on the south transept façade, and into the Rotunda from the Patriarch's residence, at the west end of the rotunda. Both of these doors have now also been walled up, but we do not know when this was done.

41. S. de Sandoli, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre – Keys, Doors, Doorkeepers*, Jerusalem, 1986, p. 15.

42. B. Z. Kedar ("The Patriarch Eraclius," *Outremer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 177–204) discusses the reputation of Heraclius at length and his somewhat unjustified treatment at the hands of modern historians.

43. The Muslim sources say that he took treasure from the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, but those sites had, of course, been consecrated as churches by the Crusaders, so what he was doing was taking Christian religious works from these Christian churches before they were returned to Muslim use.

44. Imad ad-Din, *History of the Fall of Jerusalem*, in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 162. Note that Imad ad-Din says gold plating even though the Old French continuations refer to silver. In fact, by the late twelfth century the aedicule and the tomb had both. See J. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 62 and 82.

45. Ibid., p. 144. It is interesting that Ibn al-Athir says he went to Tyre in the Gabrieli and Costello edition of the text. Kedar ("The Patriarch Eraclius," p. 202) reads the text as saying, "to the unconquered Frankish possessions along the Syrian littoral." Without commenting specifically on Heraclius, P. Edbury (*John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Woodbridge, 1997, p. 17) says that "the majority of the people were escorted to Christian-held territory in the county of Tripoli."

46. Philippe de Novare, "Livre de Philippe de Navarre," quoted by P. Edbury, "Law and Custom in the Latin East: Les Letres dou Sepulcre," *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. B. Arbel, London and Portland, OR, 1996, pp. 71–2.

47. Edbury, "Law and Custom in the Latin East," pp. 73–8.

48. Peter Edbury does not think it is likely there were replacements made. He points out that in the text of the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* (*RHC: Lois* I, p. 430), even though the question of replacements is raised, nothing indicates anything was done.

49. P. Edbury and J. Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 54 (1994), pp. 243–54, and pls. 31–3.

50. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 70.

51. De Sandoli, *The Church*, pp. 3–4, 25–8, 49, nn. 5, 6. I am assuming that the doors to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were destroyed in the fire of 1808 and that they, and the lock and key, therefore had to be replaced.

52. Imad ad-Din, *History of the Fall of Jerusalem*, in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 161–2.

53. S. Pauli, *Codice Diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, vol. 1, Lucca, 1733, pp. 97–8, num. XCIII. This text, edited in a more modern edition by J. Delaville le Roulx, is discussed in Chapter 3.

54. A. M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, Comte de Nevers,"

Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 32 (1871), pp. 164–206.

55. See, for the True Cross relic, Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 35; for the reliquary from the Church of St. John the Baptist now in the museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, see Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 297–9, and Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, pp. 361–2, no. 404.

56. R. B. Rose, "The Native Christians of Jerusalem: 1187–1260," *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, Jerusalem and London, 1992, pp. 242–6. Rose does not comment on Greek-speaking Orthodox residents.

57. J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, University Park and London, 1986, pp. 19, 72 n. 22. Enlart believed that the capitals were buried in 1263, but he does not explain why the shrine they were meant to decorate was never erected or why they would have lain in the workshop untouched between 1187 and 1263 when all the rest of the sculpture had been put up on the church. C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, vol. II, Paris, 1928, p. 295.

58. P. Viaud, *Nazareth et ses deux églises de l'Annonciation et de Saint-Joseph d'après les fouilles recentes*, Paris, 1910, pp. 55–7.

59. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 1–38.

60. See the discussion of this church in Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 275–8. See also the important photo of this portal by Sgt. J. McDonald, exhibited at the Dahesh Museum in New York City and reproduced in the catalogue of the show, K. S. Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land*, Santa Barbara, 1997, p. 78.

61. A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1961, pp. 286–347, vs. p. 349.

62. For the narrative of the period discussed in this section, see Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 52–85, trans., Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, pp. 45–76; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 455–73; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1975, pp. 641–80; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp. 84–7, 109–18; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1988, pp. 134–40; H. Wieruszowski, "The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Crusades, *HC* 2, pp. 36–42; and the maps in J. Riley-Smith, *The Atlas of the Crusades*, London, 1991, pp. 60–1.

63. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 76, trans. Edbury, *Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 68.

64. Ibid., p. 69. Muslim historians matter-of-factly refer to the need of the men to disperse after rendering their service (e.g., al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, Boston, 1980, p. 86), but the vigorous defense of Tyre led by Conrad of Montferrat clearly staved off the ultimate disaster.

65. C. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185–1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), p. 171.

66. H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 84–96.

67. Ibid., pp. 79–84.

68. Kedar, "The Patriarch Eraclius," p. 202, n. 89. However, the text of Ibn al-Athir is interpreted by Gabrieli to indicate that he went to Tyre. See Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 144.

69. The inventory of the cathedral treasury in Antioch, dated 1209, as in n. 53, is discussed in Chapter 3.

70. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, pp. 244–5.

71. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd edn., London, 1995, p. 66.

72. "Donc vint Balian et li patriarches, si firent descovrir le monument dou Sepucre qui estoit toz covers d'argent; si l'en firent oster por batre monoie, por doner as chevaliers et as sergens." Paris Eracles, *RHC: Historiens Occidentaux* II, p. 70, lines 19–21. C. J. Sabine, "Numismatic Iconography of the Tower of David and the Holy Sepulchre," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th ser., 19 (1979), p. 129.

73. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Historiens Occidentaux* II, pp. 67–73, chs. XLV–XLVII.

74. Sabine, "Numismatic Iconography of the Tower of David and the Holy Sepulchre," pp. 122–32. Sabine calls these coins "an emergency coinage struck during the siege of Jerusalem, 1187." This coin is also discussed in the following: N. du Quesne Bird, "Two Deniers from Jordan," *Numismatic Circular*, 73 (1965), p. 109; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*; p. 77, J. Porteous "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 380–1, n. 81, p. 401, no. 62; J. Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection of Coins of the Crusades*, Sotheby's, London, 1997, pp. 36, 40, no. 288; and pl. fig. 288; A. G. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, New York, 1994, pp. 63, 82, no. 51. Only Malloy disagrees with the emergency issue hypothesis of Sabine, interpreting this instead as a pilgrim coin issued by the Hospitallers.

75. Only six examples of this coin survive, and the imagery is not exactly the same for the Tower of David on each example. See the discussion later in the chapter.

76. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 401, no. 62, Porteous, *The Slocum Collection*, p. 40, no. 288; Sabine, "Numismatic iconography of the Tower of David and the Holy Sepulchre," pp. 123–4.

77. It is not however unique among Crusader coins from Jerusalem both before and after 1187. See the discussion by M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 75–9.

78. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 289.

79. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, p. 77 and pls. 10 and 11; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 397, 398, 401. Metcalf also points out that tests of the metal include "60% silver together with enough zinc to suggest that some scrap brass entered into the alloy" (p. 77).

80. Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 290.

81. Ibid., pp. 289–90.

82. For the latter, see Sabine, "Numismatic Iconography," pl. 17, 1; and Porteous, *The Slocum Collection*, p. 40, no. 288.

83. Numismatic iconography includes various protrusions from the sides of a tower, including references to attached fortification, usually lower down on the tower, diagonal elements usually interpreted as glacis, and these protrusions higher up and straight out from the side of the tower, with or without an L-shaped ending up or down. Two other coin types show the third type of protrusions: first, there is the coin of Roupen II of Cilician Armenia (1175–87), published by Paul Bedoukian. See P. Z. Bedoukian, "Coins of the Baronial Period of Cilician Armenia (1180–1198)," *American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes*, 12 (1966), pl. XLI, 9; and Porteous, *The Slocum Collection*, p. 60, no. 481. This protrusion goes straight out from the side. Second, there is a later coin of Philippe de Montfort at Tyre with the L-shaped protrusions; see Malloy, *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 143, nos. 1a and 1b.

84. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 334–7.

85. Sabine, "Numismatic Iconography," pp. 124–6, and although I cannot see or accept all of the elements he identifies (e.g., the winged angel or the skull), the basic idea of the superstructure seems in keeping with other familiar comparanda, considered in general terms. The question is, what exactly does that superstructure represent?

86. The coin types are mostly *Amalricus* deniers issued by Amaury and his successors from 1163 up to 1235. See Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pl. 11. For examples of seals, see the later Hospitaller seals: G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1943, pls. XI, nos. 8, 11, 12, and XII; and E. J. King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, London, 1932, pp. 8–19, pls. II and III. The 1187 coin reverse design in general seems to be an early version of what we find later on the seals or in the manuscripts, but the question is to what specifically the superstructure refers.

87. For a discussion of what we know about the aedicule, see M. Biddle, "The Tomb of Christ: Sources, Methods and a New Approach," *'Churches Built in Ancient Times,' Recent Studies in Early Christian Archaeology*, ed. K. Painter, London, 1994, pp. 73–147; L. Kötzsche, "Das Heilige Grab in Jerusalem un seine Nachfolge," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 20, 1, Akten des XII, Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, 1991, Münster, 1995, pp. 281–3; and J. Wilkinson, "The Tomb of Christ: An Outline of Its Structural History," *Levant*, 4 (1972), pp. 83–97. See also now, the new book of Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, Phoenix Mill, 1999, pp. 89–119.

88. For the superstructure of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and of the aedicule in illustrated manuscripts, see J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, Princeton, 1976, pls. 23, 118, 126 (aedicule) and pls. 112, 129, 134, 140, 148, 158 (Church of the Holy Sepulcher); and Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pl. 130a, 131i, 135f (aedicule) and pl. 131f, (Church of the Holy Sepulcher).

89. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 66–7.

90. For the chapel frescoes at Margat and its history, see J. Folda with Pamela French and Pierre Coupel, "Crusader Frescoes at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 36 (1982), pp. 196–210, nn. 71–6, pls. 23–40. For the general history of the castle, see also Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 163–79.

91. The dimensions of the northeast room are as follows: 3.43 meters long along the north wall × 1.635 meters wide at the west end and 2.69 meters wide at the east end.

92. Folda, "Crusader Frescoes," p. 207. The local comparisons are found in Qar'a, the Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, at Amioun, the Church of Mar Phocas, and at Bahdeidat, the Church of Mar Tadros. See now for these frescoes, Y. Sader, *Peintures Murales dans des Eglises Maronites Médiévales*, Beirut, 1987, pp. 11–22 (Bahdeidat); for the extant fragments at Qar'a, E. C. Dodd, "The Monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi, near Nebek, Syria," *Arte Medievale*, 6 (1992), p. 116, fig. 64; and L.-A. Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), pp. 107–8, figs. 4 and 5. See also Erica Dodd's book on these frescoes, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon* Wiesbaden, 2004, which has recently appeared.

93. Folda, "Crusader Frescoes," pp. 206–7.

94. Compare the apostles at Margat (Folda et al., "Crusader Frescoes," pp. 199–203, figs. 30–7) with those at Mar Musa (Dodd, "The Monastery of Mar Musa," pp. 97–107, figs. 40, 44–6).

95. Folda et al., "Crusader Frescoes," p. 203, fig. 38.

96. For somewhat later regional examples of these standing saints under arches, see the mid-thirteenth-century paintings at Qara, just north of Nebek, and the mid-thirteenth-century paintings in the Maronite Church of St. Theodore at Bahdeidat in Lebanon. See Dodd, "The Monastery of Mar Musa," pp. 116–17, figs. 64–5; and Sader, *Peintures Murales*, pp. 11–22.

97. Folda, "Crusader Frescoes," pp. 198–9.

98. Ibid., pp. 208–9.

99. On the dates of earthquakes, see D. H. Kallner-Amiran, "A Revised Earthquake Catalogue of Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 1 (1951), p. 228.

100. K. Molin, "The Non-Military Function of Crusader Fortifications, 1187–circa 1380," *Journal of Mediaeval History*, 23 (1997), p. 376.

101. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 398–404.

102. Molin, "The Non-Military Functions of Crusader Fortifications," p. 369.

103. For the discussion of this part of the narrative, I am using the following works, besides the continuations of William of Tyre's History and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*: Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, trans. H. J. Hubert, New York, 1941; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, pp. 3–75; S. Painter, "The Third Crusade: Richard the Lionhearted and Philip Augustus"; and E. N. Johnson, "The Crusades of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI," *HC* 2, pp. 45–122; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 137–51; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1979, pp. 185–99; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, Paris, 1970, pp. 9–68; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, A Short History*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp. 109–18; and P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land: 1095–1270*, Cambridge MA, 1991, pp. 62–79; and J. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 216–42.

104. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 82.

105. Ibid., p. 84.

106. Not surprisingly it is the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 32, which records this point. The text is newly translated by H. J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997, p. 47.

107. C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, Chicago and London, 1988, pp. 74–80, 83–5.

108. The colorful story told in the Old French continuation about why Frederick chose to march overland, although fanciful, does indicate how unusual it was to choose the land instead of the sea route. Mayer attributes the choice to the unavailability of ships for the size of Frederick's army. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 98; Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 140.

109. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 93, trans., Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 84.

110. The terms of this alliance are much debated, the details of which do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that Saladin and the Byzantine emperor found each other's support important in this period because of their common claims in regard to Syria-Palestine and their mutually held enmity, although on different levels, toward the Seljuks and the Franks. See Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin," pp. 168–72, 181; and R.-J. Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204*, rev. edn., Oxford, 1993, pp. 230–41.

111. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin," p. 171. Brand notes that the weapons had all been captured from William II of Sicily in recent battle.

112. Rose, "The Native Christians of Jerusalem, 1187–1260," pp. 239–41; and Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204*, pp. 241–2.

113. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin," p. 171.

114. Ibid., pp. 171–2.

115. Ibid., p. 172.

116. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 85.

117. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, 98, trans., Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 89.

118. R. D. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, eds. I. Corfis and M. Wolfe, I, Woodbridge, 1995, p. 87. The other cities mentioned – Latakia, Jabala, and Jubail – are in the County of Tripoli or the Principality of Antioch, and therefore not discussed by Pringle, who focuses on the Latin Kingdom.

119. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 56, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 66.

120. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 98, trans., Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 88.

121. The vexed question of where and how Frederick I was buried in Tyre was the subject of intense investigation and debate in 1879 and 1880: J. N. Sepp, "Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas Tod und Grab," *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, ser. 14, Heft 333, 1879; H. Prutz, *Kaiser Friedrichs I. Grabstätte. Eine kritische Studien*, Danzig, 1879; P. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Das Grab Barbarossas," first publ. 1879, reprt. *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2, 1905; J. N. Sepp, "Das Resultat der deutschen Ausgrabungen in Tyrus," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 44 (1880), pp. 86–109; and H. Prutz, "Replik," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 44 (1880), pp. 110–15.

122. Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 142 and n. 71.

123. R. L. Nicholson, *Joscelyn III and the Fall of the Crusader States, 1134–1199*, Leiden, 1973, p. 176.

124. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 86. The sources seem to differ about the details of this episode. See Runciman *A History*, 2, pp. 462–3 and n. 4; idem, *A History*, 3, pp. 19–21; Nicholson, *Joscelyn III*, p. 181.

125. J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem: 1174–1277*, London, 1973, pp. 113–14. Riley-Smith points out, however, that the sources refer to several different reasons why Conrad refused to yield Tyre to Guy.

126. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 89, trans., Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 81. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 63–72, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 71–80.

127. For descriptions of the siege, see Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 89–125; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 61–232; R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 212–36; Runciman, *A History*, 3, pp. 18–51.

128. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 80–1.

129. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 71–2, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 80.

130. B. Z. Kedar, "A Western Survey of Saladin's Forces at the Siege of Acre," *Montjoie*, pp. 113–22. It should be noted that whereas most Western sources refer to the Turks as the main soldiers in the Muslim army, this text identifies the Kurds as the greatest fighters, perhaps, as Kedar points out, from firsthand experience at Acre. In any case Saladin was himself a Kurd.

131. B. Hamilton, "Women in the Cruader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100–1190)," *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker, Oxford, 1978, p. 172 and n. 146. Hamilton gives the date as 25 July 1190 and points out that Sybilla had had four daughters. It is not clear whether they all died at this time or whether two had predeceased her. Ernoul says Sybilla died with her four daughters (*Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas-Latrie, Paris, 1871, p. 267).

It is not clear where Sibylla was buried. The favored burial site for Crusader queens before 1187 had been in the valley of Jehosaphat (Folda, *ACHL* I, p. 324), but obviously this was no longer available after 1187.

132. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 105.

133. Ibid., pp. 105–6. All the major sources have extensive discussion of this important episode: Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist.Occ.* II, pp. 151–4, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 119–23; trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 121–5; Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, trans. M. J. Hubert, New York, 1941, pp. 177–9; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 267. See also the important study by H. E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1967), pp. 190–1.

134. D. Jacoby, "Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–1192)," Atti del Congresso Internazionale, *Dai feudi Monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli oceani*, Alessandria: Società di storia, arte

e archeologia, 1993, pp. 187–238, esp. pp. 187–201. This article discusses Conrad's dealings with the maritime powers of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice at some length.

135. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 107, trans., Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 97.

136. The famine was terrible during that winter. See *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 123–37; trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 126–37.

137. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 109, trans., Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 98. Note that at this point in the edition by M. R. Morgan (*La Continuation*, pp. 108, 109), she presents the text of the Lyon Eracles on the odd-numbered pages with the corresponding text of Florence Eracles on the even-numbered pages. See also Morgan, *La Continuation*, p. 108, n. 1.

138. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 111, trans., Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 99.

139. See Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 188–90, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 188–204, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 182–95, G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1940, pp. 67–8; J. A. Brundage, "Richard the Lion-Heart and Byzantium," *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 6–7 (1970), pp. 64–6, 69, n. 19; S. Painter, "The Third Crusade: Richard the Lion-hearted and Philip Augustus," *HC* 2, pp. 63–4; and E. C. Furber, The Kingdom of Cyprus: 1191–1291," *HC* 2, pp. 600–2.

140. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 231–4; Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 123, 125; Florence Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 124; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ* II, pp. 171–4, Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, pp. 193–218.

141. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 233–4, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 221. One wonders what these banners and flags looked like, what they were made of, how the heraldic arms were represented.

142. Baha ad-Din, *Sultanly Anecdotes*, in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 222.

143. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 234–5, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 221–2.

144. We would like to know the extent of the losses, and whether the images damaged or destroyed were frescoes, mosaics, panel paintings, enamels, metalwork, or some other medium. Who commissioned repairs for those images that could be saved; were replacements ordered for those that had been destroyed? What artists were available to carry out this work?

145. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 195, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 188; Brundage, "Richard the Lion-Heart and Byzantium," pp. 65, 69 n. 13.

146. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 235–6, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 222; Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, pp. 210–11.

147. P. Perdrizet, "De la Véronique et de Sainte Véronique," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V (Prague, 1932), p. 3; A. Chastel, "The Legend of the Veronica," *FMR*, 67 (1999), pp. 29–30. There is, of course, an enormous bibliography of studies on the Veronica.

148. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 240, trans. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 227.

149. D. Jacoby, "Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: The First Stage of Its Development," *Outremer*, p. 211 and n. 33; Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, 1, pp. 81–2.

150. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 75–76, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 83–4.

This is an interesting observation about the rock that marks the juncture where the three parts of the world meet. When the pilgrims wrote about Jerusalem earlier in the twelfth century, they wrote about the center of the world being located in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 213; 225; 537, n. 54; 543, n. 112; 546, n. 148; 557, n. 109. Now that Jerusalem is no longer in Crusader hands at the time the author of the *Itinerarium* was writing, the center of the world has been relocated in this account to a point outside of Acre.

151. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 242, trans. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 230.

152. Baha ad-Din, *The Life of Saladin, PPTS*, vol. 12, p. 271.

153. A Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1961, pp. 347–9, no. 377.

154. *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 227, 229.

155. Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, *PPTS*, vol. 11, p. 112.

156. The conventional figure is 2,700 Muslims killed (*Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 231); Baha ad-Din says, "more than three thousand" (Baha ad-Din, The Life of Saladin, PPTS, 12, p. 273), and the Lyon Eracles says 16,000 were killed (*La Continuation*, p. 129).

157. Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, PPTS, vol. 11, p. 113.

158. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 249–50, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 236–7.

159. R. D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 43–5, no. 76, Caesarea was occupied by the Crusaders between 1101–87, and 1191–1265. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, 1, p. 89, p. 112, fig. 8. Pringle cites evidence that suggests that the twelfth-century walls had no outworks, except perhaps for a ditch, but were by no means as strong as the thirteenth-century fortifications built in 1217, 1228, and 1251–2. Caesarea illustrates the problem of assessing most of the Crusader work in 1191, because of later damage and rebuilding after the Third Crusade. The extant walls are mostly from the time of Louis IX, Pringle, ibid., pls. 5–10.

In the twelfth century, the "Sacro Catino" was found there and taken back to Genoa where it is found today in the cathedral treasury of St. Lawrence, but otherwise no twelfth-century Crusader art is known from there. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 48, and the other bibliography is as follows: Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang, 1996 (Ph.D. diss., Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 73–4; I. M. Botto, "Region: Liguria, Genova," *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre*, 9 (1981–1983), pp. 109–11, T. E. Haevernick, "Zu einigen antiken Gläsern in Kirchenschätzen," *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete*, 36 (1973), pp. 113–16; C. Marcenato, *Il Museo del Tesoro della Cattedrale a Genova*, Milan, 1969, p. 6, tav. I; and M. Conway, "The Sacro Catino at Genoa," *Antiquaries Journal*, 4 (1924), pp. 11–18.

160. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Regis Ricardi*, p. 256, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 242.

161. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 20, no. 19, Arsuf, the town was in Crusader hands between 1101 and 1187 and 1191 and 1265. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 94–5 and 115, fig. 11.

162. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 21, no. 20, Ascalon, the town was in Crusader control from 1153 to 1187, in 1192, and from 1239 to 1247.

In the twelfth century, Byzantine-style fresco fragments from a small church have been discovered in excavations just inside the Jerusalem Gate: cf. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 299, 561 n. 67. This is quite a fortuitous find given the destruction that Ascalon suffered.

163. R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 208–20, nos. 92–4, Gaza, although a Crusader, a Greek Orthodox, and an Armenian church still stand from the medieval period, no evidence of medieval walls was found in the 1920 excavations.

The Crusader Church of St. John dates from the mid-twelfth century, and survives as the main mosque of the city: cf. also, Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 308–9.

164. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 46, no. 80, Dair al-Balah, castle built by King Amaury, lost to Saladin in 1187, retaken by Richard in 1191, and dismantled by Saladin in 1192.

165. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 84, no. 169, Qaratiya, only the remains of a tower is found there today.

166. Ibid., p. 93, no. 194, Tall as-Safi, castle with four towers originally built by King Fulk in 1142. On Blanchegarde, see also Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 130.

167. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 52, no. 110, Jaffa, port town with walled castle and walled faubourg.

168. Ibid., pp. 108–9, no. 233, Yazur, castle with tower and enclosure walls, fortified by the Templars in 1191, dismantled by Saladin in August 1192.

169. Ibid., p. 26, no. 29, Bait Dajan, castle refortified by Richard I in 1191, destroyed by Saladin in August 1192.

170. R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 9–27, nos. 137, 138, Lydda, the Cathedral of St. George was demolished by Saladin in 1191 over a ten-day period. The church appears to have remained in ruins through the thirteenth century (p. 13). On the Crusader

church at Lydda, see also, Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 307.

171. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 181–99, no. 188–9, Ramla, the castle of Ramla was destroyed by Saladin in 1191, but the Crusader Church of St. John was apparently left standing. On the important Church of St. John, see also, Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 306–7.

172. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 96, no. 207, Suba, Hospitaller castle built *c.*1150 and destroyed in 1191.

173. Ibid., pp. 64–5, no. 136, Latrun, Templar castle existing by 1169–71 that was destroyed in 1191. There is no evidence of rebuilding in the thirteenth century.

Two extremely handsome Crusader capitals commissioned by the Templars that survived at Latrun are preserved today in the National Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 452–4.

174. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 106–7, no. 231, Yalu, destroyed by Muslims in 1106, rebuilt in 1132–3, owned by the Templars by 1179, destroyed by Saladin in 1191. See also on Castellum Arnaldi, Folda, *ACHL* 1, p.123.

175. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 32–3, no. 46, Belvoir Castle, Hospitaller castle held from 1168 to 1189, then by the Ayyubids until 1219.

Some extremely handsome figural sculpture commissioned by the Hospitallers in the early 1170s, which survived the Ayyubid occupation, is extant. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 393–8.

176. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 67–8, no. 144, Majdal Yaba, castle for independent lordship from 1152 to 1187. Held by Ayyubids 1191–2 and probably not destroyed by Saladin despite what the *Itinerarium* says (p. 67).

177. Ibid., pp. 75–6, no. 157, Montreal, Crusader castle from 1115 to 1189, significant Ayyubid and Mamluk additions. See also on Montreal Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 69–70.

178. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Regis Ricardi*, p. 280, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 261. Farther north, the walls of Sidon were also destroyed. Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 94–5, no. 201, Sidon, the city was in Crusader hands between 1110 and 1187, held by the Muslims from 1187 to 1192, held jointly from 1192 to 1227, Crusader from 1227 to 1249, Muslim 1249–50, and Crusader from 1250 to 1291; Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, 1, p. 88 and n. 137.

179. Baha ad-Din, *Life of Saladin*, trans. C. W. Wilson, *PPTS*, 13, p. 297.

180. R. D. Pringle, "King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 116 (1984), p. 136.

181. The most extensive archaeological work on Crusader Jaffa and the other sites in the Latin Kingdom mentioned by the *Itinerarium* and elsewhere has been done by Denys Pringle in the following publications: Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1997; idem, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, 1, 1995, pp. 69–115; idem, "Towers in Crusader Palestine," *Chateau-Gaillard: Etudes de castellologie médiévale*, vol. 16, *Actes du colloque internationale tenu à Luxembourg*, 1992, pp. 335–60; idem, "Belvoir Castle," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. S. Turner, vol. 3, London, 1996, pp. 691–2; idem, "King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 116 (1984), pp. 133–47; idem, *The Red Tower*, London, 1986. He is also publishing, *The Churches in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1993, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1998, vol. 3, in progress.

182. *Itinerarium*, pp. 289–90, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 268.

183. *Itinerarium*, p. 296, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 273.

184. *Itinerarium*, pp. 308–9, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 283.

185. *Itinerarium*, p. 312, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 286.

186. *Itinerarium*, pp. 315–17, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 288–9.

187. Pringle, "King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon, pp. 133–4. The inscription today is extant in two pieces, both located in the Institute of Classical Archaeology, University of Oslo. This inscription was previously published by S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, Jerusalem, 1974, pp. 305–6, no. 407, but de Sandoli thought the inscription came from Acre and dated it to the mid-thirteenth century.

188. Pringle, "King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon," pp. 137–8.

189. Ibid., pp. 140–2, with a table (table 1) describing the masonry as located on a map of the city walls (fig. 4).

190. Ibid., figs. 5 and 6, and Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," pls. 1–3.

191. Baha ad-Din, *Life of Saladin*, *PPTS*, 13, pp. 327–9.

192. It was on the Saturday before Easter that the *Itinerarium* records a curious story of Saladin at the Holy Sepulcher. Saladin had brought Christian prisoners to the Holy Sepulcher to see if the story of the Holy Fire was true. When the fire ignited, Saladin had it put out twice, and twice it was miraculously restored. "The sultan was astonished and painfully moved by the sight of this miracle.... Inspired by a prophetic spirit, he declared firmly: 'Without doubt, either I will soon leave this life, or I will lose possession of this city'" (*Itinerarium*, p. 328, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 297). Saladin died less than a year later, 4 March 1193.

This is not the only miracle that Saladin is reported to have witnessed. P. Cole has discovered in a letter written to Frederick Barbarossa by unnamed ecclesiastical officials in the Latin Kingdom in July 1187, a story of how Saladin attempted to burn the relic of the True Cross after its capture at Hattin. The relic, however, jumped out of the flames undamaged. Saladin recognized the miracle and ordered that the relic be put into his treasury for safekeeping (P. Cole, "Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)," *Al-Masaq*, 6 (1993), pp. 10–11).

193. For the council and subsequent events, see *Itinerarium*, pp. 334–51, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 302–14. See also B. Hamilton, "King Consorts of Jerusalem and Their Entourages from the West from 1186 to 1250," *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. H. E. Mayer, *Schriften des Historischen Kollegs*, Kolloquien 37, Munich, 1997, pp. 14–15.

194. Although the Latin kings had been crowned in Jerusalem before 1187, when the Holy City was no longer available, Tyre, as the second city of the realm, was the site of choice. The archbishop of Tyre was second in rank to the patriarch of Jerusalem in the Latin Kingdom. See H. E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21, 1967, pp. 191, 192; and J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1972, p. 101.

195. On the background of this, and the later sale of Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan, see J. Riley-Smith, "The Crusading Heritage of Guy and Aimery of Lusignan," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 40–1.

196. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus," pp. 191–2.

197. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades: 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 28. See also Brundage, "Richard the Lion-Heart and Byzantium," pp. 69–70, n. 19.

198. *Itinerarium*, p. 362, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 323.

199. *Itinerarium*, p. 376, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 333.

200. *Itinerarium*, pp. 377–8, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 334.

201. *Itinerarium*, p. 408, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 355.

202. *Itinerarium*, pp. 427–9, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 371; Baha ad-Din, *The Life of Saladin*, *PPTS*, 13, pp. 380–7. Al-Maqrizi (*A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, ed. R. J. C. Broadhurst, Boston, 1980, p. 97) says three years and three months. The continuations only say ten years: Lyon Eracles and Florence Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 153 and 152, respectively. The terms of this treaty are reported slightly differently by the various sources, in the absence of the actual text of the diplomatic instrument. This is a constant problem, but the terms of these treaties with their truces must be understood in terms of Muslim diplomatic principles. See the useful discussion in P. H. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, Leiden, New York, Köln, pp. 1–11.

203. *Itinerarium*, pp. 432–8, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 374–9, Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, pp. 433–43.

204. *Itinerarium*, p. 438, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 378–9. It is interesting that after March 1192, the Crusaders do not continue to attempt to include the return of the relic of the True Cross as part of their terms in the negotiations with Saladin for the settlement of the Crusade expedition. Of course in June Richard is the beneficiary of the return of two relics of the True Cross while in camp at Beit Nuba, and the pilgrims who go to Jerusalem after the truce is signed are allowed to see and venerate the relic in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

205. *Itinerarium*, p. 436, trans., Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 377. One wonders to which place the *Itinerarium* is referring

in this last reference: Is it the chapel of the Repose along the street of Jehosaphat, or is it the "Prison of Christ" in the northeast corner of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where the Muslims were now stabling their horses? See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 318–21, or pp. 194, pl. 7.3n; 204, 208–9 pls. 7.6h–k; 536 n. 33, respectively.

206. Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, p. 440.

207. Rothelin Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 490, trans., J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1999, p. 9.

208. *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871, pp. 189–210; H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem, Descriptions de la Terre Sainte*, Geneva, 1882, pp. 29–52. See also M. R. Morgan, "The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre," *Outremer*, p. 249.

An edition of "La Citez de Jherusalem" from 1187 is also published by M. de Vogüé, ed., *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, rpt. Toronto, 1973, ed. J. Prawer, pp. 433–51. This text is distinct from the text known as the *De Situ Urbis Jerusalem*..., apparently written in the 1150s, and also published by M. de Vogüé, ed., in *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, rpt. Toronto, 1973, ed. J. Prawer, pp. 412–33.

209. Rothelin Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 490–507, "Livre des Assises de Jerusalem," *RHC: Lois* II, pp. 531–4. These later versions have received two additional sections to the basic text, and there are other longer supplements to be found as well. We shall consider the content of these supplementary descriptions of Jerusalem and the Holy Land at the appropriate moment when discussing developments in 1229 and later.

There is an earlier edition by T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 196–224. This edition merges the text found in Ernoul with that of the continuations to 1261.

210. "The City of Jerusalem," trans. C. R. Conder, *PPTS* 6, pp. 1–49, and J. Shirley, trans., *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre continuation*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1999, pp. 9–19.

211. Folda, "Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist," *Scriptorium*, 27 (1973), p. 93, nos. 16–26.

212. Ibid., pp. 94–5, nos. 52–78.

213. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 404–6.

214. The Rothelin Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 495, states: "Au chevez de cel monument comme au chief de l'autel par deforz a un autel c'on apele Cavet." I interpret this to mean that in the chevet of the church (i.e., the choir and apse with ambulatory and radiating chapels at the east end) there was an altar called "Cavet," which, as the author goes on to explain, was used to sing Mass at dawn each day. The language here appears to be Picard.

215. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 213.

216. The True Cross chapel of the Syrians was located between the aedicule and the prison of Christ. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 391. It is particularly curious that there is no mention of the Syrian chapel because of the fact that initially Saladin is said by some sources to have allowed Syrian clergy alone to conduct services at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and the *Itinerarium* and *Ambroise* both report a Syrian bishop brought a relic of the True Cross to Richard in 1192.

217. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 500, trans., Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 18.

218. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 504, trans., Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 20–1. This is an interesting claim, but the fact is Byzantine mosaics with the head of Adam imagery are known from at least as early as the eleventh century. It is true that whereas the *c.*1135 Crucifixion image in the Melisende Psalter (ACHL 1, pl. 6.80) does not have the head of Adam, certain – but not all – thirteenth-century Crusader missals and sacramentaries do. See the Sacramentary, B. L. MS Egerton 2902, fol. 14v, and the Perugia Missal, Perugia, Bibl. Capit. MS 6, fol. 182v. The head of Adam also appears in certain Crusader icons now at Sinai. See Sinai icon panel, no. 103, Gp 3-1/1732 and the image on an iconostasis beam, no. 104 B. Gp 3-4/1745 "Crucifixion." These works are all discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 of this volume.

219. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 505, trans., Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 22.

220. Besides the Tomb of the Virgin, there were other royal tombs (e.g., that of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem) in this abbey Church of St. Mary. Despite Saladin's destruction of the abbey in 1187, neither these tombs nor the church were touched. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 324–8.

221. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 506, trans., Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 18.

222. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 507, trans., Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 18–19.

223. See below, Chapter 5, notes 285–301.

224. It would be worth checking the archival collections in Malta to see if any additional manuscripts of this text could be found. I am indebted to J. Riley-Smith for this suggestion.

225. "Acre Archive," *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, London, 23 June 1987, pp. 28–35.

226. Ibid., p. 28.

227. Ibid., pp. 32–35.

228. H. Pinoteau, "Une coupe héraldique trouvée en Syrie," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1984, pp. 158, 161, trans. as, "Heraldische Untersuchungen zum Wappenpokal," in T. Ulbert, *Resafa III*, Mainz am Rhein, 1990, pp. 79, 80.

229. See our discussion of this remarkable piece of secular metalwork, along with other important pieces of liturgical silver in the Resafa hoard, in Chapter 3.

230. A useful introductory essay to the coinage of this period is by D. M. Metcalf, "Describe the currency of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Montjoie*, pp. 189–98, esp. pp. 193–4 for the period 1187–92.

231. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 66–71; J. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 377–87; A. Malloy, I. F. Preston, and A. J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States: 1098–1291*, New York, 1994, pp. 57–8. See also R. Pesant, "The *Amalricus* coins of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Coinage in the Latin East, The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, eds. P. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf, Oxford, 1980, pp. 105–21. Pesant inclines to the view that the immobilized "Amalricus" deniers as a type ended in 1187, but D. M. Metcalf, in the discussion published with this paper, pp. 116–20, argues that they very likely continued into the early thirteenth century.

232. See especially the views of D. M. Metcalf cited in n. 230.

233. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 65.

234. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 71, 177–80; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 398, no. 49.

235. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 71–4; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 399, nos. 50, 51.

236. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 177–80.

237. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 77.

238. G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1943, p. 10, pl. I, no. 2.

239. See, for example, the billon trachea of Isaac II Angelus (1185–95) with the standing full-length ruler on the reverse: M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261*, Washington, D.C., 1969, pp. 143–4, pl. 20.5–8.

240. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 177–80, Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 268–9.

241. For the hoard evidence, see Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 308–33; Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 426–36, 461–2.

242. G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1943, pp. 1–11, pl. XIVI.

243. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 394–5.

244. It should be noted, however, that the image of the Sepulcher, quite domed and bulbous and apparently seen from the outside on Guido's coin, is quite different from the interior image seen on Amaury's denier, which was immobilized and used by his successors. For a discussion of the image of the Holy Sepulcher on the "Amalricus" denier, see Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 334–7.

245. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 71–2; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 381, 399; Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 58, 77–8.

246. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 381; A. Spaer, "Two Rare Crusader Coins of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 17 (1977), pp. 185–6.

247. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 71–2.

248. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 381.

249. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 75–7, pl. 9, no. 146 (uncertain date); Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 380, 398 (c. 1190); Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 82 (1231–43); and L. Y. Rahmani, "Two Hoards of 'Moneta Regis' Coins Found in Northern Israel," *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 4 (1980), pp. 72–6 (*c.*1190–*c.*1), with the older bibliography. This coin type was first published by M. de Vogüé, "Monnaies inédites des Croisades," *Revue Numismatique*, 10

(1865), pp. 296–300, pl. XIII, no. 4; and G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1879, pp. 90–2.

250. For the denier, see Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 170–1, and 530, n. 173; for the seals of the Hospitaller grand masters, see E. J. King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, London, 1932, pp. 8–16, pl. II.

251. On the importance of the True Cross for the Crusaders in the twelfth century, see Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 29, 43, 49, 83, 97, 240, and 487, n. 28; 489, n. 35; 490, n. 9; 499, n. 75; 519, n. 26. See also the recent articles by Alan Murray, "'Mighty against the Enemies of Christ': The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Crusades and Their Sources*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1998, pp. 217–38; and Deborah Gerish, "The True Cross and the Kings of Jerusalem," *The Haskins Society Journal*, 8 (1996), pp. 137–55.

252. P. Cole, "Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583–1187)," *Al-Masaq*, 6 (1993), pp. 9–39.

253. One of the early examples of the cross with the alpha and the omega is found in the well-known apse mosaic of Sant' Apollinare in Classe from the mid-sixth century.

254. A. Frolow, *Les Reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1965; and Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 97–100, 167–9, 290–4, 293, 392.

255. King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, pls. II and IV; and Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, p. 101, pl. XX, 11. Bishop John of Acre used this iconography on his seal, but all other bishops of Acre up to Jacques de Vitry appear to use the double-armed cross with a crescent and a star below: cf. pp. 102–4, pl. XX, 9. Whatever the specific iconography of the bishop's seal, however, it is evident that the cross depicted was the True Cross because the Cathedral of Acre was dedicated to the Holy Cross.

256. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 391–2.

257. J. Riley-Smith, "Guy of Lusignan, the Hospitallers and the Gates of Acre," *Gesta dei per Francos*, eds. M. Balard, B. Kedar, and J. Riley-Smith, Aldershot, 2001, p. 111; and B. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 159, 166, 169–71.

258. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 170–1.

259. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 75.

260. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310*, London, 1967, pp. 115–16.

261. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, p. 351, no. 384.

262. The date of Conrad's gift to Genoa is not indicated, but it would have had to be between July 1191, when Acre was conquered, and April 1192 when he was killed.

263. M. L. Bates and D. M. Metcalf, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," HC 6, pp. 442–4, and 480, nos. 32–5; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 44–50; Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 108–25.

264. Bates and Metcalf, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," *HC* 6, p. 443.

265. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 86–97; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 382–5; Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 141–57; and P. Edbury, "The Baronial Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Coinage in the Latin East*, pp. 59–72.

266. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 164–7; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 379–80, 403; Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 162–3, 170–2; and C. J. Sabine, "The Billon and Copper Coinage of the Crusader County of Tripoli, c. 1102–1268," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5 (1980), pp. 86–94.

267. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 151.

268. Bates and Metcalf, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 448–9.

269. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 125–32, Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 379–80, 395–7, Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 188–91.

270. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 169.

271. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 169–76; A. Stahl, "The Circulation of European Coinage in the Cruader States," *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, eds. V. Goss and C. Bornstein, Kalamazoo, 1986, pp. 85–102.

272. H. Kahane, R. Kahane, and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*, Urbana, 1958, pp. 5–10.

273. D. Nicolle, "Arms and Armour Illustrated in the Art of the Latin East," *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, Jerusalem and London, 1992, pp. 328–9.

274. For Crusader art at the time of the First Crusade, see Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 21–45; for the Second Crusade, see J. Folda, "Reflections on Art in Crusader Jerusalem about the Time of the Second Crusade: c. 1140–c. 1150," *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers, New York, 1992, pp. 171–82.

275. C. Morris, "Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda, c. 1095–1291," *The Crusades and Their Sources*, eds. J. France and W. G. Zajac, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1998, p. 195. On preaching the Crusades and Crusade propaganda, see also P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*, Cambridge MA, 1991, pp. 62–78; N. Daniel, "Crusade Propaganda," *HC* 6, pp. 39–97; and see now C. T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, Cambridge, 2000.

276. This is a remarkable interpretation of the image. One wonders what the tradition was, or even if there was any tradition, in Islam for the depiction of Muhammed.

277. Ibn al-Athir, *The Perfect History*, in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 182–3; and Morris, "Picturing the Crusades," p. 197. Morris refers to the likelihood that placards were employed in recruiting. P. Cole does not comment on this aspect of preaching the Crusades.

278. Baha ad-Din, *Sultanly Anecdotes*, in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 208–9; and Morris, "Picturing the Crusades," p. 197.

279. See n. 68 and the discussion on the whereabouts of Heraclius after he left Jerusalem.

280. We can also imagine other possible paintings for materials stimulated by the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. In view of the new liturgies created for the Third Crusade, what laments appear and what illustrations, if any, appear to illustrate these laments? What holy images are used in these liturgies? Are there new liturgical texts with Gregory's new prayers? Are any of these texts decorated?

281. See L.-A. Hunt, "'Excommunicata Generatione': Christian Imagery of Mission and Conversion of the Muslim Other between the First Crusade and the Early Fourteenth Century," *Al-Masaq*, 8 (1995), pp. 92, 103–6, figs. 8, 20–2.

282. M. A. Kohler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorgeren Orient*, Berlin and New York, 1991. See also J. Riley-Smith ("King Fulk of Jerusalem and 'the Sultan of Babylon'," *Montjoie*, Aldershot, 1997, pp. 55–66), who discusses an important Egyptian diplomatic mission to Jerusalem in 1131.

283. See n. 10.

284. See n. 144.

285. See n. 203.

286. We have seen this explicitly in the diplomatic exhanges between Saladin and the Byzantine emperor referred to above. See nn. 112, 113.

287. A. Cutler is at work on a study of diplomatic gifts in regard to Byzantium and the Muslims in this period, which will be of great value for our inquiry. See, for example, an early article on this subject, "Les Échanges de Dons entre Byzance et l'Islam (IXe-Xie Siècles), *Journal des Savants*, Janvier-Juin, 1996, pp. 51–66, and note the references on p. 52, n. 2; see now, idem, "Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 55 (2001), pp. 245–76.

288. See n. 7.

289. See nn. 142, 152.

290. See nn. 201, 202.

291. See n. 204. This was according to Saladin, the relic he had captured at Hattin and which he would not return to the Crusaders.

292. We do not know when this would have happened. The new patriarch, Aimery, named following the death of Heraclius in 1190, did not take office until 1197. Possibly the new bishop of Acre, Theobald, elected in August 1191, could have put the relic(s) in place.

293. King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, pls. II, III. King notes only that the on the seal of Garin de Montaigu, the base of the cross is "triangular" (p. 12), but on later seals, such as that of Nicholas le Lorgne, he identifies the skull of Adam under the cross instead of seeing it as a stand for the reliquary (p. 14). In regard to this question, I invite the reader to study the photographic reproductions of the seals on these two plates in contrast to the older and somewhat unreliable line drawings on pl. IV.

294. On this question we must recall that there are few records of reliquaries being sent to Europe from the Holy Land between 1187 and 1192, as noted earlier.

295. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 32–3, trans. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 26. In this text the word used is "tresor" for the place where the crowns were kept. This implies both a room and a box or trunk within the room.

296. Rose, "The Native Christians of Jerusalem, 1187–1260," pp. 242–3. See also J. Prawer, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: The 'Minorities'," *HC* 5, pp. 65–82.

297. C. Cahen, "Indigènes et Croisés," Syria, 15 (1934), pp. 351–60, cited by Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 186.

298. The work of Lucy-Anne Hunt and Robert Nelson will be important in our quest to identify such work. See, for example, L.-A. Hunt, "Eternal Light and Life: A Thirteenth-Century Icon from the Monastery of the Syrians, Egypt, and the Jerusalem Pascal Liturgy," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 43 (1993), pp. 349–66, and R. Nelson, "An Icon at Mount Sinai and Christian Painting in Muslim Egypt during the 13th and 14th Centuries," *AB*, 65 (1983), pp. 201–18.

299. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 350–7.

300. See O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, New York, 1970, pp. 133–60, 163–95, 205–18; K. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200," *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, New York, 1975, pp. 53–93.

301. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 52, 74.

302. *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. XXVI, p. 131, quoted in P. Perdrizet, "De la Véronique et de sainte Véronique," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V (Prague, 1932), pp. 1–15, esp. p. 3.

303. On the Veronica, see, in addition to Perdrizet, mentioned earlier, the fundamental studies of K. Pearson, *Die Fronica, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter*, Strassburg, 1887; and E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig, 1899. See also the recent discussions of the Veronica tradition along with other important material by Ian Wilson and Eva Kuryluk.

304. For information on the Latin Church after 1187, see Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 243–5.

305. My comments in this paragraph are based on the ideas of R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 279.

306. J. J. S. Weitenberg, "Literary Contacts in Cilician Armenia," *East and West in the Crusader States: context – contacts – confrontations*, eds. K. Cigaar et al., Louvain, 1996, p. 63.

307. The "T'iaysi" are interpreted to be the people of Thrace by Dulaurier. See ibid., p. 64, n. 2.

308. Weitenberg, "Literary Contacts in Cilician Armenia," pp. 63–4, lines 784–1.

CHAPTER 3: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ACRE AS THE CAPITAL OF THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM FOLLOWING THE THIRD CRUSADE

1. The terms of the Treaty of Jaffa vary in the reports. Some sources say the truce was to last for three years and three months. See Chapter 2, n. 202. Meanwhile, there was a separate truce signed in 1192 by Bohemond III and Saladin in the north, for ten years.

2. G. J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem*, Mediterranean Archaeology suppl. 4, Sydney, 1993, p. 277.

3. The years 1192–7 in the Crusader States are given relatively brief attention in the sources, such as the Lyon Eracles (*La Continuation*, pp. 155–99) and the Paris Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 200–19) and in the major secondary studies. Useful discussions are found by S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 76–100; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2, Paris, 1970, pp. 101–17; and M. N. Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, pp. 522–30.

4. H. E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1967), pp. 191–2. Henry's marriage to Isabel was regarded as bigamous.

5. The fact is that although Isabel was the legitimate heir to the throne, she had not yet been crowned and would not be until 1198.

6. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 159; J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London, 1973, pp. 153–4; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 83–4; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," pp. 524–5; M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land, 1098–1197*, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 312–15.

7. Baha ad-Din, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 252. Despite his great power and influence as sultan, Saladin was a man of modest personal means. His modern tomb, put there by Kaiser Wilhelm II, hardly reflects the reality of the man Saladin was. The tomb is partially illustrated in M. Billings, *The Cross and the Crescent*, New York, 1990, p. 123.

8. Baha ad-Din, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 251. M. C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson (*Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War*, Cambridge, 1982, p. 374) quote a slightly different translation of the last part of this text: "I have heard people say that they would like to ransom those dear to them with their own lives, but this has only been said figuratively in my hearing, except on the day of his death. For I know that had our sacrifice been accepted, I and others would have given our lives for him."

9. King Fulk was fifty-three at his death; Baldwin III, thirty-three; Amaury I, thirty-eight; Baldwin IV, twenty-four; Baldwin V, nine. H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, Oxford, 1988, p. 163. At this date, 1193, the ex-king, Guy de Lusignan, was still alive but in Cyprus, and Conrad of Montferrat had been assassinated before he could be crowned.

10. Both the Lyon Eracles and the Florence Eracles (*La Continuation*, pp. 172, 173) say 1195, but the Lyon Eracles also was mistaken about the date of the death of King Guy de Lusignan, placing it one year after the fact. The Paris Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 217, 218) says 1197, and the Noailles Eracles (=Paris, MS fr. 9082, Beugnot's MS "G", *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 211) also says 1195. Ernoul (*Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 304) says 1197.

11. The formula of the oath was the following:

> First, from this moment I dedicate and consecrate all my deepest feelings to al-Malik an-Nasir for as long as he lives, binding myself to sacrifice in the defence of his state myself, my possessions, my sword and my men, in obedience to his orders and awaiting his pleasure; and after him to his son al-Afdal 'Ali and his heirs. In God's name I shall be loyal to him, defend his state and territory with my person, my wealth, my sword and my men, and obey his command and prohibition. This I both profess openly and inwardly adhere to. God is the guarantee of what I say. (Baha ad-Din, *Sultanly Anecdotes*, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 249–50)

The oath was said with reference to Al-Afdal in Syria before Saladin died, but other family members controlled Egypt to the south and Aleppo to the north. Thus the disintegration of Saladin's hold on power as Ayyubid Sultan began.

12. The consecration of Monachus presumably took place in the Church of the Holy Cross in Acre, but the ceremony is not located or described in the sources. This church would serve as the cathedral for both the patriarch and the bishop of Acre after 1191.

13. The incident between Henry and the canons is recorded in the Lyons Eracles (*La Continuation*, p. 161), the Florence Eracles (*La Continuation*, p. 160), and the Noailles Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 203–5). There is discussion in the following secondary studies: Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 82–3; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," pp. 525–6; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, pp. 244–5. P. Edbury examines the whole case in a larger context and comments on the confusion over the name of the new patriarch, Monachus not Aimery, in "William of Tyre and the Patriarchal Election of 1180," *The English Historical Review*, 93 (1978), pp. 14–18. The use of this name, Monachus, is also supported by H. E. Mayer, "Die Nachfolge des Patriarchen Monachus von Jerusalem," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 74, (1974), pp. 109–30.

14. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 159, 161.

15. See discussion in Chapter 2.

16. Lyon Continuation, *La Continuation*, p. 177; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 84–5; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, pp. 44, 57–8.

17. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 84.

18. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 171; Florence Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 170, C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'Époque des Croisades et la Principauté Franque d'Antioche*, Paris, 1940, pp. 582–8; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 87–9; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," pp. 526–7; and R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, Washington, DC, 1987, pp. 7–9.

19. On Baghras Castle, see R. W. Edwards, "Bagras and Cilician Armenia, *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, n.s. 17 (1983), pp. 415–32, with the older literature on p. 416, n. 1, and plates on pp. 433–55. The important findings of Edwards's survey are the paucity of Armenian masonry and construction on this castle site and the fact that Baghras is isolated, lacking intervisibility with any other fortification. But even if it was not regarded as a major fortress in the defense of Cilician Armenia to the north, it was of major importance in the defense of nearby Antioch to the south and west. See also H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 142–4;

and W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter*, Munich/Berlin, 1966, pp. 48–9.

20. Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, p. 171. We are not given any details about what specifically these gifts may have been.

21. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 209.

22. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 31; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, pp. 48–9.

23. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 212; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 302–3, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 31–2, Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, p. 49. Henry VI died on 28 September.

24. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 585–90.

25. Lyon Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 221.

26. Ibid. Since the Old French says "le Change" this means the exchange, presumably the main market, not the *cathena*. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* (p. 307), says only, "Si enfoirent le cors el moustier Sainte Crois."

We have no information on what Henry's sepulcher looked like. Quite possibly his family may have wished to emulate and evoke the tombs of the Crusader kings before 1187 in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at his burial site in the Church of the Holy Cross in Acre. On the other hand, as we shall see, in the thirteenth-century burials with plaques containing figures inscribed or in low relief become the norm for most grave markers with figural decoration.

27. It is not altogether clear why Monachus was opposed, but Hamilton suggests it may have been because her former husband, Humfrey of Toron, was still alive. In any case, after the decision was made, the patriarch had cordial relations with the new king and queen. Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 245.

28. Hamilton (*The Latin Church*, p. 245) says that the marriage ceremony took place on Cyprus and was performed by the archbishop of Tyre. His source for this is unclear.

29. For clarification of my nomenclature, I am referring to the same person, Aimery, as constable of the Latin Kingdom and king of Cyprus, but as Aimery II when he becomes king of Jerusalem (1197–1205). I shall call the king of Jerusalem who ruled 1163–74 as Amalric.

30. Lyon Eracles and Florence Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 199 and 198 respectively; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 223; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 310. None of these sources comments on the ceremony or its location, when the ceremony took place and who was there, or the regalia used. All of the continuations focus on the fact that on this occasion, Isabel is crowned queen for the first time. Mayer argues that patriarch Monachus performed the ceremony and that the coronation took place in Tyre, the latter partly on the evidence of the Pontifical of Tyre; see Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus," pp. 192–3. It is also explicit from the *Livre des Assises*, by Jean d'Ibelin written in the 1260s, that the principle by that time was that when Jerusalem was not available, the coronation would take place in Tyre (*RHC: Lois* I, p. 29). Obviously, the coronation of Aimery II and Isabel may have been the origin of that practice.

31. Lyon Eracles and Florence Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 199 and 198, respectively; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 223; and Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 310.

32. As Runciman reports, Roger of Hoveden says that the pair were married and crowned in Beirut, which is clearly unlikely. Whatever Roger's sources may have been, the various continuations place the siege and capture of Beirut by the German Crusaders after the coronation of Aimery and Isabel. See, for example, the Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 223–5.

33. For the German Crusade, see among the sources: Lyon Eracles, *La Continuation*, pp. 187–99; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, pp. 219–30; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 304–17; and for the secondary studies, see J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2, Paris, 1970, pp. 112–18; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1979, pp. 203–7; E. N. Johnson, "The Crusades of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI," *HC* 2, pp. 119–21; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 91–8; Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 149–51; and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp. 118–19.

34. Henry I of Brabant and count of Louvain, was the son of Geoffrey III of Lower Lorraine.

35. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, 2, pp. 116–17.

36. The beginning and ending dates of the German Crusade are clear and basically uncontroversial; the Crusaders arrived in the Holy Land in September 1197 and sailed for home in February 1198. Furthermore, the dates of the attacks on Beirut and Toron are clear. However, the sequence and chronology of events as recounted in the continuations are confused and need attention in regard to the relationship between the events of the German Crusade and the activities of King Aimery II before and after his coronation. There is also some disagreement in the secondary studies about the dates of certain basic events and the sequence of certain important events, including when and where the coronation of Aimery II took place. See Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 90–8; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," pp. 528–31; and Johnson, "The Crusades of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI," pp. 119–22; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, A Short History*, pp. 118–19; Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 149–51; Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, A, pp. 203–7; and Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, pp. 113–18.

37. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 98, quotes the period as five years and eight months, apparently based on the texts of Abu Shama and Ibn al-Athir (p. 98, n. 2). Al-Maqrizi, however, says the truce was for three years. See *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, ed. R. J. C. Broadhurst, Boston, 1980, p. 124. Typically, the Crusader sources such as the continuations and the Chronicle of Ernoul refer to the truce, but do not necessarily give details on the duration; see Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 228; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 316–17. The exact provisions of these treaties are often unclear without having their texts to refer to. Once again the reader can refer with profit to the discussion of Muslim treaty making and diplomatic policy in P. H. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995, pp. 1–11.

38. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 97–8.

39. J. Sayers, *Innocent III, Leader of Europe, 1198–1216*, London and New York, 1994, pp. 15, 23, 27, 171.

40. Frederick II was the main protagonist as Holy Roman emperor. He died in 1250, followed by his successors, Conrad and Conradin, the latter who died in 1268.

41. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 244–9, is the fundamental work for this issue. See also J. Richard, "The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States, D. The Establishment of the Latin Church," *HC* 5, pp. 242–50.

42. See Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 247; and G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. II, Hierarchia Latina Orientis, Verona, 1976, pp. 60, 165, 234, and 26, 56, 57, 142, 201, 206, 227.

43. See Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 168.

44. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 299–300. Interestingly, these communities correspond almost exactly to those abbots and priors who are listed as suffragan to the patriarch of Jerusalem in the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* dating to the 1260s (*RHC: Lois* 1, pp. 415–16).

45. R. B. Rose, "The Native Christians of Jerusalem, 1187–1260," *The Horns of Hattin*, pp. 239–49.

46. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 160, n. 3; 163–4; 182, n. 4; 347–9. In contrast to Jerusalem one did not find in Acre large numbers of Armenians, Georgians, Maronites, Copts, or others mentioned by John of Würzburg in his catalogue of Eastern Christians. See J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, London, 1988, p. 273. See also J. Prawer, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: the 'Minorities'," *HC* 5, pp. 59–115.

47. See A. Forey, *The Military Orders*, Toronto and Buffalo, 1992, pp. 6–23; J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1972, pp. 269–79.

48. On the Hospitallers, see J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, London, 1967, pp. 106–44; and a new summary volume, idem, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St. John*, London, 1999; H. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, Woodbridge, 2001; on the Templars, see M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 115–47; and H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar, A New History*, Gloucestershire, 2001, pp. 53–84. On the Orders of St. Lazarus and St. Thomas of Canterbury, also known as St. Thomas of Acre, see A. Forey, *The Military Orders*, pp. 17–23; and S. Shahar, "Des Lepreux pas comme les autres," *Revue Historique*, 267 (1982), pp. 19–41.

49. I. Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," *HC* 5, pp. 315–78; and Forey, *The Military Orders*, pp. 17–22. See also U. Arnold, "Eight Hundred Years of the Teutonic Order," *The Military Orders*, ed. M. Barber, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1994, pp. 223–8.

50. Arnold, ibid., p. 269.

51. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 391–8. Tyre was known for its glass production and its white silk. Antioch and Tripoli were more famous for their textiles, including silks and camlot at Tripoli and silk and brocades at Antioch.

52. See D. Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 20 (1979), pp. 19–36; and M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, Amsterdam, 1989, pp. 390–421, 436–7 (maps).

53. Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century; . . . ", pp. 36–9. Favreau-Lilie (*Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, p. 436) indicates the Marseillaise quarter as between the Venetians and the Genoese, east and west, and bordering the cathena on the south. It is not clear where the market for the Barcelona traders was located.

54. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 85–93.

55. See Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 391–415.

56. H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1988, p. 180. Mayer says there were no guilds, and Prawer does not mention them, but one must consider the possibility that they may have existed inside the Italian communes at least.

57. Prawer points out that the Venetians, and to some extent the Genoese, had settlers in their communes in the Latin Kingdom from the patrician or knightly classes; see Prawer, "Social Classes in the Latin Kingdom, . . . D. The Communes," *HC* 5, pp. 182–5.

58. It has been argued lately that confraternities can be identified very early in the Crusader East, as early as the time of the First Crusade. See T. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch: 1098–1130*, Woodbridge, 2000, pp. 104–7. The fact is, however, that even if they may have existed at that early time, their development in the Latin Kingdom only began to flourish in the port city of Acre after its reconquest by the Third Crusade.

59. J. Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), pp. 301–2.

60. Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities," p. 302; Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, pp. 406–7.

61. Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities," p. 302; Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, pp. 408–9, 521–8.

62. J. Richard, "The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States, C. Monarchical Institutions," *HC* 5, p. 230.

63. Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities . . . ," pp. 302–3.

64. Richard, "The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States, . . . ," pp. 230–1; Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 115–16; and Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities . . . ," pp. 303–5.

65. Ibid., pp. 305–6.

66. On rural settlement and the agriculture, the older views are presented by J. Richard, "Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States, A. Agriculture in Frankish Syria" *HC* 5, pp. 251–66; and J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 85–200; and idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 355–81. The important new study is by R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 3–38, where the earlier models are contrasted with his new and persuasive hypotheses based on extensive survey analysis and interpretation.

67. Prawer, "Social Classes in the Latin Kingdom: The Franks, B. The Nobles," *HC* 5, pp. 139–40; and "C. The Burgesses," *HC* 5, pp. 145–7.

68. Estimates of the size of the population vary, but Prawer suggests that whereas by the late twelfth century Acre may have had 30,000 people, the city could well have doubled its population by the late thirteenth century. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 82. With a population of 50,000 or 60,000, Acre would have been certainly the largest Crusader city on the coast of Syria-Palestine, the largest Frankish city in the Levant with the exception of Constantinople under the Latin Empire, and one of the largest cities on the Mediterranean east or west. See also, Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 7–8, n. 21.

69. See Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography," pp. 41–2; and idem, "Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: The First Stage of Its Development," *Montjoie*, pp. 205–17. The new suburb had begun to develop long before 1187, but the influx of population after the Crusaders reconquered the city in 1191 caused it to grow dramatically. Construction on a wall for Montmusard started by 1198 and was completed by 1212 (p. 213), but the suburb did not receive its full fortification until the time of Louis IX, 1250–4.

70. Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 27–8.

71. M. Greilsammer, "Structure and Aims of the *Livre au Roi*," *Outremer*, pp. 218–26. Greilsammer concludes this article by stating: "Given the fact that the work was most certainly prepared for King Amalric [Aimery II], this monarch's aim was to facilitate the restoration of a strong monarchy rather than to set down in writing the old assizes lost in 1187" (p. 226).

72. *Livre au Roi*, ed. M. Greilsammer, Paris, 1995, and the older edition, ed. Comte Beugnot, *RHC: Lois* I, pp. 601–44. See P. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Woodbridge, 1997, p. 105.

73. Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," p. 531; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 103–4; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades*, pp. 33–4.

74. H. E. Mayer, "Two Unpublished Letters on the Syrian Earthquakes of 1202," *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. S. A. Hanna, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972, pp. 295–310.

75. According to Kallner-Amiran, the seismic grade was 20.5, and the earthquake struck from Egypt through Palestine and Syria to Cyprus. Although not as strong as the three biggest quakes of the twelfth century, especially the 1170 earthquake, which was rated 29.6 on the Mercalli-Cancani scale, the 1202 quake was heavily destructive. D. H. Kallner-Amiran, "A Revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 1 (1951), p. 228.

76. Mayer, "Two Unpublished Letters," p. 307.

77. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 258–63, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 355–60.

78. Ibid.

79. For a detailed discussion of the problems surrounding the Antiochene succession, see C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'Époque des Croisades et la Principauté franque d' Antioche*, Paris, 1940, pp. 597–608; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243, pp. 532–6; Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 216–18; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 99–103; Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 252–3.

80. See n. 77. J. Richard dates the Fuwah incursion to 20–25 May 1204 (Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, A, p. 210). It is difficult to understand why these incursions did not in fact break the truce!

81. The extant narrative sources for the Fourth Crusade, although important and interesting, have some conspicuous gaps. There is for example no contemporary chronicle written from the Venetian point of view, a surprising omission given the pivotal role the Venetians played in this adventure. Donald Nicol has pointed out that the earliest Venetian source is a work by Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, written by about 1275, much later than the Crusade itself and even dating after the demise of the Latin Empire (1204–61). See D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium, Venice and the Fourth Crusade*, An Inaugural Lecture by the Director of the Gennadius Library, Athens, 1990, pp. 12–16. Martin da Canal's version of the story is very different from those of Villehardouin or Robert of Clari. Would that we had a more detailed systematic account told from the point of view of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

82. The basic sources used here are the Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 241–80; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 331–77; Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 2 vols., ed. E. Faral, Paris, 1961; Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer, Paris, 1924; and Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth, Hildesheim and Zurich, 1994. For basic secondary studies of the Fourth Crusade, see D. Queller and T. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn., Philadelphia, 1997, pp. 1–203; E. H. McNeal and R. L. Wolff, "The Fourth Crusade," *HC* 2, pp. 153–85; K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, Philadelphia, 1976, pp. 1–26; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp. 121–30; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1988, pp. 196–204; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1979, pp. 208–11; and C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*, Cambridge, MA, 1968.

83. On Fulk of Neuilly, see E. H. McNeal, "Fulk of Neuilly and the Tournament of Ecry," *Speculum*, 28 (1953), pp. 371–5; and the account of Fulk by Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, ed. J. R. Hinnebusch, Fribourg, 1972, pp. 89–90, 94–101, with information and bibliography on pp. 273–4.

84. *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 338.

85. Geoffrey de Villardouin (*La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, I, Paris, 1961, pp. 4, 6, 8) and Robert de Clari (*La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer, Paris, 1924, pp. 1–4) both give long lists of knights who took the Cross, but only Geoffrey names the place where the tournament took place.

The Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 243–4, and *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 337–8, include this event with a list of participants that differ slightly, but neither cites the specific place, only the region of France.

86. Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, Paris, 1924, p. 3, trans. E. H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, New York, 1936, p. 33. Although we know of the use of banners in the twelfth century as a "vexillum," McNeal (p. 33, n. 11) points out that this is one of the earliest appearances of the Old French term "baniere," in its technical sense as a standard carried in battle.

The making of these banners, either by painting them or by methods of stitching and sewing textiles, or by both means together, was a commission that even the most important artists received. Although no banners made for the Crusaders are known to survive, we can imagine that in the thirteenth century, male manuscript painters and fresco painters as well as female makers of intricate textiles were called on for such works. We know that later Jan van Eyck made banners for the duke of Burgundy, and of course much later the first American flag was made by Betsy Ross.

87. Geoffrey de Villehardouin was one of the major nobles to take the Cross, and his account of the Fourth Crusade is the most detailed we have. He became marshal of Champagne in 1185, a position which prepared him well for his duties on this delegation to Venice.

88. Oddly enough, the Paris Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 245–6) and *Chronique d'Ernoul* (pp. 338–9) describe the Crusaders as having discussions with the Venetians in France over the arrangements for the ships. These texts appear to conflate and simplify a large section of the early arrangements for the Crusade, which is reported in some detail by Geoffrey de Villardouin. Despite this apparent mistake about where the negotiations took place, the Crusaders are reported as only having dealt with the Venetians for their ship transport.

89. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 9–16. For the text of the treaty, see G. L. Fr. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1856, rpt., Amsterdam, 1964, pp. 362–8.

90. The choice of Egypt represented a shift in strategy by the Crusaders, to strike at the heart of Muslim power first, and presumably then to liberate the Holy Land. This idea had already surfaced during the Third Crusade as we have seen, and King Aimery II viewed sending a raiding party to Rosetta and Fuwah as a worthwhile maneuver. The fact is also that the treaties made by Richard I and the rulers of the Latin Kingdom, starting in 1192, with truces declared in effect for several years may have been a consideration, but could not have been the determining factor here. See Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 14–15, n. 41. Gunter of Pairis (*Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth, Hildesheim and Zurich, 1994, p. 121, trans. A. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, Philadelphia, 1997, p. 77) discusses the strategy openly, referring also to drought and famine in Egypt as factors which would make an attack there effective. Robert of Clari (*The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. E. H. McNeal, New York, 1936, p. 36) refers to the goal of going to Egypt as a matter of common knowledge in his position as a rank-and-file Crusader. Jonathan Riley-Smith has now made a persuasive case for Alexandria as the agreed on objective, in papers given in conferences on the Fourth Crusade in Athens and Istanbul. These papers will be published in due course.

91. As he lay dying, Thibaut selected Renaud de Dampierre to fulfill his Crusader vow for him and gave him the wherewithal to undertake the journey. See A. J. Andrea, "Adam of Perseigne and the Fourth Crusade," *Cîteaux*, 36 (1985), p. 30 and nn. 52, 53.

92. Boniface was well-connected with the royal family in the Latin Kingdom, but he never visited the Holy Land while on the Fourth Crusade or in Frankish Greece before his death in 1207. See J. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin: recherches sur les Croisés de la Quatrième Croisade*, Geneva, 1978, pp. 227–34. L. Usseglio, *I Marchesi di Monferrato in Italia ed in Oriente*, vol. 2, Turin, 1926, pp. 170–83.

93. A. J. Andrea, "The *Historia Constantinopolitana*": An Early Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Looks at Byzantium," *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 36 (1980), pp. 271–4, comments on the Order's special connection with this Crusade.

94. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 244, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 338.

95. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 33. See also J. Folda, "The Fourth Crusade, 1201–1203: Some Reconsiderations," *Byzantinoslavica*, 26 (1965), pp. 278–83, and Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, pp. 275–6.

96. There is no doubt that both Boniface of Montferrat and Philip of Swabia also had quite independent personal and political reasons for finding the plea for support from Alexius interesting. See Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 35–7. Even Robert of Clari (*The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp. 59–66) has a long story to tell about why the marquis of Montferrat had a family score to settle with the emperor of Byzantium.

97. The standard work on relations between the pope and Byzantium in this period before Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, 1, 1976, was W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, Berlin, 1903. Norden discusses how Innocent III tried to maneuver Alexius III into agreeing to a church council to discuss unification, and how Alexius III avoided it (Norden, p. 142). Setton (pp. 4–8) discusses the interaction of Innocent III and Alexius III in the wider framework of relationships between East and West, and Setton also has some important comments on Norden's book (Setton, p. 3, n. 5).

98. Migne, *PL*, 214, *Gesta Innocentii III*, ch. 83, cols. 131–2. See also, Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 38.

99. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 44–51.

100. It is interesting that Geoffrey de Villehardouin discusses the defections of soldiers and controversies over the goals of the Crusade at length all through his account, but Robert of Clari by contrast has hardly anything to say on these topics.

101. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 149–50.

102. Ibid., p. 145.

103. Ibid., pp. 199–200.

104. Ibid., p. 213.

105. Ibid., p. 223.

106. Ibid., p. 123.

107. Ibid., p. 125.

108. Ibid., pp. 125–6.

109. Ibid., pp. 126–7.

110. Ibid., pp. 119–20.

111. Ibid., p. 25.

112. Ibid., pp. 22–3.

113. Ibid., pp. 60–1.

114. Ibid., p. 67.

115. Ibid., p. 164.

116. Geoffrey de Villardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, vol. 1, Paris, 1961, pp. 50, 52, 54, 56.

117. Ibid., p. 58, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, Baltimore, 1963, p. 42.

118. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 56–7.

119. Folda, "The Fourth Crusade, 1201–1203," pp. 287–90.

120. Queller and Madden (*The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 60 and 238, n. 22) address the question of the date when Enrico took the Cross. They argue the case persuasively for Sunday, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, 8 September 1202.

121. Unfortunately we do not have a copy of this letter, but we know of its existence. See A. J. Andrea and I. Motsiff, "Pope Innocent III and the Diversion of the Fourth Crusade Army to Zara," *Byzantinoslavica*, 33 (1972), pp. 9–14. On the timing of the letter, see Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 65–6.

122. In the treaty the Crusaders made with Venice in 1201, the breakdown was 4,500 knights, 9,000 squires, and 20,000 foot soldiers (Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 11). Of these numbers then, the leaders – great nobles, high clergy, and their staffs – were a small percentage, perhaps 5 percent or less. Although the Crusader army in October 1202 was smaller than half that number, the proportions and the percentage of "leaders" must have been comparable.

123. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 67–8 and n. 65.

124. Robert of Clari was a Picard knight of modest means who was a vassal of Pierre d'Amiens and served under his banner on the Fourth Crusade.

125. Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, Paris, 1924, p. 13, trans. E. H. McNeal, Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, New York, 1936, pp. 42–3.

126. It is ironic that the city surrendered on 24 November, the Feast of St. Chrysogonus, patron saint of Zara. See T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia*,

the Quarnero, and Istria, vol. 1, Oxford, 1887, p. 288.

127. Villardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, pp. 92–4.

128. Migne, *PL*, 214, *Epistolae Innocentii III*, letter V, 161, col. 1178. This letter, written in the second half of December, is translated by A. Andrea, along with a slightly later one, written probably in February 1203 (letter V, 162); both are discussed in A. J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2000, pp. 39–48.

129. This is not the first time that errant Crusaders had apparently been excommunicated. Urban II and Paschal II were said to have pronounced this sentence on those among the First Crusaders who left the ranks before reaching Jerusalem. See J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969, pp. 37–8. Nonetheless, excommunication was a terrible pronouncement and, it must be said, one rarely applied to Crusaders before 1203.

130. Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, pp. 94, 96, 98, 100.

131. Ibid, p. 98, Shaw, trans., *Joinville and Villehardouin*, p. 51.

132. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 99–100.

133. Ibid., p. 124.

134. Ibid., pp. 115–16.

135. Ibid., pp. 165–7.

136. Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, p. 106.

137. Villehardouin suggests that Robert left to go to Syria before the delegation ever got to see the pope in Rome (Ibid., p. 106). Robert of Boves is one of the few defectors that Robert of Clari mentions, and he says Robert of Boves went oversea from Rome (*The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 45). The Paris Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 255) says Robert went to Rome and delivered his message before he left for Apulia and sailed to Acre.

138. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 124–30, trans. A. J. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, pp. 80–5.

139. A. J. Andrea and J. C. Moore ("The Date of Reg. 6:102: Pope Innocent's Letter of Advice to the Crusaders," *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, eds. E. E. Kittell and T. F. Madden, Urbana and Chicago, 1999, pp. 109–23) discuss the convoluted relationships among the pope, the barons, and the Venetians as the result of the capture of Zara and the dating of a series of papal letters to the Crusaders pertaining to their experiences at Zara. A. Andrea has published a translation and a further commentary on this letter in which he changes his mind about its date. See Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, pp. 64–9.

140. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 249–50.

141. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 131–2, trans. A. J. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, pp. 85–6; 158–9, nn. 116, 118. The text says he arrived on 25 April, but Andrea argues this was a mistake and that in fact this was his date of departure from Apulia.

142. On the character of the vow, see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, pp. 30–65, and especially pp. 115–31 for the content and the obligations of the Crusader vow.

143. Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, p. 102.

144. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 113–14.

145. Ibid., pp. 127–8.

146. Ibid., pp. 121–2.

147. Ibid., p. 128.

148. Robert of Clari and Geoffrey of Villehardouin mention rather matter-of-factly Simon of Montfort's remarkable decision to leave the Crusade and seek the protection of the king of Hungary (Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 44, and Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, pp. 110–12).

149. Ibid., pp. 114–15.

150. Villehardouin says (Ibid., p. 102) "fait leur message," but we are not told what information Renaud was meant to convey from the Crusade to the Latin Kingdom.

151. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, p. 107.

152. Ibid., pp. 102–3.

153. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 95–9.

154. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 153–4.

155. Ibid., pp. 197–9.

156. Ibid., p. 118.

157. Ibid., pp. 23–4.

158. Ibid., pp. 57–8.

159. Ibid., pp. 120–1.

160. Ibid., pp. 128–9.

161. Ibid., pp. 212–13.

162. Ibid., p. 213.

163. Ibid., p. 212.

164. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 246–9.

165. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 48. Renaud was only able to return home in 1233; see Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 60–3.

166. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 256–7. John of Nesles was a second-time Crusader, having been on the Third Crusade as well. He never made it back to Europe this time, dying on 14 July 1204 in the East; see Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 149–50.

167. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 244–5, *Ernoul Chronique*, p. 338. The manuscripts of the Eracles vary as to which city walls they mention. The Paris Eracles mentions only Tyre and Acre, but the Lyon Eracles mentions only Acre and Beirut, and Paris, B. N. MS fr. 9086 (=MS "C", *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II), mentions Acre, Tyre, and Beirut, as does Ernoul.

168. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 250–2, *Ernoul Chronique*, pp. 343–6. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 51, and 235, n. 84.

169. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 255–7.

170. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 258–9.

171. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 131–4, trans. A. J. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, pp. 86–8. Andrea thinks that 25 April is the date of Martin's embarkation from Apulia and not the date of his arrival in Acre. See Andrea, p. 159, n. 118.

In fact, it is puzzling that although a fair number of soldiers are mentioned in the Western sources who sail to Syria to arrive in Acre, we hear about relatively few of them in the Latin Kingdom from the Paris Eracles or Ernoul (e.g., Renaud de Montmirail, Martin of Pairis, or Peter Capuano). It remains to be seen if they, and others like them, can be accounted for in other sources not brought into this discussion as yet. It is possible, however, that in some cases, either they arrived in Acre to find problems with the plague and died there unrecorded or they turned around and sailed away to save themselves, like the contingent mentioned by Geoffrey de Villehardouin (*La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, p. 124). Martin of Pairis, on the other hand, visited Acre, rejoined the Crusaders at Constantinople and then returned to the Holy Land before going home. The account of his journeys from Constantinople back to Acre and then home by Gunther of Pairis is of great interest as we shall see later.

172. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, pp. 144–7.

173. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 263, and *Ernoul Chronique*, p. 360.

174. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, pp. 145–6. See also Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 103; Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, A, pp. 209–11.

175. See the detailed discussion in Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 100–203.

176. Geoffrey de Villardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, p. 124. In fact, Geoffrey does not say they were fleeing the plague. This is the interpretation put on this passage by Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 103–4.

Surprisingly the Paris Eracles does not mention the plague, but Gunther of Pairis (*Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 131–4, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 86–8) does discuss the plague in Acre at some length. Abbot Martin of Pairis apparently arrived in Acre shortly after the men in these two ships mentioned by Villehardouin must have departed, and he stayed until early November 1203. Gunther describes the plague as having occurred mainly in the summer of 1203, but there obviously could have been an earlier outbreak in the spring.

177. Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, pp. 194–6; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 136–7.

178. Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, p. 194, transl. Shaw, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, p. 76.

179. Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 81–90.

180. Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 1, pp. 200–2, trans. Shaw, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, pp. 77–8. It is odd that Villehardouin refers to the goals of the Crusaders this way, as going first to Syria and then making expeditions to Egypt. Perhaps his perception of what would happen had changed from the original strategy of sailing first to Egypt and then going to the Holy Land, because of the large number of Crusaders who had split off from the army and gone to Syria directly.

181. The Mitaton mosque was a particularly sensitive issue with the Crusaders because this was the mosque that Isaac II had erected as the

result of his negotiations with Saladin in the 1180s. See Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 145; and C. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185–1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), p. 172.

This fire was one of three the Crusaders set in Constantinople that inflicted terrible damage on the city. See T. Madden, "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 84–5 (1992), pp. 72–93. Madden says they devastated one-sixth of the city, making one-third of the inhabitants homeless.

182. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 119.

183. See B. Hendrickx and C. Matzukis, "Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos: His Life, Reign and Death (?–1204)," *Hellenika*, 31 (1979), pp. 108–22.

184. Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 71–2; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 172–5.

185. *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, ed. and trans., A. J. Andrea, in *Historical Reflexions* 19 (1993), p. 148; see also Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 191–2.

186. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, XI, 1, Berlin and New York, trans., H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit, 1984, pp. 314–20. Besides his descriptive narrative of the terrible events of the Crusader attack and the sack of the city, Nicetas also gives a moving account of his harrowing personal experiences in those dangerous days and how he and his family were able to escape when all was lost (Ibid., pp. 323–5).

187. Ibid., p. 317.

188. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 275. Virtually the same passage is also found in the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 375.

189. Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 80–1, trans. E. H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 101.

190. Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 2, p. 52, trans. Shaw, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, p. 92.

191. No source known to me specifies that manuscripts were plundered for their covers or that major libraries were destroyed in the fires set by the Crusaders. See Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 291 n. 19.

192. The main Greek source for this is Nicetas Choniates, "De signis," the last section of his *Historia*, pp. 647–55, esp. 647–8, trans., Magoulias, pp. 357–62. See Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 195–6, and 291–2, nn. 20–4.

193. On these horses, see M. Jacoff, *The Horses of San Marco and the Quadriga of the Lord*, Princeton, 1993; and L. Borelli Vlad and A. Guidi Toniato, "The Origins and Documentary Sources of the Horses of San Marco," *The Horses of San Marco*, ed. G. Perocco, London, 1979, pp. 127–36. On the treasury of San Marco, see D. Buckton et al., eds., *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, Milan, 1984; and the remarks of M. Frazier, "Byzantine Enamels and Goldsmith Work," pp. 113–14, with regard to identifying works in the treasury that came to Venice in 1204.

194. The topic of the relics captured and taken away or destroyed in Constantinople during and after the Fourth Crusade is enormous. Two basic publications for investigating this problem are the following: P. Riant, "Des Dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au XIIIe siècle, et des Documents Historiques nés de leur transport en Occident," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 4e sér., 6 (1875), pp. 1–214; and idem, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 3 vols., Geneva and Paris, 1877, 1878, 1904, the last volume published by F. de Mély after Riant's death. For a valuable introduction to this whole issue, see J. Durand, "Reliques et reliquaires arrachés à l'Orient et à Byzance au temps des Croisades," *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, pp. 378–89.

195. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, A Short History*, p. 129. Clearly the relics acquired by the Crusaders in Constantinople were a major factor in the rise of attested True Cross relics catalogued by Frolow for the thirteenth century. See Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, pp. 110–13, 144–7.

196. A. J. Andrea and P. Rachlin, "Holy War, Holy Relics, Holy Theft: The Anonymous of Soissons' *De terra Iherosolimitana*: An Analysis, Edition, and Translation," *Historical Reflections*, 18 (1992), p. 156.

197. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 158–61, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 109–12. See also the older editions published by Paul Riant: Guntheri Alemanni, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, Geneva, 1875; and idem, Guntheri Parisiensis, "Historia Constantinopolitana," *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, I, Geneva, 1877, pp. 57–126. The new modern edition is by Peter Orth: Gunther von Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, Spolia Berolinensia: Berliner Beiträge zur Mediävistik, vol. 5, Hildesheim and Zurich, 1994, pp. 106–81.

Gunther also provides a list of the relics Abbot Martin brought with him back to Pairis after the Crusade. I discuss this important list in due course.

198. Paul Riant begins the discussion of the sources about these relics in his 1875 study "Des Dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople . . . , pp. 85–176.

199. Andrea and Rachlin, "Holy War, Holy Relics, Holy Theft," pp. 172–4. Paul Riant had published this text in 1877: Anonymi Suessionensis, "De Terra Iherosolimitana, & quomodo ab urbe Constantinopolitana ad hanc ecclesiam allate sunt reliquie," *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, I, pp. 3–9, with these relics listed on pp. 7–8.

200. Andrea and Rachlin, "Holy War, Holy Relics, Holy Theft," p. 172.

201. Ibid., p. 173.

202. Ibid., p. 172.

203. Ibid., p. 173.

204. Ibid., p. 172.

205. Ibid., p. 173.

206. Ibid., p. 174.

207. Ibid., p. 172, n. 56.

208. K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1574)*, vol. 1, Philadelphia, 1976, pp. 13–20.

209. Ibid., p. 13. This letter, Register VII, 152, has now been translated and discussed by A. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, pp. 98–112.

210. Ibid., p. 20.

211. Ibid.

212. Ibid., p. 14.

213. Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 202, point out that when their year was up, most of the remaining army boarded Venetian ships and sailed for the West.

214. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, p. 168, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 118–19.

215. Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, II, pp. 124, 126.

216. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, p. 169, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 120, 177–8, nn. 298, 299. See also A. J. Andrea, "Conrad of Krosigk, Bishop of Halberstadt, Crusader, and Monk of Sittichenbach: His Ecclesiastical Career, 1184–1225," *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 43 (1987), pp. 49–50.

217. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth, pp. 175–7, trans. A. J. Andrea, pp. 125–7.

218. Ibid., pp. 125–7. These relics existed in Pairis in the late fourteenth century, as witnessed by a letter guaranteeing an indulgence for visiting the relics in the monastery there. By the eighteenth century all of the relics had disappeared except for the blood of Christ and a fragment from the Virgin's sepulcher. These relics also disappeared at the time of the French Revolution (Ibid., p. 179, n. 316).

219. Paul Riant, ed., Guntheri Alemanni, Scholastici, Monachi et Prioris Parisiensis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, Geneva, 1875, p. 90, referred to in idem, "Récits contemporains," *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 1, p. lxxxvi, n. 3. Riant's comment in the notes on Guntheri Alemanni (p. 90) is as follows:

> Cette relique & les seize suivantes devaient former un seul & même reliquaire: il est douteux qu'elles provinssent de Constantinople; Martin les avait plutôt rapportés de Terre Sainte, où, faute de reliques insignes (la plupart ayant été anciennement transportées à Constantinople), on donnait aux pèlerins des fragments du sol des lieux consacrés par les scènes de l'Ecriture Sainte.

220. See the discussion of the relics acquired by Abbot Martin of Pairis, nn. 178, 179.

221. C. R. Morey, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag vom Paul Clemen*, Bonn and Düsseldorf, 1926, pp. 150–66.

222. Durand, "Reliques et Reliquaires," *Les Croisades*, ed. Rey-Delqué, p. 379; and M.-M. Gauthier, *Les Routes de la Foi*, Fribourg, 1983, pp. 37, no. 15 (illustrates the example of the oliphant given by Albert III of Hapsburg to the convent of Muri in Switzerland, in 1199), and p. 94, no. 50 (illustrates a reliquary purse, early thirteenth century).

223. Ibid., and see also A. Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, Frankfurt and Berlin, 1996.

224. See Durand, "Reliques et Reliquaires," *Les Croisades*, ed., Rey-Delqué, pp. 378–89.

225. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, pp. 388–9, no. 462, and see n. 99 of the present chapter.

226. Ibid., pp. 385–6, no. 457, and n. 218 of the present chapter.

227. Ibid., pp. 386–7, no. 459; and see A. J. Andrea, "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade: Popular Religiosity in the Early Thirteenth Century, *Historical Reflections*, 22 (1996), p. 475.

228. Note that the anonymous author of the *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* specifies that Conrad sailed from Constantinople to the Holy Land specifically "in order to discharge his pilgrimage vow." Andrea, "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade," p. 469.

229. Andrea, "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade," pp. 469–70; and idem, "Conrad of Krosigk, Bishop of Halberstadt,..., pp. 48–9.

230. Andrea, "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade," p. 470. Clearly the apologetic nature of this text comes through in a passage like this.

231. Andrea, "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade," p. 470; and idem, "Conrad of Krosigk, Bishop of Halberstadt,..., pp. 48–9. On the shrine of the Virgin in the Church of Notre Dame in Tortosa, see Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 35–6. Slightly later pilgrimage texts, *Les Pelerinages por aler en Iherusalem* (*c.*1231) and *Les Chemins et les pelerinages de la Terre Sainte* (*c.*1260–63), refer to the church at Tortosa as the first church of Notre Dame commissioned by Saint Peter. See H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, Geneva, 1882, pp. 103, 187–8.

232. Andrea, "Conrad of Krosigk, Bishop of Halberstadt,..., pp. 19–23.

233. Ibid., p. 49.

234. Ibid., p. 54.

235. Gesta Episcoporum Halberstadensium: ed. P. Riant, Anonymi Halberstadensis," De peregrinatione in Greciam...", *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, I, Geneva and Paris, 1877, pp. 20–1, trans., A. J. Andrea, "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade," pp. 475–6.

236. Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 90, trans. E. H. McNeal, p. 112.

237. I. Wilson has proposed this argument in a number of works, the latest being *The Blood and the Shroud*, New York, 1998, pp. 111–75; and his earlier study, *The Shroud of Turin*, Garden City, NY, 1978, pp. 66–183. Wilson even proposes the controversial idea that the Holy Shroud was the same object as the Mandylion.

238. Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 81–2, trans. E. H. McNeal, p. 103.

239. Robert de Clari and Geoffrey de Villehardouin are the most reliable among several sources which record this incident; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, who wrote long after the event, provided the most fanciful description with a number of errors of fact. See Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 165–6, and 278 nn. 122, 123.

240. Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, pp. 66–7, trans. E. H. McNeal, p. 90. The word "ansconne," here meaning icon, is notable as a rare Old French word in one of its earliest usages.

241. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 2, p. 28, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, p. 86.

242. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, trans. H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium*, p. 312.

243. N. Baynes, "The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67 (1949), pp. 171–6. Baynes discusses the variety of holy relics that protected Constantinople and especially the relics and image of the Virgin which were established in tradition long before 1204.

244. Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 67, trans., E. H. McNeal, p. 90.

245. Robert of Clari, ibid., pp. 92–5, trans., McNeal, pp. 115–16. See also the comments of R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *HC* 2, pp. 189–90.

246. Besides the important chapters of Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, *HC* 2, pp. 187–233; and J. Longnon, "The Frankish States in Greece, 1204–1311, in *HC* 2, pp. 235–74, see also P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, London and New York, 1995; and the important publications of B. Hendrickx, "Regestes des Empereurs Latin de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272)," *Byzantina*, 14 (1988), pp. 1–220; and idem, "Recherches sur les documents non conservé concernant la Quatrième Croisade et les premières années de l'existence de l'empire latin de Constantinople, 1200–1206, *Byzantina*, 2 (1970), pp. 107–84.

247. See Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 40–3; E. H. McNeal and R. L. Wolff, "The Fourth Crusade," *HC* 2, pp. 182–3; and the text of the pact in Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1, pp. 444–52. A. J. Andrea has translated and discussed this document, called the "March Pact" as it appears in the papal registers (Register VII, 205); Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, pp. 140–4.

248. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 45–51; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," pp. 190–3; J. Longnon, "The Frankish States in Greece, 1204–1311, *HC* 2, pp. 235–9; and the text of the pact in, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, 1, pp. 464–501.

249. R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, vol. III, Paris, 1936, pp. 173–4. In papers delivered in Athens and Istanbul in 2004, Benjamine Kedar has argued there were short-term and long-term benefits to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from the Fourth Crusade. On balance, however, the impact seems to have been largely negative.

250. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 129.

251. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, p. 105.

252. Ibid., pp. 114–16.

253. Ibid., pp. 32–41.

254. Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 2, pp. 122, 124, 136.

255. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 278; and *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 378.

256. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 130.

257. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 248–9, deals with the Soffredus case at length.

258. John Faicete of Noyon, the new bishop of Acre in 1202, was also chancellor of Flanders. See Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 85 and 201; and Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp. 165–7.

259. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 249. Villehardouin (*La Conquête de Constantinople*, p. 170) says both Peter of Bethlehem and John of Acre died at Adrianople.

260. See R. L. Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople," *Traditio*, 6 (1948), pp. 33–60; and Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, 1, pp. 27, 58, 143, 165, 227.

261. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 34–5, 82–4, 97–100, 166–9, 290–9, 391–3.

262. Riant, "Des Dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople...," pp. 45–51, 62–5, 180–9.

263. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, pp. 387–8, nos. 460–1.

264. Ibid., pp. 393–5, no. 467, 401, no. 479.

265. Ibid., pp. 427–30, no. 530.

266. Ibid., pp. 389–91, no. 464, 391–3, no. 465. See also, Riant, "Des Dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople," pp. 190–203.

267. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, A, p. 210.

268. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 305, and more briefly, Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 407.

269. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, p. 34.

270. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 305. Three years later, Hugh married Alice, daughter of Henry of Champagne and Isabel of Jerusalem (ibid., pp. 308–9).

271. See J. M. Buckley ("The Problematical Octogenarianism of John of Brienne," *Speculum*, 32 (1957), p. 320) who offers his reinterpretation of the age of John of Brienne. See also my Chapter 4, n. 2.

272. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 306–12, with variant versions from other manuscripts, including the Eracles of Paris, MS fr. 9086; and the Lyon Eracles, both printed at the bottom of these pages. See also Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 132–3, LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, pp. 45–8.

273. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 311–12.

274. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 27–39; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades*, pp. 39–47.

275. See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'Époque des Croisades*, pp. 608–23; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, pp. 532–6; Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," *HC* 2, pp. 649–51; and Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 217–20.

276. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'Époque des Croisades*, pp. 611–13.

277. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 218–19.

278. Ibid., pp. 219–20. Hamilton makes the point that the new patriarch, Peter II, was Peter

of Ivrea, not Peter of Locedio, as Cahen claimed (Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 616–17). Peter of Locedio had traveled in northern Syria earlier in 1205.

279. The inventory of this treasure survives and is published in the General Cartulary of the Hospitallers, no. 1336. I discuss this inventory later.

280. On Baghras, see A. W. Lawrence, "The Castle of Baghras," T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, New York, 1978, pp. 34–83.

281. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'Époque des Croisades*, pp. 619–21.

282. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 107.

283. Eliezer Stern, "The center of the order of the Hospitallers in Acre," *Qadmoniot*, 33 (2001), pp. 4–12 (in Hebrew).

284. The essential studies on Crac des Chevaliers are all based on the following: P. Deschamps, *Les Chateaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, vol. I, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Paris, 1934, pp. 121–6, 150–4, 166–7, 188–92, 233–7 (stone quality samples), 239–51 (mason's marks), 256–67, 279–83. Other interpretative studies include H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 146–63; T. S. R. Boase, "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," *HC* 4, pp. 152–6; and W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter*, Munich and Berlin, 1966, pp. 61–3.

285. Deschamps proposed to place all of these developments in what he calls the second Frankish campaign which he dates to the late twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries. I am arguing here to locate these constructions to the post-1202 earthquake period specifically on the basis that, even if work was planned and started shortly before 1202, it would have had to be repaired or rebuilt after the earthquake, and that this phase therefore as we see it, is essentially postearthquake 1202. In any case, all of this construction belongs to our period, 1192–1210, according to Deschamps; I am merely proposing to focus it more in 1202–3 than before.

286. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 152–6.

287. Among the innovations are new arrow slits and box machicolation, see Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, pp. 257–61, 262–6.

288. Crac's design is the most fully concentric of all the major Crusader castles.

289. The introduction of a full set of round towers is notable here, bearing in mind that the towers are round facing the enemy to strengthen the defensive system of the walls, but that they are usually rectangular in the inner or rear section.

290. These arrow slits are sophisticated, angled down and slightly enlarged at the bottom to facilitate firing at attackers close to the walls. Kennedy calls this system of "wall-head defenses" the most elaborate and developed found anywhere in the Latin East. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 153–5.

291. Ibid., pp. 154–5.

292. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 155–6. Kennedy does not speculate on what these parallels mean, but we should entertain questions they raise. Consider the problems of how knowledge of architectural developments were learned on each side, of what the makeup of masons yards for military architecture of this sort may have been, and at least the possibility that Muslim masons may have been employed in this work as part of the team, given the large manpower requirements for huge projects of this sort under relatively isolated circumstances. What Kennedy does say that is important is that even though we cannot be certain of the relative dating of Crusader versus Muslim construction in this period, "the evidence for cross-cultural transmission of military design is indisputable" (p. 156).

293. Opinions differ somewhat on how Baybars captured Crac des Chevaliers in 1271. See Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 150. But the facts seem clear: Baybars, having mounted a formidable siege, sent forged letters, allegedly from Hospitallers in Tripoli, to the garrison ordering them to surrender. See C. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 235. I discuss this problem in Chapter 7.

294. On the Church of Notre Dame at Tortosa, see T. S. R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Architecture and Sculpture," in *HC* 4, pp. 108–10; idem, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom*, pp. 93–6; P. Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, Abbaye Sainte-Marie de la Pierre-qui-vire, 1964, pp. 231–6; M. Pillet, "Notre-Dame de Tortose," *Syria*, 10 (1929), pp. 40–51; and C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, vol. 2, Paris, 1928, pp. 395–426.

295. See Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, pp. 403–8; and Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals*, pp. 33–6.

296. The existence of an icon in the shrine of the Virgin at Tortosa seems to be a post-medieval report, but one that may reflect medieval practice. See Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, pp. 403–8.

297. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, pp. 420–2.

298. Ibid., Album, 2, Paris, 1926, pls. 158, fig. 502; 159, figs. 505 and 506; 164, fig. 498; 165, fig. 524; 167, fig. 525; 171, fig. 541.

299. Andrea, "The Anonymous Chronicler of Halberstadt's Account of the Fourth Crusade," pp. 469–70.

300. It is, of course, notable that in this region, it was the Templars in Tortosa and the Hospitallers nearby in Margat and Crac des Chevaliers who were the major architectural patrons.

301. The obvious known *comparanda* are the chapels in the great castles of Crac des Chevaliers, which was repaired and partly rebuilt after the 1202 earthquake, and at Margat, but there may have been a number of others.

302. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 385–6.

303. On the issue of degenerate coinage types of the *Amalricus* denier, see A. G. Malloy et al., ed. A. G. Berman, *Coins of the Crusader States*, New York, 1994, pp. 58–60, 77–9.

304. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, London, 1995, p. 66.

305. Ibid., pp. 71–2; and J. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC* 6, p. 381.

306. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 381–2.

307. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 73–4. See also the remarks of A. G. Malloy, I. F. Preston, A. I. Seltman, et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, ed. A. G. Berman, New York, 1994, pp. 61–2, where the coin is dated after 1210.

308. J. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 399; and Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection of Coins of the Collection*, Sotheby's London, 1997, p. 38, no. 259. See also Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, ed. Berman, pp. 78–9.

309. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, ed. Berman, pp. 58–9.

310. M. L. Bates and D. M. Metcalf, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 444–6; and Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 44, 47–50; and Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection*, p. 41, no. 295. See also Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, ed. Berman, pp. 117–18.

311. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 107–16. See also Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, ed. Berman, pp. 65–9, 86–9.

312. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 382. Porteous cites the passage in the "Livre au Roi," (*RHC: Lois* I, p. 617): "nul home ne deit aver port, euvreneour ne monee labourant, fors li rois, par dreit ne par l'assize." He notes that the minting of coins was a crime punishable by loss of fief.

313. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 92–5.

314. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 89–90; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 383–4. Porteous thinks the coins of Reynaldus ended with Saladin's conquest; Metcalf is not so sure.

315. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, p. 91; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," pp. 383–4.

316. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, ed. Berman, p. 156, interprets this building as the mosque converted into the cathedral of Sidon. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 384, says the building is unidentified.

317. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, p. 151.

318. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 164–7, and pl. 21, nos. 534–42.

319. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 130–2.

320. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 135–6.

321. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusaders*, pp. 169–70.

322. I discussed this contribution in n. 167.

323. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 175–7, trans. A. J. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, pp. 125–7. See my discussion of these relics in nn. 217, 218.

324. M.-M. Gauthier has been one of the few scholars to discuss the appearance of Western metalwork in the Crusader Levant. See her communication, "Objets d'art du métal en Terre Sainte," séance du 27 Juin, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1984, pp. 177–84, esp. pp. 182–3.

325. See n. 210.

326. The Western objects apparently given to the bishop of Bethlehem, and still found in the collection of the Franciscans in Jerusalem, are concrete examples of Western gifts to holy sites. The question is when these various gifts were made and what other gifts like them may have been made to other churches in the Holy Land.

See M. Piccirillo, *The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Jerusalem Museum*, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 82–4. "The Treasure of Bethlehem" includes two bronze bowls, two nielloed candlesticks, an enamelled candlestick, an enamelled crozier found in 1863, and a peal of 13 bells and 250 copper organ pipes found in 1906. I discuss some of these objects in relation to Bethlehem later.

327. None of the recent articles on the metalwork seems to consider this; see, for example, D. Thurre, "Les reliquaires au temps des croisades d'Urbain II à saint Louis, (1096–1270), pp. 362–7, and A. Ducellier, "Le sac de Constantinople en 1204 et sa posterité," pp. 368–77, both in *Les Croisades*, ed. Rey-Delqué.

328. Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 168–9, trans. A. J. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, pp. 119–20.

329. J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitallers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1300)*, vol. 2, Paris, 1897, pp. 112–13, no. 1336.

330. We know that since the mid-twelfth century the patriarch of Antioch possessed the castle of Cursat (Qusair), just south of Antioch, which he used as a residence and for the purpose of safeguarding ecclesiastical treasure (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 84). It is puzzling therefore in this inventory to find that the patriarchal treasure was placed in the hands of the Hospitallers. Perhaps it was some kind of traveling collection that was part of the cappella of the patriarch? See the discussion later on the issue of a prelate's cappella. My thanks to J. Riley-Smith for his thoughts on the matter.

331. In trying to think about what was included in this treasury, I am the beneficiary of comments from my colleague Richard Pfaff, with his knowledge of liturgics and liturgical history in the Middle Ages. I would like to express my gratitude to him for sharing his thoughts in response to this text and my questions about it. He is, however, in no way responsible for my speculations about the objects presented in this important list.

It is particularly unfortunate that we cannot know exactly what kind of a golden cross this was, decorated with precious stones. As possible parallels we have, for example, the golden crosses preserved in the Treasury of Oignies for general comparison. We have wondered why no reliquaries were included in this treasury. Is this golden cross possibly a reliquary of the True Cross; is this what we should understand by "veram crucem"?

332. "Texta" presumably refers to gospelbooks here, so we must imagine a handsome gospelbook with a treasure binding referred to by this entry.

333. I am puzzled by this entry; what would a set of small ritual knives be used for in the liturgy. Could they have been used for circumcision rituals?

334. Among this array of liturgical garments, it is interesting to consider what a special stole would look like that was only to be used for confirmation rites. Similarly in the following entry, what does a silver vase commissioned to be used at confirmation rites look like?

335. It is interesting to note how many liturgical girdles or belts there are in this list. One wonders exactly what function each of them might have had.

336. This is presumably a thurible, that is, a vessel for incense.

337. It is curious in this list that there are sandals but no episcopal stockings.

338. One wonders if this "iconia" might not be a panel painting encased in a silver riza, therefore giving direct evidence for the use of such holy images by Latin clergy.

339. The punctuation is not always reliable in this list, but here these two entries seem to refer to a cope with gold orphreys.

340. These entries appear to refer to a set of liturgical vestments, including a saffron-colored silk tunic, casula, and dalmatic.

341. As another example of how these entries seem to go together, is this not a red stole maniple for use at Mass?

342. In the case of all three of these service books, the missal, the gospelbook, and the epistolary, we are left to wonder if they may have been painted with figural decorations?

343. These golden pins might have been used to hold special liturgical vestments in place, such as a pallium.

344. I am not sure what "Narengi" refers to. This is presumably where this samite comes from.

345. As discussed later in Chapter 4, Jacques de Vitry apparently commissioned a miter to be made for him in Acre while he was resident there as bishop. We may wonder how many of the objects presented in this list might have been made in the East and how many came from western Europe.

346. There are several specialized liturgical belts presented in this list. I wonder what this type of belt, a "zone," was used for. Does it have anything to do with Eastern, that is, Orthodox liturgical vestments?

347. See the textiles in the following exhibitions: R. Grönwoldt, "Kaisergewänder und Paramente," *Die Zeit der Staufer*, I, pp. 607–30; mostly from Sicily; and the English miter in Hoffmann, *The Year 1200*, I, p. 330, no. 338. See also the examples in *Les Trésors des Eglises de France*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1965, for example, no. 426, pl. 8; no. 502, pl. 32; no. 842, pl. 9.

348. I would cite in particular the Musée Historique des Tissus at Lyon, with its important collection and its research library. The textiles identified as "Sicilian" in this collection and in other collections seem to me to bear further study with regard to possible Crusader origins.

349. I discuss this in Chapter 2. Despite the idea that Heraclius sought refuge in Antioch found in a later source, the likelihood remains he would have gone to Tyre or Tripoli, which were closer, and, more importantly, Tyre was the second city in ecclesiastical rank in the Latin Kingdom. It is odd, however, that Heraclius disappears from view in the written sources for many months after he leaves Jerusalem in October 1187.

350. G. Fagniez, "Inventaire du Trésor de Notre-Dame de Paris de 1343 et de 1416," *Revue Archéologique* (1974), pp. 157–65.

351. On the St. Denis treasury, see D. Gaborit Chopin, "Documents, inventaires, conservation des objets," *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1991, pp. 26–38; and for Sainte-Chapelle, see K. Gould, "The Sequences *De Sanctis Reliquis* as Sainte-Chapelle Inventories," *Medieval Studies*, 43 (1981), pp. 315–41. Gould's article includes an appendix that lists twenty-three major relics kept in the Grande Châsse as recorded in seven documents (pp. 336–41).

Whereas the Sainte-Chapelle treasury contained well-known dominical relics from the Holy Land, such as the Crown of Thorns, the St. Denis treasury featured royal joyaux instead of relics associated with Christ. That is not to say there were no objets from the Near East in the St. Denis treasury; one notes a number of vessels of Fatimid origin, and there is the Vase d'Aliénor that was Sassanid in origin. One wonders if any of these could have entered the treasury as Crusader gifts. See *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis*, pp. 160–72.

On the Eleanor Vase, G. Beech has now proposed that it came to France from the last king of Saragossa, Imad al-Dawla (1110–30), as a diplomatic gift. See G. Beech, "The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase, William IX of Aquitaine and Muslim Spain," *Gesta*, 30 (1993), pp. 3–10; and idem, "The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase: Its Origins and History to the Early Twelfth Century," *Ars Orientalis*, XXII (1995), pp. 69–79.

352. J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury*, London, 1902, pp. 1–94. For the inventory of the relics, see pp. 79–94, with discussion on pp. 28–43.

353. Ibid., p. 1.

354. T. Ulbert, *Resafa III: Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiupolis*, Main am Rhein, 1990. There are full descriptions and discussions of the archeological find and the objects in the hoard, with complementary studies on the inscriptions, and the heraldry, along with scientific discussions, which include important data on the condition of the objects, their materials, and their restoration, the latter which was carried out by experts from the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn. This material is now also published in T. Ulbert, "Der Schatz von Resafa," *Die Kreuzzüge*, H.-J. Kotzur, ed., Mainz, 2004, pp. 497–503.

355. Ulbert, *Resafa III*, pp. 50–61, 74–6, 76–86 (H. Pinoteau), and see the earlier study by H. Pinoteau, "Une Coupe Héraldique trouvée en Syrie," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1984, pp. 155–77 (Séance du 20 Juin), Damascus, National Museum, Inv. No. 29313/314; overall height, 8.5 cm; diameter of the foot, 8.7 cm, diameter of the lip of the bowl, 16.1 cm.

356. Ulbert, *Resafa III*, pp. 21–36, Damascus, National Museum, Inv. No. 29311; overall height, 20.9 cm; diameter of the foot, 14.1 cm.

357. R. Degen, "Die Inschriften," in Ulbert, *Resafa III*, pp. 67–68.

358. Ulbert, *Resafa III*, pp. 36–42, Damascus, National Museum, Inv. No. 29315; overall height, 7.4 cm; diameter of the foot, 12.8 cm.

359. Ibid., pp. 42–50, Damascus, National Museum, Inv. No. 29312; diameter of the paten, 13.0 cm; overall height, 1.1 cm.

360. Degen, "Die Inschriften," in Ulbert, *Resafa III*, pp. 68–74.

361. Ulbert, *Resafa III*, pp. 7–21, Damascus, National Museum, Inv. No. 29316; overall height, 8.2 cm; maximum diameter, 11.8 cm.

362. J. Beddie, "Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum*, 8 (1933), pp. 240–2.

363. Written "Anbrosius," this author is presumably "Ambrosius," the great fourth-century bishop of Milan.

364. T. Gottlief, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Leipzig, 1890, no. 433.

365. Beddie, "Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades," p. 241.

366. The collection is comparable in size but different in content to the library of Guy d'Ibelin, bishop of Limassol on Cyprus, an inventory of which survives from 1367. His library contained fifty-two volumes, thus medium-sized also, but his collection was focused on theology and philosophy, treatises on preaching, and canon law. See M.-H. Laurent and J. Richard, "La Bibliothèque d'un Évêque Dominicain de Chypre in 1367," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 21 (1951), pp. 447–54.

367. B. Z. Kedar, "Gerard of Nazareth, A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East: A Contribution to the Intellectual and Monastic History of the Crusader States," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), pp. 55–77. See also now the work of A. Jotischky, "Gerard of Nazareth, Mary Magdalene and Latin Relations with the Greek Orthodox in the Crusader East, in the Twelfth Century," *Levant*, 29 1997), pp. 217–26.

368. Ibid., pp. 64–5.

369. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 33–5; 136; 143, pls. 49, 50, 51; and J. Folda, "Les manuscrits enluminés dans les états de la Terre Sainte," *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, pp. 302; 403, no. 87; pls. on pp. 307, 311.

The main contents/decoration of this codex, Naples, Bibl. Nazionale MS.VI.G II, is as follows: Missal in Latin:

237 folios, 26.5 × 18.5 cm, 32 lines written in one column.
two full-page miniatures, fifteen illuminated initials of which three are large and one of these three includes a figural design.
[Incomplete at the beginning (lacking a calendar) and the end.]
fol. 1r, *Proprium de tempore*
  2r, (*Oratio in die natalis domini*)
  Initial C(*oncede de quesumus*)
81r, (*sequuntur orationes solempnes*)
  Initial O(*remus dilectissimi*)
82v, (*Benedictio cerei*)
  Initial E(*xultet iam*)
95r, Initial D(*eus qui hanc sacratissimam*), medallion portrait of Christ
96v, Panel Miniature, Crucifixion (19.7 × 13 cm)
97r, Panel Miniature, *Maestas Domini* (19.4 × 12.8 cm)
97v, Preface
  Initial P(*er omnia secula*), large letter (21.9 × 10.7 cm)
98r, Initial V(*ere dignum*), in panel (7.8 × 7.5 cm)
98v, Canon
  Initial T(*e igitur*), in panel (10.5 × 8.5 cm)
100r, Initial R(*esurrexi et adhuc*)
  Initial D(*eus qui hodierna die*)
115r, Initial V(*iri galilei*)
118v, (*in die pentecosten*)
  Initial S(*piritus domini*)
  Initial D(*eus in hodierna die*)
160r, *Proprium sanctorum*
161r, (*in natale s. silvestri pp.*)
  Initial S(*acerdotes tui*)
168v, (*in purificatione s. marie*)
  Initial O(*mnipotens sempiterne deus*)
206v, (*in die omnium sanctorum*)
  Initial O(*mnipotens sempiterne deus*)
221v, *Comune sanctorum*
237r, *Officium mortuorum*
[Incomplete at the end.]

370. These manuscripts are the Missal, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 12056; and the sacramentary, Rome, Bibl. Angelica, MS D.7.3, and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean MS 49. See Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 140–2, cat. Nos. 4 and 2/3, and Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 159–63 (Missal) and pp. 100–5 (sacramentary).

371. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 34.

372. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 137–59.

373. See *Les Croisades*, ed. Rey-Delqué, p. 307, for a full-page color reproduction.

374. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 34.

375. Ibid.

376. See, *Les Croisades*, ed. Rey-Delqué, p. 311, for a full-page color reproduction.

377. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 463–7. V. Pace has argued that the MS was done in south Italy in the 1190s (idem, "Un'ipotesi par la storia sella produzione libraria italo-meridionale: la Bibbia 'Bizantina' de San Daniele del Friuli," in *La Miniatura Italiana in Età Romanica e Gotica*, ed. G. V. Schoenburg, Florence, 1979, pp. 131–57. More recently, L.-A. Hunt has argued the Bible should be localized in Jerusalem in the third quarter of the twelfth century and that the Bible was available in Syria when the Buchanan Bible was made. I find Hunt's argument more interesting, but I think the reason the Bible was available was that it was made in Antioch just before 1187. See L.-A. Hunt, "The Syriac Buchanan Bible in Cambridge," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 57 (1991), pp. 354–5.

378. All Sinai icons discussed in this volume are illustrated in the text and/or in the Handlist, presented as the Appendix here.

379. The plaque is located on the left door along the carved vertical member between the third and fourth wood panels on the inner side. The location can be seen in the photo published by D. Bahat, "The Doors of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai," *Le Porte di Bronzo dall'Antichità al secolo XIII*, ed. S. Salomi, Rome, 1990, text, pp. 135–7, album, pl. CXXIX, no. 1; or (less good) by J. Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Garden City, NY, 1980, fig. 26. Weitzmann illustrates the plaque: K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, Collegeville MN, 1973, p. 26, fig. 36.

The problem with this enamel plaque is that we do not know exactly when it was done, or at what date it may have been nailed to the wooden doors. It obviously could have appeared there well after the Crusader period, even though the book that it came from may have been in the library at St. Catherine's in the twelfth or the thirteenth century, quite possibly the gift of a Crusader.

It should be pointed out that there is a second *Maestas* enamel plaque at Sinai, now preserved in the library, dating from about 1225–35, probably made in central Italy. There is an excellent color plate in Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Church Metalwork," *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis, p. 279, fig. 1. For the references to the "Star Group" enamels to which this plaque appears to belong, see nn. 35–7, p. 390. I discuss this plaque in Chapter 5.

380. K. Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai," [5 (1972)], pp. 291–3. See also Chapter 4 for further discussion on this icon, nn. 341 ff.

381. Ibid., p. 292.

382. R. Nelson, "An Icon at Mt. Sinai and Christian Painting in Muslim Egypt during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *AB*, 65 (1983), pp. 201–12, L.-A. Hunt, "Christian-Muslim Relations in Painting in Egypt of the Twelfth to mid-Thirteenth Centuries: Sources of Wallpainting at Deir es-Suriani and the Illustrations of the New Testament MS Paris Copte-Arabe 1/Cairo, Bibl. 94," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 33 (1985), p. 141.

383. Nelson, "An Icon at Mt. Sinai...", p. 207, n. 31.

384. On the Qara frescoes, see the works cited in n. 391; on the Margat paintings, see Chapter 2.

385. L.-A. Hunt, "The Syriac Buchanan Bible in Cambridge (Cambridge University Library, MS. Oo.1. 1,2)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 57 (1991), pp. 331–69, fig. 8 (fol. 191r).

386. See the discussion in Chapter 4.

387. We know that the castle chapel at Crac received some kind of program of fresco painting and that the castle chapel at Margat was intended to have such a program. We have no evidence for the Church of Notre Dame at Tortosa, but we would expect there may have been plans for a program there even if no evidence survives to modern times.

388. J. Folda and P. French with P. Coupel, "Crusader Frescoes at Crac des Chevaliers and Marqab Castle," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 36 (1982), pp. 181–7. P. Deschamps published only a single photograph of it in his later general survey, *Terre Sainte Romane*, p. 137, pl. 40, with brief descriptive comments.

389. Folda et al., "Crusader Frescoes," pp. 182–3.

390. The monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi in western Syria has paintings fairly securely dated in the 1190s, for example. Even though the hand of our artist is not found there, the same type of robust and rustic style can be seen. This is one possible site with local artists from which our painter might have learned. On Mar Musa, see E. Dodd, *The Monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi, near Nebek, Syria*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2000; and the publication of

Dr. Dodd cited in n. 391. There are other possible sites as well, but none quite so securely dated to this period.

391. A number of Orthodox and Maronite establishments are known in this area, from Mar Marina, just south of Tripoli, stretching north and eastward to Qara and Mart Schmuni in Syria, east of Crac. Their paintings date from the mid-twelfth to the late thirteenth centuries. Although no Presentation of Christ scene painted in fresco is extant in any of these monuments, the existence of such an image or icons with this scene is obviously possible. Determination of the complete repertoire of paintings can now be seen in the recent publication by Dr. Erica Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, photographs: Raif Nassif, Syriac Inscriptions: Amir Harrak, Architectural Plans: George Michell and Jean Yasmine, Wiesbaden, 2004.

The primary publications for current research are the following: Ch.-L. Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," *Syria*, 7 (1926), pp. 30–43; M. Tallon, "Peintures byzantine au Liban: Inventaire," *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, 38 (1962), pp. 279–94; J. Leroy, "Découvertes de Peintures Chrétiennes en Syrie," *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 25 (1975), pp. 95–113; Y. Sader, *Peintures Murales dans les Eglises Maronites Médiévales*, Beirut, 1987; E. C. Dodd, "Notes on the Wall Paintings of Mart Shmuni," in *Archéologie au Levant, Recueil Roger Saideh, Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen*, 12, série archéologique 9, Lyon, 1982, pp. 451–62; and E. C. Dodd, "The Monastery of Mar Musa al-Habashi, near Nebek, Syria," *Arte Medievale*, 6 (1992), pp. 61–132. Additional comments are found on these paintings in J. Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon: *Maniera Cypria*, *Lingua Franca*, or Crusader Art?" *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, ed. B. Davezac, Houston and Austin, 1992, pp. 118–25; and L.-A. Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), pp. 98, 107–10.

392. A less successful job of integrating Byzantine and Western formulations can be seen, for example, in the Deësis chapel in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, which admittedly suffers from the modern renovation work done on it. See Folda, *ACHL* I, pp. 165–6. Some of the most successful examples of achieving this kind of integration in Crusader monumental painting can be found in the twelfth-century mosaics done at the Holy Sepulcher or in the transepts of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem (Folda, *ACHL* I, pp. 236–8, 352–3, 358) or the contemporary frescoes from the Damascus Gate Chapel (Folda, *ACHL* I, pp. 380–1).

393. Folda et al., "Crusader Frescoes," pp. 187–96.

394. Compare the St. George fragments (Folda et al., "Crusader Frescoes," p. 192, fig. 22) with the frescoes of St. Sergios and St. George (Dodd, "The Monastery of Mar Musa," pp. 85–7, figs. 28, 29).

395. Compare the drapery design of the seated figure at Crac (Folda et al., "Crusader Frescoes," pp. 190–1, and fig. 15) with those of the seated figures in the Last Judgment (Dodd, "The Monastery of Mar Musa," pp. 96–107, figs. 43, 44, 47).

396. Note, however, the proposed attribution to this period of one layer of the paint surface found on the Maestas Domini icon, discussed earlier.

397. J. Folda, "The Freiburg Leaf: Crusader Art and *Loca Sancta* around the Year 1200," *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 2, *Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, eds. P. Edbury and J. Phillips, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 113–34; idem, "Entry 318. The Freiburg Leaf," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, eds. H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, New York, 1997, p. 482; R. W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages, (ca. 900–ca. 1470)*, Amsterdam, 1995; pp. 136–43, cat. No. 8 (with additional bibliography on pp. 137–8); E. Sebald, "Blätter aus einem Musterbuch," *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, vol. I, Cologne, 1985, pp. 316–18, no. B 89 (with excellent full-page color reproduction); R. Kroos, "Einzelblatt aus einem Musterbuch," *Die Zeit der Staufer*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 542–3 (with extensive bibliography), vol. 2, pl. 513; K. Hoffmann, "Christ and Zacchaeus; St. Theodore and companion riding," *The Year 1200*, vol. I, New York, 1970, pp. 272–3, no. 268.
Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Augustinermuseum, inv. No. G. 23/fols. 1a–c.

The main contents/decoration of these leaves is as follows:
Parchment, three leaves:
Fol. 1a, 32.2 × 20.0 cm:
Recto: catalogue of the manuscript in which these leaves were found, including descriptions of 78 scenes from the Bible and the lives of the saints.
The entries for the drawings on fol. 1c, listed below, are as follows:
"Ubi Zacheus in arbore," and
"Theodorus equitans cum alio."
Verso: ruled for musical notation, with Sequence on the Virgin.
Fol. 1b, 35.5 × 22.1 cm:
Recto: hymn to St. Nicholas.
Verso: Marian Sequence.
(N.B. Neither the Sequences nor the hymns on fols. 1a or 1b are listed in the contents on 1a recto.)
Fol. 1c, 31.0 × 20.2 cm:
Recto: two drawings:
Upper register: Christ and Zacchaeus (Luke 19: 1–10) in silverpoint, with inscriptions "Christus" and "Zachaeus" in brown ink by a hand later than the drawing.
Lower register: Mounted Soldier Saints, St. George (left) and St. Theodore (right) in sepia, with inscriptions "consodalis" and "Theodorus" over the soldiers in brown ink by a hand later than the drawing; to the far right of Theodore's head, "lxxv," in red ink referring to the entry of this image on fol. 1a (recto).
The drawings also have bistre washes and a few touches of red.
Verso: homily on 1 Corinthians 3:8 ff.
The "Freiburg Leaf" as we use it here refers to fol. 1c recto with these two drawings.
These two drawings are the only ones extant from this artist's sketch book, which apparently contained seventy-eight drawings, judging from the list of contents on fol. 1a (recto).

398. E. Kitzinger, "Norman Sicily as a Source of Byzantine Influence on Western Art in the Twelfth Century," in *Byzantine Art – An European Art, Lectures*, Athens, 1966, pp. 135–40. See also O. Homburger, "Das Freiburger Einzelblatt – Der Rest eines Musterbuch der Stauferzeit?" *Studien zur Kunst des Oberrheins, Festschrift für Werner Noack*, Konstanz and Freiburg, 1959, pp. 16–23.

399. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1950, p. 446: "The artist, probably an Augustinian monk himself, seems to have been a learned man, interested in the humanities."

400. Scheller, *Exemplum*, pp. 139, 141.

401. O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, New York, 1970, pp. 34–5.

402. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 78–9.

403. To the left, "consodalis," and to the right, "theodorus." Consodalis has been interpreted a number of ways but appears to mean simply "companion soldier." The left-hand saint has been identified as Constantine, Demetrius, Theodore Tiro, or George. See Scheller, *Exemplum*, pp. 142–3, n. 12.

404. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom [3 (1966)], p. 79.

405. Weitzmann illustrates a Byzantine example from Sinai, an icon with Sts. Victor, Menas, and Vincent, ibid., p. 79, and fig. 63.

406. Most of our five Crusader examples of mounted soldier saints are from the years 1250–91 (nos. 63, 80, 357, 386, 1463), but there is no reason there could not have been earlier examples. See Weitzmann, ibid., pp. 79–80.

407. Weitzmann, ibid., pp. 80–1.

408. As I have already discussed, there seems to be evidence that an early layer of paint on the Maestas Domini icon panel from Sinai may date to this period.

409. I. Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," *HC* 5, pp. 319–22.

It is also possible that the artist might have made a pilgrimage to St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai from Acre while he was traveling in the Holy Land, but this seems much less likely given the evidence at hand. In any case we do not have a specific icon which exactly corresponds to these two saints in these two poses at Sinai or anywhere else at the moment.

410. G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Seligman, vol. I, Greenwich, CT, 1971, p. 156, fig. 441.

411. See O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, vol. I, Chicago and London, 1984, pp. 116, 123, 124, pl. 149 (south transept, east vault, south half, lower tier), twelfth century.

412. See, for example, Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1212) and Thietmar (1217): Wilbrand of Oldenburg, in D. Baldi, *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum*, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 351–2, no. 555; and Thietmar, in J. C. M. Laurent, *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio*, Hamburg, 1857, p. 31.

413. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage. 1099–1185*, London, 1988, p. 138 (trans. W. Ryan).

414. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 456 and 459, pls. 10.18a–b.

415. L.-A. Hunt ("A woman's prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria . . . ," p. 112, see also Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli," pp. 5–6, pl. VII, 2, right side) proposed the idea that the artist saw a fresco with this scene at the grotto of Mar Marina near Tripoli. In fact she suggested that the artist might have gotten the idea for both of his sketches at Mar Marina, but the fact is that the Zacchaeus image only has the publican in the tree without the other figures, and no pair of mounted soldier saints exists there, only a single figure of the mounted St. Demetrius spearing a figure on the ground. Hunt is correct to point to the existence of sources for our artist in the Holy Land, but I think the artist was using an icon from Acre and a image of the Zacchaeus story in Jericho, as indicated in my earlier discussion.

416. H. Flamm, "Eine Miniatur aus dem Kreise der Herrad von Landsberg," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 37 (1915), p. 130.

417. It is evident from reading the list of subjects on folio 1a (recto) that the array of images was somewhat random but could be seen to have been done in groups, in the manner that we find in the sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt dating to the 1230s in France. In the earlier discussion, I dealt with listings found in one such group. This issue requires further study in the case of the Freiburg model book.

418. Folda, "The Freiburg Leaf," *Experience of Crusading*, p. 132.

419. On the Crusader confraternities, see J. Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XLIV (1971), pp. 301–8. There is a large bibliography on the Italian confraternities, of which the following are representative: J. Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence*, Oxford, 1992; B. Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence*, Oxford, 1992, I. Hueck, "La tavole di Duccio e la Compagnia delle Laudi di Santa Maria Novella," *La Maestà di Duccio restaurata, Gli Uffizi Studi e Ricerche*, 6 (1990), pp. 33–46; C. Barr, *The Monophonic Lauds and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages*, Kalamazoo, 1988; and G. G. Meersseman, *Ordo Fraternitatis: Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, Rome, 1977.

420. J. Folda, "Crusader Painting the Thirteenth Century: The State of the Question," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'Arte del XIII Secolo*, Bologna, 1982, pp. 103–7.

421. Z. Jacoby, "The Impact of Northern French Gothic on Crusader Sculpture in the Holy Land," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'Arte del XIII Secolo*, pp. 123–7.

422. See, for example, B. Porée, "Le Royaume de Jérusalem aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: les céramiques croisées, témoins des échanges culturels et commerciaux," *Pèlerinages et Croisades*, Paris, 1995, pp. 333–50; and R. D. Pringle, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Crusader States," *I Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, eds. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar, Genoa, 1986, pp. 451–75.

423. The relics of the True Cross recorded in the period 1192 to 1210 reflect diminished activity in the Holy Land as supplier during this period. See A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1961, pp. 352–404, nos. 387–486. Many of the works cited came from Constantinople as the result of the Crusader sack of the city in 1204. The source of many others is not known and warrants further research. But the lack of identifiable relics of the True Cross originating specifically from the Holy Land in these years seems to indicate a reduction of the importance of the Crusader States as compared with its role before 1187.

424. I have discussed this text earlier; see Chapter 2, nn. 208–10. The question remains as to exactly when the conditions described for Christian pilgrims visiting Jerusalem under the Muslims contained in this text can be identified as first appearing. At present we cannot determine this with any certainty, but it is possible, even likely, that such conditions first existed after 1198 when access to the holy places was eased under the truce signed that year. The questions of when the text of "the condition of the city of Jerusalem" was first written and what its model or models may have been, and when it was first revised, remain to be answered.

425. One of the only specific examples of such diplomatic gifts known to me is the robe sent to Count Henry by Saladin. On 2 September 1192, an envoy of Saladin was sent to Henry to confirm the treaty that had been signed between Richard I and Saladin. Ibn al-Athir reports that, "He [Henry of Champagne] asked him [Saladin] for the gift of a robe of honour, and said: 'You know that to put on the *qaba* and the *sharbush* is not approved of among us, but I would put them on if they came from you, because of the regard I have for you.' Saladin sent him sumptuous robes of honour, among them a *qaba* and a *sharbush*, and he wore them in Acre." The *qaba* is a kind of robe, and the *sharbush* is a tall triangular cap (cited in A. Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, Frankfurt am Main, 1996, p. 47).

CHAPTER 4: THE CRUSADER STATES IN THE TIME OF KING JOHN OF BRIENNE AND THE FIFTH CRUSADE

THE ADVENT OF KING JOHN OF BRIENNE, 1210–1225

1. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, Cambridge, 1954, p. 132.

2. J. M. Buckley, "The Problematical Octogenarianism of John of Brienne," *Speculum*, 32 (1957), p. 320, proposes this revised estimate of his age. Virtually every other modern historian, including Runciman, estimates that he was about sixty at the time of his first marriage! In light of the lack of comment in the sources on him being so aged with regard to his (eventually) three marriages and to his prowess in battle with the Fifth Crusade and later as Emperor of the Latin Empire, it seems that based on documentary evidence, Buckley's interpretation is correct.

3. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 308.

4. All three versions of the Eracles record the events of the marriage and coronation, but only the Paris Eracles gives the dates, ibid. The coronation could not have taken place on the first of October if it occurred eighteen days after the 14th of September as the text states. Hence it must have been October 2, 1210. See also Marsanne Eracles (=Paris, BN MS fr. 9086), *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 308 (first variant), and Lyon Eracles, ibid. (second variant).

5. The Paris Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 315–16) tells a story that indicates Walter was forced to leave Cyprus under duress for what Runciman calls suspicion of "gross peculation." (Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 138.)

6. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 317

7. G. J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem*, Sydney, 1993, pp. 278–9. Al-Mu'azzam was known to be involved in a number of building activities in Jerusalem during these years, possibly right up to the time of the Fifth Crusade.

8. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 133; M. N. Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, p. 537.

9. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 317. Al-Maqrizi says only that the truce between al-Adil and the Franks was signed, without giving any details.

10. Lyon Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 308–9 (second variant).

11. J. Sayers, *Innocent III*, London and New York, 1994, pp. 164–71.

12. For the Albigensian Crusade, see B. Hamilton, *The Albigensian Crusade*, London, 1974, and A. P. Evans, "The Albigensian Crusade," *HC* 2, pp. 277–324; for the Crusade in Spain, J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, New Haven, 1987, pp. 139–41.

13. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 130–2.

14. N. P. Zacour, "The Children's Crusade," *HC* 2, pp. 325–42. One wonders if these popular Crusade movements were not some kind of spontaneous demonstrations directed at Jerusalem to counter the growing number of papal-sponsored military operations elsewhere.

15. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple, *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III Concerning England (1198–1216)*, London and Edinburgh, 1953, pp. 144–7.

16. Innocent III, "Quia maior," trans. L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Idea and Reality: 1095–1274*, London, 1981, pp. 119. In this phrasing, Innocent was no doubt responding to the plea of King John of Brienne.

17. As C. T. Maier has pointed out, what was new about these liturgical directives was that they were not being installed in the wake of a major disaster or an immediate crisis. Instead Innocent obviously envisioned that these liturgical practices would help to build momentum toward the coming Crusade, whose date of departure, at the time of this encyclical in 1213, had not even been set. C. T. Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 634.

18. Innocent III, "Quia maior," transl. L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Idea and Reality: 1095–1274*, p. 123–4.

19. The infant queen is widely referred to in the literature as Yolande, probably to try to avoid confusion, but her name is Isabel.

20. The issues surrounding John of Brienne's kingship/regency in these years were complicated, issues that J. Riley-Smith alludes to in, idem, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of*

Jerusalem, 1174–1277, London and Basingstoke, pp. 186–7.

21. J. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, Cambridge, MA, 1932, pp. 49–50.

22. B. Hamilton, "King Consorts of Jerusalem and Their Entourages from the West from 1186 to 1250," *Einwanderer und Minderheiten. Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. H. E. Mayer, Munich, 1997, p. 20.

23. J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, rev. edn., Paris, 1970, p. 124.

24. P. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Woodbridge, 1997, pp. 32–3.

25. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 47–8.

26. Buckley, "The Problematical Octogenarianism of John of Brienne," p. 320, proposes that he was in his early forties and not in his mid-sixties as he has been seen by other historians. Given the fact that he has children by both of his first two wives, the younger age seems more realistic and is supported by the documents.

27. Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 411. Although the account by Ernoul is admittedly very compressed and not a little confusing, it is interesting to think of the possibility of the king of Armenia visiting Acre, furthering the strong ties between Acre and Sis during these years.

28. S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," *HC* 2, pp. 650–1. Miss Der Nersessian points out that court positions and their nomenclature at Sis were modified along Frankish lines, that the Armenian feudal system was modified according to Frankish feudal principles, and that for a lawcode, the Armenians eventually adopted the Assizes of Antioch, the last after Levon's death. It remains to be seen to what extent the influence of Frankish art is evident during this time. Miss Der Nersessian has always maintained that Frankish artistic influence meant influence from the West, but given the direct ties between the Latin Kingdom and Sis in the years 1214–19 by virtue of John of Brienne's marriage to Princess Stephanie, we must reconsider the possibility of Crusader influence.

29. Ibid., p. 651, n. 33.

30. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 46 and nn. 28, 29.

31. My comments are based primarily on the brief passages in the Paris Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 313–14, 318) and the following studies: C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 600–15; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 135–9; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, pp. 535–8; and S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," *HC* 2, pp. 649–51; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, pp. 217–25; and H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, Oxford, 1988, pp. 252–4. Even compared to the Eracles, the *Chronique d'Ernoul* has very little to say about the situation in Antioch after about 1208.

32. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 221 and n. 1.

33. It was not unusual to have a Greek Orthodox bishop serving under a Latin patriarch in the Crusader States, especially in the patriarchal see of Jerusalem, as Hamilton has pointed out (*The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 181–2), but it was exceptional to have a Greek serving as the patriarch in place of or along with the Latin patriarch. It is noteworthy also that most Orthodox bishops served as coadjutors; that is, they administered the Orthodox community within a Latin diocese, but they had no territorial jurisdiction. There had not been Orthodox coadjutors in the see of Antioch before 1206, but after the advent of Symeon there were (ibid., p. 314). In fact there was only one Orthodox archbishop who was recognized with full diocesan jurisdiction, namely, the archbishop abbot of Sinai at St. Catherine's Monastery. There were of course no Franks residing in the Sinai Peninsula, which was his territory. Curiously, however, the archbishop of Sinai appeared in the ecclesiastical lists as suffragan to the Latin metropolitan bishop of Petra (ibid., p. 182).

34. Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 253.

35. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 313–15.

36. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 620; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, London, 1967, p. 139.

37. This Raymond was the son of Bohemond III and brother of Bohemond IV. He had married Alice of Armenia.

38. At this point Buckley, "The Problematical Octogenarianism of John of Brienne," p. 320, interprets John of Brienne's age to be mid-forties, not sixty-nine as he is conventionally thought of. Again the younger age is more likely given the rigors of the Crusade he was beginning, and the fact that none of the sources remarks on him being unusually old.

39. Unfortunately we know comparatively little about the life of Jacques de Vitry despite the importance of his activities in the Holy Land and the relatively large number of his writings that survive. Besides the comments of the various versions of the Eracles, and the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, as well as the narrative sources for the Fifth Crusade, especially the *Historia Damiatina* of Oliver of Paderborn (*Die Schriften des kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina*, ed. Herman Hoogeweg, Tübingen, 1894, pp. 159–282) the following works are essential when dealing with the life and works of Jacques de Vitry in the Latin Kingdom: R. B. C. Huygens, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, Leiden, 1960; P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades in the Holy Land*, 1095–1270, Cambridge MA, 1991, pp. 132–41; Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, ed. J. F. Hinnebusch, Fribourg, 1972, pp. 3–31; Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Occidentale*, trans. G. Duchet-Suchaux, Paris, 1997, pp. 1–58; P. Funk, *Jakob von Vitry: Leben und Werk*, Berlin, 1909, rpt. Hildsheim, 1973, pp. 4–75; and T. F. Crane, ed., *The Exempla... of Jacques de Vitry*, 1890, rpt. New York, 1971, pp. xxii–xxxiv. See also now, especially, J. Longère, "Jacques de Vitry: La Vie and les Oeuvres," in Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Occidentale*, trans. Duchet-Souchaux, pp. 7–49.

40. The wording of the Paris Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 319) suggests that the author thought Jacques de Vitry was present at the council. A number of other prelates from the Holy Land were also in attendance. The patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantinople were there along with many of their suffragan bishops. In addition the Primate of the Maronites and a representative of the Melkite archbishop of Alexandria was there. See R. Foreville, *Histoire des Conciles Oecumeniques*, vol. VI, Latran I, II, III, IV, Paris, 1965, pp. 391–5, 444–9, 457–8. Foreville does not include the bishop of Acre in his list, but of course Jacques de Vitry was not consecrated bishop until after the Council. Neither Funk nor Longère comment directly on this matter.

41. Huygens, *Lettres*, pp. 53, 83.

42. After Jacques de Vitry returned to Europe in 1226, he served for three years in the diocese of Liège. In 1228 Gregory IX formally accepted his resignation from the "difficult" see of Acre. Subsequently he was made cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and he served in the Roman curia from 1229 to 1239. He died on 1 May 1240 in Rome and his remains were taken to Oignies for burial. See Longère, "Jacques de Vitry: La Vie and les Oeuvres," pp. 14–16.

43. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 319. Both the Lyon Eracles and the Marsanne, which focus on the Fifth Crusade without the details on local history in the Latin Kingdom and the northern Crusader States (after sections on the Latin Empire and the activities of Frederick II to 1227), have similar passages about Jacques de Vitry.

44. "Est... modica et sanctissima capella, quam beatus Petrus, dum transiret Antiochiam, in honore beate Virginis edificavit, que fuit prima ecclesia in honore beate Virginis, ut dicitur, edificata, in qua dominus tot miracula facit, quod non solum christiani, sed et etiam Sarraceni ad eam causa peregrinationis veniunt." Huygens, *Lettres*, p. 94.

45. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 133–9. Cole analyzes the content and argument of two model sermons. See also J. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221*, Philadelphia, 1986, pp. 51–65.

46. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusade*, p. 134, and Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 55.

47. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusade*, pp. 134–7, and Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 55–6. One of the important aspects of this indulgence was that for the first time it was decreed by the Council that someone who equipped another person for the Crusade for the requisite three years should receive the same plenary indulgence as the genuine Crusader.

48. The *exempla* appeared in his "sermones vulgares" and were collected for use by others later in the thirteenth century. Because Jacques de Vitry was such a popular preacher, there were a number of these collections and there are a large number of *exampla* attributed to him. See Crane, *The Exempla*, pp. xl–liii.

49. There are only two stories that refer to other Crusades, one to the Albigensian and one to the Iberian Crusade.

50. Crane, *The Exempla*, nos. LXXXVI, LXXXVII, XC, pp. 38–9, 41.

51. Ibid., nos. LXXXVIII, p. 39, XC, p. 41, CLXIII, pp. 70–1.

52. Ibid., no. CXIX, pp. 54–5.

53. Ibid., nos. LXXXVI, p. 39, LXXXVII, p. 39, LXXXIX, p. 41, XC, p. 41, CXXI, pp. 55–56, CXXII, p. 56, CXXIV, p. 57.

54. Out of 314 *exempla*, 12 deal directly with the Crusades to the East in some manner; 9 of these 12 are positive, only 3 are negative in content.

55. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 316–17.

56. J. Gardner, "Altars, Altarpieces, and Art History: Legislation and Usage," *Italian Altarpieces, 1250–1550*, ed. E. Borsook and F. S. Gioffredi, Oxford, 1994, p. 6.

57. With this matter in mind, it must be said that one of the most difficult issues to determine in the Crusader States is the situation in the churches for the celebration of the liturgy. Just as the jubé, rood screen, or tramezzo typically found in most Latin churches during the thirteenth century in the West were mostly swept away in later periods in the face of Baroque design and/or Counter-Reformation policy, so too the altar and its accoutrements in Crusader churches have been lost almost entirely. This loss has occurred mostly either by destruction or by the changeover of use from that of a Christian church to that of a Muslim mosque. In the case of those few churches maintained in continuous Christian use, like the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the loss has occurred by a combination of destruction (e.g., the 1808 fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher), changes of jurisdiction, e.g., from Latin to Greek Orthodox as in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and changing liturgical practices through the centuries. There is no example known to me of a Crusader church in which the original Crusader altar is extant, much less an altar with its original candlesticks, crucifix, and other accoutrements from the thirteenth century. We also need to consider what it meant to have a "crucifix" on the altar, whether such a crucifix was sculptured or painted, how large it was, and where it was to be placed.

58. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 189.

59. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 315.

60. Hamilton cites the case of how Honorius protected the property of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Crete in the 1210s and 1220s from tithes and confiscation.

61. For the Fifth Crusade, the main sources and studies I have relied on include the following works. Among the sources there are the various versions of the continuations, especially the Paris and the Lyon Eracles, the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, the *Historia Damiatina* of Oliver of Paderborn, and the letters of Jacques de Vitry, for which, see previously, n. 39. For a complete citation of all sources relevant to the Fifth Crusade and a major interpretative study, see J. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221*, Philadelphia, 1986; T. C. Van Cleve, *HC* 2, pp. 377–428; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, Oxford, 1988, pp. 220–7; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, a Short History*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp. 145–9; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, trans. J. Shirley, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1979, pp. 216–27; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, Paris, 1970, pp. 127–74; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 132–70; and J. P. Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, Philadelphia, 1950, pp. 25–97.

62. R. Röhricht, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzüges*, Innsbruck, 1891, rpt. Aalen, 1968, pp. 79–135, published a critical list of participants documented as having gone on the Fifth Crusade. This list is reevaluated, revised, and expanded with important criteria added, by Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 209–58. The documented names indicate that whereas the participation of Germans and Austrians was predictably high, the number of French, Italians, and English was also very high, and indeed the French may outnumber any other group in these listings. The most surprising finding, however, is that there are almost no Hungarians, fewer than ten are listed in a total of 1,273 names; the total is 1,060 if the names in the "Collection Courtois" are invalid because these documents are forgeries. These statistical facts of course only reflect the particularities of the sources used to compile them, and indicate that caution must be used in assessing the sources of manpower from lists like these. Nonetheless such lists are extremely useful for other indications about who took the Cross and where they were from, who went and who did not, who returned and who did not.

63. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 123–7.

64. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, pp. 321–3.

65. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn,...*, Tübingen, 1894, pp. 163–4. Van Cleve claims that this relic was the remnant of the True Cross lost at Hattin, but there is no evidence for this interpretation. Van Cleve, "The Fifth Crusade," *HC* 2, p. 390. See below.

66. This must have been a different relic of the True Cross from that lost by the Crusaders at the battle of Hattin. That relic was said to still be in Muslim hands and would again become a bargaining point at Damietta later on. It is not known what relic this might have been, but we do know that Duke Leopold of Austria had received a large relic of the True Cross in 1205 (Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, p. 389, no. 463 [Frolow has Leopold VII, but he presumably means Leopold VI]). Perhaps this relic had been brought by Duke Leopold, but no chronicle identifies it as such. Other than the case of Martin of Pairis, discussed earlier, we hear very little of Crusaders or pilgrims who bring relics to the Holy Land, but we must consider this possibility.

67. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 130, interprets this action as a "reconnaissance in force" to locate food supplies. Abu Shama's account of this campaign supports this interpretation: Abu Shama, "Livre des Deux Jardins: Complément," *RHC: Hist. Orient.*, V, p. 162.

68. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, pp. 323–4.

69. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 163–8. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 130, points out that Oliver did not arrive in the Holy Land until April 1218, just after these early operations. This may explain why his account of these three forays are so neatly outlined and organized. For a map succinctly illustrating these three campaigns, see Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, p. 139, map 3.

70. See above, n. 17.

71. One source says that Andrew had been poisoned during his stay in Acre and had to recover his health. See Van Cleve, "The Fifth Crusade," *HC* 2, p. 393, n. 54.

72. Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. I, textus, eds. E. Galántai and J. Kristó, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum*, ser. 9, vol. VII, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985, p. 136.

73. Ibid., and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 149 and n. 3. The text of the chronicle says that along with the specific relics mentioned already there were, "et alie multa, quas potuit tunc congregare" (p. 136).

74. Tripoli is also possible as a place of acquisition, because just before he decided to go home, Andrew had attended the wedding of Bohemond IV and Melisend, the half-sister of King Hugh of Cyprus. Andrew was, however, only there briefly for the wedding so it is unlikely that he had much time to look for relics. It was there that Hugh died on 10 January and shortly thereafter, when Andrew returned to Acre that he had announced his decision to return to the West. See Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 149.

75. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 168.

76. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 325.

77. Ibid., p. 326.

78. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 169–72. See also H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 124–7; C. N. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit," *Pilgrim's Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem), and Qal'at ar-Rabad ('Ajlun)*, ed. R. D. Pringle, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997, pp. 14–18; T. S. R. Boase, "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," *HC* 4, pp. 157–9; and P. Deschamps, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, vol. II, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre-Sainte*, texte, Paris, 1939, pp. 24–33.

79. "Inventa est etiam ibi pecunia in moneta modernis ignota, collata beneficio filii Dei militibus suis ad alleviandos sumptus et labores." Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 170.

80. We do not have many reports of the Crusaders discovering coin hoards like this one. Presumably these were Phoenician coins, since 'Atlit is known now to have been built on an ancient Phoenician site.

81. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, pp. 325–6. Prawer points out the castle was also called "Castrum Filii Dei," by Oliver of Paderborn, but the name given it by Walter of Avesnes is the one by which it became known. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, p. 147, n. 36. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit," ed. Pringle, *Pilgrim's Castle ('Atlit)*, I, p. 16.

82. There had also been attacks mounted on Egypt by the Crusaders earlier, in the 1160s, but after 1187, it was Richard I and the Fourth Crusade that refocused Crusader military thinking on invading Egypt as an effective way of recapturing Jerusalem.

83. On Damietta as reconstructed in its medieval context, see A. G. Guest, "The Delta in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society...*, October, 1912, pp. 941–4, 970–1, with detailed map of the Delta region. Note that the medieval city of Damietta was razed by the Mamluks in 1250. For the location of the

medieval city of Damietta compared to that of modern Damyat, see the map in Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 139.

84. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 151.

85. Ibid., pp. 113–14.

86. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 175–6.

87. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 329.

88. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 237.

89. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 178, 183.

90. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 144.

91. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 334, and Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 421–3. There is some ambiguity about the date of al-Mu'azzam's attack on Caesarea, but Ernoul links it with with the feast of the decapitation of St. John the Baptist on 29 August, which seems accurate from other considerations. See also Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit," ed. Pringle, *Pilgrim's Castle ('Atlit)*, I, pp. 18, 20 and n. 2.

92. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 193; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 148; Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, p. 52, n. 73.

93. Johannes de Tulbia, *De Domine Johanne Rege Ierusalem*, ed. R. Röricht, *Quinti Belli Sacri: Scriptores Minores*, Geneva, 1879, p. 125, and the *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate*, ed. R. Röricht, *Quinti Belli Sacri: Scriptores Minores*, Geneva, 1879, p. 83, says, "sexta pars exercitus mortua est." Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 147–9, gives overall casualty estimates from a modern scholarly perspective.

94. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 147–50; Van Cleve, "The Fifth Crusade," *HC* 2, pp. 406–9; Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, pp. 51–3; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 156–7, places less emphasis on the activities of Pelagius at this point than the others.

95. Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, p. 44, and nn. 29 and 30.

96. Johannes de Tulbia, *De Domine Johanne Rege Ierusalem*, p. 124.

97. *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate*, ed. Röhricht, pp. 84–5.

98. Ibn al-Athir, *The Perfect History*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 258. It is at this point, in February, that some historians believe that al-Kamil began the process of opening negotiations with the Crusaders leading toward a possible truce. The evidence is unclear, but certainly the Muslims were now at a very vulnerable point in their attempt to defend Egypt against the invading Crusaders. See Van Cleve, "The Fifth Crusade," *HC* 2, pp. 409–10.

99. On the French, see J. Greven, "Frankreich und der fünfte Kreuzzug," *Historisches Zeitschrift*, 43 (1923), pp. 41–50.

100. Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, p. 118.

101. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 157.

102. Ibn al-Athir, *The Perfect History*, p. 260, and Abu Shama, see n. 113.

103. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem*, pp. 278–82.

At this point, some modern historians including Van Cleve and Mayer (Van Cleve, *The Fifth Crusade*, p. 409, and Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 223–4) have proposed the idea that al-Kamil attempted to make a truce with the Crusaders. Neither Powell nor Runciman, nor for that matter Donovan, agree with this. Powell states categorically that an offer of truce by al-Kamil at this time was unlikely given the circumstances, and points out that part of the basis for thinking there was an offer is based on a mistake in the translation of an Arabic source. Furthermore, he says that the passage in the Paris Eracles sometimes thought to support the notion there was a truce does not belong to this period or these circumstances. See Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 155, n. 61.

104. This quotation is from Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem*, p. 278. The source text is by Abu Shama, "Livre des Deux Jardins: Complément," *RHC: Hist. Orient.*, V, pp. 173–4.

105. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, eds. and trans. A. Khater and O. H. E Khs-Burmester, vol. IV, part 1, Cyril III, Ibn Laklak (1216–43), Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, Textes et Documents, XIV, Cairo, 1974, pp. 61–2.

106. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 339. The Paris Eracles only mentions Toron and Safed. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 158, also mentions Baniyas, but I am not certain of his source. He seems to be looking at a source mentioning slightly later developments and reading it back into this situation. In any case, the history of Baniyas is complicated and must be separated from that of Qalat Nimrud nearby. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 108–9, and 515 n. 113.

107. These actions are all reported in Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 211–18; *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate*, pp. 93–7, 101–4; John of Tulbia, *De Iohanne Rege Ierusalem*, pp. 129–33, as synthesized by Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 152–3, 157–8, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 158–9.

108. The story of Francis and Sultan al-Kamil is contained in the lives of the saint, in the *Acta Sanctorum* for October 4, pp. 612–17, and in the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, see n. 109. The Paris Eracles does not mention Francis until after the Crusaders take Damietta, just before he leaves to return home, and it does not tell the story of his visit with Sultan al-Kamil (Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 348).

There is a large bibliography on Francis's visit to Damietta during the Fifth Crusade. I found the following studies useful: B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Mission to the Muslims*, Princeton, 1984, pp. 119, 121–6; J. Powell, "Francesco d'Assisi e la Quinta Crociata: Una Missione di Pace," *Schede Medievali*, 4 (1983), pp. 68–77; Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry*, bibliography on "Saint Francis in the Orient," p. 291; R. B. C. Huygens, "Les passages des lettres de Jacques de Vitry relatifs à saint François d'Assise et à ses premiers disciples," *Hommages à Léon Herrmann, Latomus*, 44 (1960), pp. 446–53; M. Roncaglia, "San Francesco d'Assisi in Oriente," *Studi Francescani*, 50 (1953), pp. 97–106; L. Lemmens, "De Sancto Francisco Praedicante coram Sultano Egypti," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 19 (1926), pp. 559–78; V. Ortroy, "S. François d'Assise et son voyage en Orient," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 31 (1912), pp. 451–65; and G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, vol. I, Quaracchi, 1906, p. 94.

The most insightful analysis of the content of the story of St. Francis meeting with the Sultan is found in C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 8–17.

109. This version of the meeting between al-Kamil and Francis is based on the story told by Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 431–5. Even though the text only refers to ".II. clers" and does not refer to Francis by name, the story appears to refer in detail to the episode of Francis and the sultan.

The story of Francis's encounter with the sultan is told in a number of the lives of St. Francis, including "The First Life of St. Francis," by Thomas of Celano. Written at the command of Pope Gregory IX, it was completed on 25 February 1229. In this version, the earliest among the various lives of the saint, there are fewer details of the encounter, but the sultan is portrayed as receiving Francis honorably, and offering him many gifts. In the later lives, such as the "Major Life of Saint Francis" by St. Bonaventure (1260–3), and in the "Little Flowers of Saint Francis (early fourteenth century), Francis is portrayed more heroically as a saint. See *St. Francis of Assisi, Writings and Early Biographies*, ed. M. A. Habig, 3rd rev. edn., Chicago, 1973, pp. 276–7 (Thomas of Celano, Ch. XX, paragraph 57), pp. 702–5 (St. Bonaventure, ch. IX, sects. 7–9), and pp. 1353–6 (the "Little Flowers," ch. 24).

110. It should be noted at this point that there is a major problem of determining the exact timing of certain events in regard to this Crusade, in terms of both when they happened and how they relate to the sequencing of other events, in the narrative sources. This is notable especially with the Paris Eracles and the *Chronique d'Ernoul* in relation to Oliver of Paderborn. Modern historians, especially Powell, Van Cleve, and Runciman, therefore frequently differ on their interpretation of the sequencing of events and their causal relationship. The questions of when truce proposals were made and how many such proposals there were is one important problem throughout this Crusade.

111. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 341–2. See also the discussion of Van Cleve, "The Fifth Crusade," *HC* 2, pp. 414–15, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 160–1.

112. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 218, reports that a Christian prisoner brought word of this temporary truce some time early in September. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 160.

113. If they were thinking of Frederick II's army, however, they would be sadly disappointed, because despite Pelagius's optimism, Frederick would not come east until 1228, long after the Fifth Crusade was over.

114. *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate*, ed. Röhricht, p. 104. We must treat these figures with due caution, but the size of this estimate makes clear that the departure appeared to be a very large Crusader contingent.

115. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 218–19.

116. Lyon Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, p. 340. The count of Nevers was banished from camp for neglecting his canton.

117. Van Cleve, "The Fifth Crusade," *HC* 2, p. 418. This is an edited quote from Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 224–5, ch. 32. Reports vary as to the date of the fall of Damietta: Oliver of Paderborn says 5 November, ibn al-Athir says 8 November (ibn al-Athir, *The Perfect History*, ed. Gabrieli, p. 259), and the Paris Eracles says that the city was captured on a Thursday in January 1219, which is completely inaccurate and uncorroborated by other chronicles (Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, p. 346).

118. Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, p 135.

119. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 236. Other source have different numbers, but the ratio of survivors is similarly small.

120. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, eds. Khater and Khs-Burmester, vol. IV, part 1, pp. 66–8.

121. "Aurum, argentum, pretiosos lapides, purpuras, samitos, ornamenta carissima & vasa aurea & argentea sine numero." *Gesta Obsidionis Damiate*, ed. Röhricht, p. 114.

122. Ibn al-Athir, *The Perfect History*, ed. Gabrieli, p. 260.

123. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 161–5; R. Röhricht, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges*, pp. 41–8.

124. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 162–3, and Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 225; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 162.

125. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd rev. edn., London, 1995, pp. 80–5.

126. Ibid., p. 74.

127. We shall discuss later the vexed question of these deniers with the controversial image of the king on the obverse and the "+DAMIETA" legend on the reverse.

128. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 164; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, p. 102.

129. Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 414–15.

130. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 164.

131. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 240–1.

132. Ibid., p. 239, and Johannes de Tulbia, *De Iohanne Rege Ierusalem*, ed. Röhricht, pp. 139–40.

133. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 176.

134. Ibid.

135. The Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 349, more or less accounts for John's departure from Damietta in terms of dealing with the rights of his wife in Cilician Armenia.

Ernoul, *The Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 427–8, has a curious story about Stephanie's death resulting from a severe beating that King John gave her. This report seems unlikely because Stephanie and their son were his means to claim the throne of Armenia.

136. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, pp. 224–5. Richard also reports that King John had sought help from Hermann of Salza, master of the Teutonic Knights, after the conquest of Damietta, who gave him half of his share of the spoils.

137. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 176–7, 180; Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, p. 70; Van Cleve, "The Fifth Crusade," *HC* 2, pp. 420–1; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 164–5. Powell (p. 180) clarifies the idea of "temporalia" in regard to Pelagius's authority, pointing out it means he had authority for the parceling out of land taken by conquest, but not that he was appointed as the military commander of the Crusade.

138. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, p. 224.

139. Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, p. 135, "Rex autem Ierusalem cum omnibus fere militibus suis exercitum deseruit."

140. "Multas causas pretendens ad excusationem sui," see Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 248.

141. H.-F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre Dame de Josaphat*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 19, Paris, 1880, p. 125. The complete letter (pp. 123–5) is dated 1 October 1220.

142. "Inertes et effeminati commessationibus et ebrietatibus, fornicationibus et adulteriis, furtis et lucris pessimis infectus est populus." Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 252.

143. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 117.

144. As far as we know these imperial contingents, and most of the others since May 1218, came directly to Egypt and did not stop at Acre going in either direction. Thus again, as with the Fourth Crusade, the activities of the Crusade in the field were drawing resources away from the Latin Kingdom when, at this point, conceiveably soldiers from the West could have been helpful to King John of Brienne in defending the Holy Land from al-Mu'azzam. Thus the fulfillment of a Crusade vow was continuing to become more like a feudal obligation to a lord, in this case the pope, and less directly tied to Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

145. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 248–9.

146. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 254–6; see also Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 127, and R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 69–71.

147. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 184.

148. Ibid., pp. 184–5.

149. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 257.

> 150. Si manda li soudans al cardinal et as Crestiens que s'il li voloit rendre Damiete, il li renderoit toute le tiere de Jherusalem, si comme il l'avoient tenue, fors le Crac; et si refremeroit Jherusalem à son coust et tous les castiaus qui estoient abatu, puis qu'il murent à aler à Damiete; et si donroit trives [à] .xxx. ans, tant qu'il poroient bien avoir garnie le tiere des Crestiens. (Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 442.)

151. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 184; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 166.

152. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 186.

153. Ibid., pp. 185–7; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 166–7.

154. Ibid., p. 187, discusses the issue of how many soldiers were part of the attacking force and how many were in the garrison at Damietta. The surprising finding is that more than half the army stayed in Damietta to defend it from possible attack, and the clear implication is that Louis of Bavaria's limited objective was truly reflected in the size of the army that marched south toward Talkha-Mansourah. Whatever dreams of grand conquest Pelagius may have been harboring, Duke Louis was facing the limited reality of what was in fact militarily practicable in the circumstances.

155. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 270.

156. *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, ed. Khater and Khs-Burmester, vol. IV, part 1, p. 76.

157. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 351; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 445–6; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 275–6.

158. "Il rendi une crois, mès ce ne fu mie li crois qui fu perdue en le bataille [of Hattin]." Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 446.

159. "Ensi fu perdue la noble cité de Damiate par peché e par folie et par l'orgueil et la malice dou clergé et des religions, la quel avoit esté conquise a grant cost et a grant travail." Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 352.

160. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 163, comments, "In no other crusade did an absent leader exercise such a decisive influence on the course of events."

161. On developments in Antioch and Cilician Armenia in this period, see Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 628–35; Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 252–4; Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," *HC* 2, pp. 651–2; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, pp. 539–41; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 171–3.

162. On the history of Baghras, see A. W. Lawrence, "The Castle of Baghras," in T. S. R. Boase (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, New York, 1978, pp. 34–83.

163. See our discussion of pilgrims accounts, dealing with Wilbrand and Thietmar, in the next section.

164. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 173.

165. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.* II, p. 355.

166. The Paris Eracles notes that Hermann von Salza was in Rome ahead of King John, and later says that Hermann "pourchacé le mariage," but says nothing about the leader of the Teutonic Knights initiating the idea of a marriage between Frederick II and Isabel. Both the Paris Eracles and Ernoul in effect give the pope credit for the idea. See the Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, pp. 355–6, and Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 449–50. As interpreted by Powell and Runciman (Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, p. 196; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 174), the Paris Eracles in particular describes the discussion over the regency, and notes that Hermann von Salza had conveyed the notion to John of Brienne that the emperor had said that John would retain his position of regent for life. See the Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 358; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 451–2.

167. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 174.

168. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, pp. 357–8. See also B. Hamilton, "King Consorts of Jerusalem and Their Entourages from the West from 1186 to 1250," *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. H. E. Mayer, pp. 21–2.

After the wedding, when John of Brienne confronts Frederick II over the regency, Runciman dramatizes the event as follows: "Frederick then coldly announced that he had never promised that John should continue as regent. There was no written agreement, and the King had no legal claim once his daughter was married. John found himself shorn of his position." Ibid., p. 176.

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169. I am only considering Christian pilgrims, who often were interested in the artifacts as well as the holy sites, but there were certainly Muslim and Jewish travelers, including pilgrims, in Palestine. For the Muslim travelers, see the publications of G. Le Strange.

For the Jewish travelers, see J. Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1988. Chapter 7, entitled, "The Hebrew Itineraries of the Crusader Period," discusses ten itineraries, of which five are dated in the thirteenth century.

170. To assess the number of pilgrims, see R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, Berlin, 1890, rpt., Jerusalem, 1963, pp. 45–65.

171. These comments are based mainly on the publications of A. Grabois, "Les Pèlerins occidentaux en Terre Sainte au Moyen Age," *Studi Medievali*, 3e sér., 30 (1989), pp. 36–40; idem, "Medieval pilgrims, the Holy Land and Its Image in European Civilisation," *Pillars of Smoke and Fire*, Johannesburg, 1988, pp. 71–3; and idem, "Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Burchard of Mount Sion," *Outremer*, pp. 285–7.

172. The standard text edition is Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 160–91. The Latin text is reprinted and given an Italian translation, with an introduction by S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vol. III, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 195–249.

173. On Wilbrand and his journey, see A. Grabois, "Terre Sainte et Orient Latin vus par Willebrand d'Oldenbourg," *Gesta dei per Francos*, ed. M. Balard et al., Aldershot, 2001, pp. 261–8. Curiously, R. Röhricht, *Die Deutschen im Heilige Lande*, Innsbruck, 1894, rpt. Darmstadt, 1968, does not mention Wilbrand von Oldenburg.

174. The standard text edition is *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, Hamburg, 1857, pp. 1–80. The Latin text is reprinted and given an Italian translation, with an introduction, by S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vol. III, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 251–95.

It should be noted that the text of the 1864 edition published by Laurent is significantly different from the earlier 1851 edition by T. Tobler, published by Sandoli. See our discussion on Thietmar.

175. M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "The German Empire and Palestine: German Pilgrimages to Jerusalem between the 12th and 16th century," *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995), pp. 321–41, discusses neither Wilbrand nor Thietmar, but her observations on mostly later German pilgrims are interesting and relevant to the specific experiences of these two pilgrims.

176. Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 163. Wilbrand's description of Acre suggests that the new suburb of Montmusard had received a newly built protective wall by 1212. See the discussion in the section "St. Jean d'Acre," and n. 250.

177. Ibid., p. 167. See below for a discussion of this passage in some detail, n. 328.

178. "Eicon Domini a Iudeis crucifixi effudit sanguinem et aquam." Ibid.

> 179. Et est in ea ecclesia parua maxime uenerationis, quam beatus Petrus et Paulus, cum Antiochiam properarent, ex angelica admonitione propriis manibus ex incultis lapidibus sancte Marie tunc primo composuerunt; ac si dicerent: "Flebile principium melior fortuna sequetur."
>
> Hec erat prima ecclesia, que in honore domine nostre semperque uirginis Marie fuit edificata et dedicata. Et est in ea hodie sedes episcopalis. Ubi domina nostra, Dei genitrix, semper uirgo Maria eciam ipsis in infidelibus Sarracenis multa prestat beneficia.
>
> (Ibid., p. 170.)

180. Ibid., p. 169.

181. Ibid., pp. 172–3.

182. Rainmaking icons of the Virgin are also known on Cyprus at this time, as my colleague, Annemarie Weyl Carr, points out, but I know of no other such icon in the Crusader States. Of course there are other icons known for their miracle-working powers, such as the famous Saidnaya icon, in the monastery of the same name near Damascus.

183. Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 173.

184. For further information on the Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia, see J. Riley-Smith, "The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia," in Boase (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, pp. 92–117.

185. Ibid., p. 174.

186. The sequence of towns is convoluted and indirect, which suggests that he is compiling notes about places from information given to him, but does not necessarily mean that he visited each site. For the location of sites in Cilician Armenia at this period, the most useful maps are found in R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, Washington, DC, 1987, Fig. 2, using Armenian place names (see index for cross-references) and T. S. R. Boase (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, New York, 1978, front and back flyleaves. For certain less well-known sites Wilbrand mentions, it will also be necessary to consult Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 140–50, and passim.

187. Ibid., p. 176.

188. Wilbrand also mentions the body of St. George lying in a certain monastery of the Syrians at Ramla, but he does not comment on the condition of the church, that is, how much of it had been destroyed by Saladin in 1191. See Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, II, p. 13.

189. "Igitur sole oriente desiderata illa Hierusalem nostro aspectui oriebatur. Ubi tanto perculsi sumus gaudio et admiratione, ut eciam illam celestem Hierusalem nos uidere putaremus." Wilbrand de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 185.

190. See our discussion of this text in Chapter 2.

191. The text of the "Cité" contained in the *Chronique d'Ernoul* explains the situation as follows:

> Par cele porte [Porte Saint Estevene] entroient li pelerin en le cité, et tout cil qui par deviers Acre venoient en Jherusalem, . . . Dehors celle porte, . . . avoit. I. moustier de monsigneur Saint Estevenes. Là dist on que Saint Estevenes fu lapidés. Devant cel moustier, à main seniestre, avoit une grant maison c'on apeloit l'Asnerie. Là soloient gesir li asne et li sommier de l'Hospital; pour çou avoit à non l'Asnerie. Cel moustier de Saint Estevene abatirent li Crestien de Jherusalem devant chou que il fuscent assegié, pour che que li moustiers estoit près des murs. L'Asnerie ne fu pas abatue. A main destre de le porte Saint Estevene estoit li Maladerie de Jherusalem, tenant as murs. Tenant à le Maladerie avoit une posterne c'on apeloit le Posterne Saint Ladre. [Par] là metoient li Sarrasin les Crestiens en le cité pour [aler] couvertement al Sepulcre. (Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 199–200.)

192. Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 185.

193. The "Cité de Jérusalem" text is less detailed than Wilbrand in this particular section, suggesting that possibly it dates earlier than Wilbrand's account, so between 1187 and 1212.

194. Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 185.

195. "Ipsa vero ecclesia marmoreis tabulis et aureis picturis ualde est ornata." Ibid., p. 186.

196. Ibid., pp. 186–7.

197. See, Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 380–1. There were three shrines here, the Church of the Savior, also known at the Church of the Agony, the Grotto of the Agony, and the Tomb of the Virgin. Up on the Mount of Olives was the church dedicated to the Pater Noster founded at the time of Constantine, but no longer in use in the Crusader period. The popular name mentioned by Wilbrand seems to be a conflation of the Pater Noster church with the Crusader church in the Garden of Gethsemane.

198. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, p. 157. He does not mention the Chapel of the Savior at Bethphage with the painted stele.

199. "Cenobium" or "coenobium" can mean either a cathedral church or a large monastery in the usage of medieval Latin. See A. Blaise,

Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs du Moyen-Age, Turnholt, 1975, p. 194.

200. On which churches Wilbrand may have seen at Bethany, and what the state of the Abbey of St. Lazarus was in in 1212, see Pringle, *The Church of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, p. 124.

201. Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 189.

202. Ibid., pp. 189–90.

203. Clearly a modern critical edition of Thietmar, indeed all the thirteenth-century pilgrims, is needed. Those text editions currently available include that of Tobler, republished by Sandoli, which is based on a single manuscript now in Basel, MS B.X.35 (fourteenth century), and Laurent's edition first published in 1852 with a later version by him in 1857. Laurent's edition is based on texts found in seven manuscripts, including most of the earliest extant codices from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, Berlin, 1890, rpt., Jerusalem, 1963, p. 47–8. We are basically following Laurent's 1857 edition with constant reference to the shorter text published by Sandoli.

204. Sandoli's text reads, "Ego magister Thietmarus" Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, 3, p. 254, but that of Laurent, *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, p. 1, does not.

205. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, p. 1.

206. R. Röhricht, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande*, Innsbruck, 1894, rpt., Darmstadt, 1968, p. 115, notes that one scholar in 1874 attempted to identify Thietmar as a canon of the Holy Cross Church in Hildesheim, and later as bishop of Paderborn, who died in 1234. This suggests that the scholar in question confused Wilbrand of Oldenborg with Thietmar, perhaps explaining why Röhricht omitted any mention of Wilbrand.

207. It is not exactly clear what truce he is referring to. In July of 1217, the earlier truce was due to end, so it may have been a local truce pertaining to ongoing things, like pilgrim visits to Jerusalem. In any case, as we know, a new truce was a constant issue throughout the Fifth Crusade, from 1217 to 1221, as we have discussed previously.

208. *Mag. Thietmari Peregr.*, pp. 9–11.

209. Ibid., p. 13.

210. The texts differ as to the length of time spent in Damascus. Tobler's text says eight days (p. 258); Laurent's edition says six days (p. 13).

211. The twelfth-century pilgrim, Burchard of Strassburg, described the monastery of Saidnaya as three miles from Damascus in 1175. Thietmar's account in 1217 differs in some details. In both descriptions, however, the icon becomes incarnate and exudes holy oil. See Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, II, pp. 219–20.

212. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, pp. 14–17. For the literature on the icon of Saidnaya, see the following publications: D. Baraz, "The Incarnated Icon of Saidnaya," *Muséon*, 108 (1995), pp. 181–91; P. Devos, "Les premières versions occidentales de la légende de Saidnaia," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 65 (1947), pp. 245–78; P. Peeters, "La légende de Saidnaia," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 25 (1906), pp. 137–57; and G. Raynauld, "Le miracle de Sardenai," *Romania*, 11 (1882), pp. 519–37, and 14 (1885), pp. 82–93.

213. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, p. 16.

The miracle-working icon at Saidnaya continues to function in our time. W. Dalrymple visits Seidnaya [sic] in September of 1994 and reports that in 1966 Colin Thubron saw the face of the icon of the Virgin Mary shedding tears. Dalrymple himself did not see this but he saw a "miracle" of a different sort, namely, Muslims as well as Christians coming to this icon in prayer, because the Virgin of Saidnaya is said to bring fertility to sterile women, or women having difficulty conceiving babies. W. Dalrymple, *From the Holy Mountain: A Journey among the Christians of the Middle East*, New York, 1997, pp. 186–91.

214. Thietmar appears to have taken the normal coastal route, which was at least nominally under Crusader control. Nonetheless he also mentions inland sites that he passes but does not in fact visit; for example, he gives a long discursus on Mount Carmel (pp. 21–3) and Sebastia (p. 25).

215. "Civitas ista est fortissima, muris et turribus munita." Ibid., p. 26.

216. Ibid.

217. Ibid., pp. 26–7.

218. Ibid., p. 30. See also Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, pp. 223–39, and T. S. R. Boase, "A. [Ecclesiastical] Architecture and Sculpture," *HC* 4, pp. 95, 303, pl. XV a and b.

219. He mentions Zacchaeus as being short in stature, but he does not mention the house of Zacchaeus in Jericho, although it is possible he may have seen it.

220. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, p. 31.

221. Ibid., pp. 32–5.

222. "Hinc perveni ad aliam civitatem magnam in alto montis sitam, muris et turribus munitam, que dicitur Crach." Ibid., p. 36. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 128–9.

223. "Veni ad montem, qui dicitur Petra Latine, Gallice Monreal, Sarracenice Scobach." *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, p. 37. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 69–70.

224. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, pp. 38–40. It is interesting that Thietmar has such long passages on these biblical regions and events, compared to his few comments on what he can see himself as he travels, that is, the *realia* of what he experiences. Perhaps he is able to supply the details he gives with reference to his Bible, and possibly some other pilgrim's account he knows, at the point when he has the leisure to write up his account after the trip is over.

225. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, pp. 41–7. Thietmar's description of this monastery is the longest and most detailed we have from any pilgrim in the Crusader period. For an English translation of a substantial part of his description of the monastery, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, II, pp. 52–3.

226. Ibid., p. 42. For the interior of the Chapel of the Burning Bush, see *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. A. Manafis, Athens, 1990, p. 56, Fig. 25, and for an early thirteenth-century Byzantine icon of Moses and the Burning Bush, see, ibid., p. 166, Fig. 36. See also J. Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Garden City NY, 1980, Pl. 38.

There is of course a mosaic image of Moses before the Burning Bush on the mosaic of the apse of the church, up above the Transfiguration, flanking the clerestorey windows on the left side. See Manafis, p. 80, Fig. 8, for a cropped image, and Galey, Figs. 119, 127, with full photos of the location and the mosaic image.

227. "Vidi perspicue facie ad faciem sine ambiguo corpus beate Katerine, et capud eius nudum deosculabar." *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, pp. 43–4. For the current situation of the tomb, see Manafis, *Sinai*, p. 54, Fig. 23, and Galey, *Sinai*, Pl. 39.

228. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, pp. 43–5.

229. Ibid., pp. 45–8.

230. For information on the various holy sites Thietmar visited on Mount Sinai, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, II, pp. 58–61.

231. Ibid., p. 48.

232. Ibid.

233. Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, pp. 286–7. This information about Alexandria must have been an interpolation found in one or more of the manuscripts. In fact, the information about Egypt must have been entirely an interpolation by Thietmar. One might speculate that he could have used manuscripts from the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine for this purpose.

234. "Arrepto itaque itinere Dei gracia et vita comite Accon incolumis sum regressus." *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, p. 51.

235. Ibid., pp. 51–4.

236. R. B. C. Huygens, ed., *Peregrinationis Tres*, Turnholt, 1994, pp. 137–138.

237. Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, p. 292.

238. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*, p. 1.

239. See n. 44.

240. J. Bongars (ed.), *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive Orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia*, Hanoviae, 1611, pp. 1047–145, transl. A. Stewart, *The History of Jerusalem, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, London, 1896, pp. 1–127, esp. 38–45.

241. On the dates of his composition of the *Historia*, see Longère, "La Vie et les Oeuvres," in Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Occidentale*, pp. 31–2; Hinnebusch, *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry*, pp. 16–20 (mostly on the *Historia Occidentalis*). The fact that, as Longère points out, Jacques refers to the dismantling of the walls of Jerusalem in 1219 is only evidence that he was au courant with current events, but there is nothing in his account, compared to the earlier pilgrims, Wilbrand of Oldenburg and Master Thietmar, that would indicate he had visited the main pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem, or in Bethlehem or Nazareth for that matter.

242. See Longère, "La Vie et les Oeuvres," p. 14; J. Richard, *La Papauté et les Missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIIIe–XVe siècles)*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 33, Rome-Paris, 1977, pp 34–43; Funk, *Jakob von Vitry: Leben und Werke*, pp. 37–55. As Richard makes clear, Jacques de Vitry was very interested in missionary activity, but not necessarily in pilgrimage.

243. He "s'en parti e fu une piece en Surie, et puis s'en rala en son pais." Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 348.

244. M. Roncaglia, *St. Francis of Assisi and the Middle East*, 3rd edn., Cairo, 1957, p. 29 and nn. 58, 59. Roncaglia's view, in effect, that Francis

would not have gone to the Holy Land without going to the Holy Sepulcher is obviously problematic. Many other prominent figures, religious and otherwise, who went to the Holy Land never made it to Jerusalem when it was in Muslim hands, most notably Richard I and Louis IX – Saint Louis – both of whom could have gone if they had been willing.

245. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliographica della Terra Santa*, I, pp. 95–8.

246. On the latter, see K. Krüger, *Der frühe Bildkult des Franziskus in Italien*, Berlin, 1992.

247. The other important site in Muslim control after 1187, besides the three main dominical holy sites, that Christian pilgrims often visited in the thirteenth-century was the tomb of St. John the Baptist in Sebaste. See Pringle, *The Churches in the Crusader Kingdom*, II, pp. 286–7. Neither Wilbrand nor Thietmar say they visited Sebaste, however.

248. R. D. Pringle, "Town Defenses in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, I, 1995, pp. 76–8.

249. Ibid., p. 78.

250. D. Jacoby, "Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: The First Stage of Its Development," *Outremer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar et al., Jerusalem, 1982, p. 212, and n. 38, and Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, p. 163.

251. Jacoby, "Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre," p. 213, and see also additional discussion by Pringle, "Town Defenses in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 83–4.

252. See H. E. Mayer, *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 317, lines 23–5 ("Hec formam sortita triangulam").

253. Ibid., p. 209. The two maps are those found in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Tanner 190, fol. 207r, by Pietro Vesconte, *c.*1320, and in Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 1960, fol. 268v, *c.*1323 (?).

254. Pringle, "Town Defenses in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," p. 84.

255. Ibid., p. 83–4.

256. B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre: A Historical Cartography*, Acre, 1973, pp. 18–30.

257. R. Frankel, "The North-Western Corner of Crusader Acre," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 37 (1987), pp. 260–1. Frankel links the small tower on the map of Bishop Paulinus that appears in certain manuscripts (Venice, Marciana MS Lat. 394, and, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 1960), but not others. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre*, p. 29, illustrates the map in Venice. His other illustrations cut off the left side of the image, making it impossible to see whether the small tower is represented. The two maps mentioned earlier are also illustrated by J. Prawer, "Historical Maps of Acre," [in Hebrew] *Eretz Israel*, 2 (1953), Pl. XXI:2, and p. 181, Fig. 2, respectively.

258. Pringle, "Town Defenses in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," p. 92, and C. N. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit: The Crusader Castle, Town and Surroundings," ed. R. D. Pringle, in *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, I, pp. 67–85.

259. It is interesting that there is also a rounded tower at the northwest corner of the walls along the coast at Acre, as Frankel points out: Frankel, "The North-Western Corner of Crusader Acre," pp. 260–1.

260. Johns, "Excavation at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1932–3): Stables at the South-West of the Suburb," ed. R. D. Pringle, in *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, VI, p. 57.

261. Pringle, "Town Defenses in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," p. 91–2; C. N. Johns, "'Atlit," *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Meyer, vol. 1, pp. 130–40; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 124–7; R. Hiestand, "*Castrum Peregrinorum* e la fine del dominio crociato in Siria," *Acri 1291: La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, ed. F. Tommasi, Perugia, 1996, pp. 23–41; Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 69–80 (with older bibliography); Boase, "Military Architecture," *HC* 4, pp. 157–9; and W. Müller Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter*, Munich and Berlin, 1966, p. 73, pl. 98. The reports of the excavations carried out by C. N. Johns in the 1930s have been newly edited and republished by R. D. Pringle, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at ar-Rabad ('Ajlun)*, Aldershot/Brookfield, 1997, nos. I–VI. See also D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazeteer*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 22–3.

262. T. S. R. Boase, "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," *HC* 4, p. 157.

263. For an excellent photo of the castle at 'Atlit viewed from the southwest, see H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Sparkford, 2001, p. 61, Pl. 2.11.

264. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 169–72, 290–1.

265. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, p. 70.

266. For a detailed plan, see Pringle, "'Atlit," *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, p. 72.

267. A. Cadei, "Architettura sacra Templare," in G. Viti, A. Cadei, and V. Ascani (eds.), *Monaci in Armi: L'Architettura sacra dei Templari attraverso il Mediterraneo*, Certosa di Firenze, 1995, pp. 23–9.

268. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit," in idem, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, I, p. 24.

269. C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, vol. II, Paris, 1928, p. 95. See also E. Lambert, *L'Architecture des Templiers*, Paris, 1978, pp. 30–1.

270. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 194–5.

271. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 171.

272. Boase, "Military Architecture," p. 159, points out that Oliver of Paderborn refers to the original towers as having only two storeys. For illustrations of these corbels, see J. Folda, "Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291," *HC* 4, pp. 279, 312 Pl. XXIV a–d. For the town church, see Pringle, "'Atlit," *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, p. 76 (plan).

273. For the location, see the site sketch in Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit," in Pringle, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, I, p. 6, Fig. 1, reprinted in Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 23, Fig. 8.

274. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit," in Pringle, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, I, pp. 92–4, and Fig. 37 with thirteen designs. Besides the predominant cross designs on the slabs, there are also symbols of a person's metier in life, a hammer, a square, or a mason's plummet. See the example from 'Atlit published in A. Re'em, "Burial Customs in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, 1999, p. 292.

275. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, I, Paris, 1925, p. 169. He notes this is one of five types of burials found in the Crusader East (pp. 165–71).

276. Ibid., pp. 92, 94.

277. Many Frankish burials have been studied on Cyprus and in Frankish Greece. For the tomb plaques on Cyprus (mostly dated after 1291) see the publication by T. J. Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossienses, Recueil d'inscriptions funéraires*, vol. I, Paris, 1894, with twenty-nine plates (vol. II never appeared). For Frankish Greece, see E. A. Ivison, "Funerary Monuments of the Gattelusi at Mytilene," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 87 (1992), pp. 423–37 (fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tombs), and "Latin tomb monuments in the Levant 1204–ca. 1450," *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, eds. P. Lock and G. D. R. Sanders, Oxford, 1996, pp. 91–106.

278. See C. N. Johns, "Medieval Slip-Ware from Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1930–1)," in Pringle (ed.) *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, III, pp. 136–44, with nine plates, and R. D. Pringle, "Some More Proto-Maiolica from 'Atlit (Pilgrims' Castle) and a Discussion of Its Distribution in the Levant," *Levant*, 14 (1982), pp. 104–17, with four plates.

279. Few castles have been excavated, e.g., 'Atlit, Belvoir, and Montfort, and serious excavations are underway in certain walled Crusader cities such as Acre, Ascalon, and Caesarea, among others. Hervé Barbé is currently excavating at Safed, for the Israel Department of Antiquities. The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem has excavated Belmont, a smaller castle just south of Jerusalem. Crac des Chevaliers, in the County of Tripoli, was cleared by the French Monuments Service under Paul Deschamps, and further studies are being undertaken by German scholars there. For a survey of the information on the archaeological work on the Crusader castles, see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 199–216, and more recent bibliography in the annual issues of the *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*.

280. The following works deal with Crusader ceramics in the broader context of the eastern Mediterranean world: R. D. Pringle, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Crusader States," in *I Communi Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, eds. G. Arnaldi and B. Z. Kedar, Genoa, 1986, pp. 451–75; idem, "The Medieval Pottery of Palestine and Transjordan (A.D. 636–1500): An Introduction, Gazetteer and Bibliography," *Medieval Ceramics*, 5 (1981), pp. 45–60; G. Vannini, "La Ceramica 'crociata': un documento archeologico da costruire," in *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. F. Cardini, Florence, 1982, pp. 345–90; and B. Porée, "Le royaume de Jérusalem aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: les céramiques croisées,

témoins des échanges culturels et commerciaux," in *Pèlerinages et Croisades*, ed. L. Pressouyre, Paris, 1995, pp. 333–50.

For pottery from other specific Crusader coastal sites, see A. Lane, "Medieval Finds from al-Mina in North Syria," *Archeologia*, 87 (1937), pp. 19–78 (from the port of Antioch); H. Salamé-Sarkis, "Céramiques médiévales dans la région de Tripoli," *Les Dossiers de l'Archéologie*, 12 (1975), pp. 61–7 (Tripoli); E. J. Stern, "Excavation of the Courthouse Site at 'Akko: The Pottery of the Crusader and Ottoman Periods," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 35–70 (Acre, with two excellent color plates); R. D. Pringle, "Medieval Pottery from Caesarea: The Crusader Period," *Levant*, 17 (1985), pp. 171–202 (Caesarea).

An interesting comparative site is Alexandria, for which see W. B. Kubiak, "Overseas Pottery Trade of Medieval Alexandria as Shown by Recent Archaeological Discoveries," *Folia Orientalia*, 10 (1969), pp. 5–30. The most surprising finding here during the Ayyubid period is the plentiful appearance of Far Eastern pottery.

281. See A. Lane in n. 280.

282. See the articles by R. D. Pringle in n. 280, and A. J. Boas, "The Import of Western Ceramics to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 44 (1994), pp. 102–22.

283. See E. J. Stern, "Export to the Latin East of Cypriot Manufactured Glazed Pottery in the 12th–13th Century," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 325–35.

284. See A. H. S. Megaw, "Zeuxippus Ware," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 63 (1968), pp. 67–88; idem, "Zeuxippus Ware Again," *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, eds. V. Déroche and J. M. Speiser, Actes du colloque organisé par l'Ecole Française d'Athenes, Athens, 1989, pp. 259–66; and idem, "An Early Thirteenth Century Aegean Glazed Ware," in *Studies in Memory of D. T. Rice*, eds. G. Robertson and G. Henderson, Edinburgh, 1975, pp. 34–45.

285. E. Stern explains the "sgraffito ware" as follows: "The sgraffito technique of decorating pottery was widely used in the Near East. After the white slip was applied to the bowl, a decoration was incised with a fine instrument. The incision removed the slip and exposed the fabric. After that, a transparent glaze was applied. The bowl was fired and the incised area appears darker than the slipped area." Stern, "The Courthouse Site: The Pottery," p. 51.

286. Although the remains of a kiln were found at 'Atlit (Johns, "Medieval Slip-Ware from Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1930–1)," ed., Pringle, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, III, pp. 136, 137), this kiln was probably used to manufacture the non-slipped pottery and coarser wares. All of the slip-ware and sgraffito pottery at 'Atlit appears to have been imported. It should be pointed out, however, that Scott Redford, excavating at Kinet on the Gulf of Iskanderun (=Crusader Callamella) argues that the production of Port St. Symeon ware was widespread at sites all along the coast, and not confined to Port St. Symeon itself. See S. Redford, "On *Saqis* and Ceramics, Systems of Representation in the Northeast Mediterranean," *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, eds. D. Weiss and L. Mahoney, Baltimore and London, 2004, pp. 282–312.

287. Lane, "Medieval Finds from Al-Mina," p. 47, Fig. 8A.

288. Ibid., p. 46.

289. Ibid., Pls. XXII–XXV, and see also the excellent color reproduction of this type ware on the cover of, J. D. Frierman, *Medieval Ceramics, VI to XIII Centuries*, Los Angeles, 1975, p. 54, no. 111. For excellent examples of Port St. Symeon ware in the United States, see the Dambarton Oaks amphora and four bowls: N. P. Ševčenko, "Some Thirteenth-Century Pottery at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 28 (1974), pp. 353–60, and S. Redford, "244, Amphora," *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, ed. Helen C. Evans, pp. 398–9.

290. Frierman, *Medieval Ceramics*, p. 53, no. 106.

291. Stern, "The Courthouse: The Pottery," p. 57, no. 95.

292. Pringle, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Crusader States," p. 459. For drawings of carinated bowls found at Acre, see Stern, "The Courthouse Site: The Pottery," pp. 51, 52.

293. Lane, "Medieval Finds from Al-Mina," pp. 53, 54.

294. Ibid., p. 54. For examples of these figures, see *Medieval Cypriot Pottery from the Collection of Mr. Christakis Loizides: Loan Exhibition*, intro. A. H. S. Megaw, Nicosia, 1947, Figs. 3 (woman with a long veil and a water jug), 4 (woman in long gown and veil embracing soldier); and Frierman, *Medieval Ceramics*, p. 26, no. 8 (female figure). For other examples, with excellent color plates, see D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, "Glazed Pottery in Byzantine Medieval Cyprus (12th–15th centuries)," eds. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis and M. Iacovou, *Byzantine Medieval Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1998, pp. 129, 135, and pp. 143, no. 75 (thirteenth century), 144–5, nos. 76–9 (fourteenth century). See also L. L. Haddjigavriel, *A New Collection of Medieval Pottery at the Leventis Municipal Museum*, Nicosia, 1996, pp. 10–82, which publishes Cypriot Museum pottery mainly of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries categorized according to their designs: birds, knights, flowers, geometric, the sun, and the key.

295. Pringle, "Some More Proto-Maiolica from 'Atlit (Pilgrims' Castle)," p. 104.

296. Ibid., p. 105, no.6, Pl. 10c, has the city wall motif.

297. One other interesting type of pottery found at 'Atlit is an unglazed stamp impressed storage jar (Pringle, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Crusader States," p. 463 and Pl. IV). Pottery of this type was apparently manufactured in north Africa and Muslim Spain, and imported to the eastern Mediterranean. It is of interest because of the star-shaped punch designs. Similar designs become very popular in gesso work found on Crusader panel painting later in the century. It remains to be seen, of course, whether there is any connection between the pottery designs and those found in the gesso work on the panel painting.

298. Stern, "The Courthouse: The Pottery," p. 36, lists twenty-two different kinds of pottery from this one site in Acre.

299. Pringle, "Some More Proto-Maiolica from 'Atlit (Pilgrims' Castle)," p. 112.

300. Pringle, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Crusader States," pp. 467–8.

301. "Les Pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem," eds. H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem de Descriptions de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1882, rpt. Osnabrück, 1966, p. 91 (*c.*1231). See also "Les Chemins & les Pelerinages de la Terre Sainte" (before 1265), Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 180. Despite the confusing reference given by Johns ("Guide to'Atlit," ed. Pringle, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, I, p. 55, n. 1), this information is given in the "Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre" of about 1280, in Michelant and Raynaud, Itinéraires, at p. 229. Finally reference to the relics of St. Euphemia at 'Atlit is also given by a thirteenth-century pilgrim named Philipp de Busseris (*c.*1285): "Philippi descriptio Terrae Sanctae," ed. W. A. Neumann, "Drei mittelalterliche Pilgerschriften III," *Österreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie*, 9 (1872), p. 76, also published in Frater Philippus de Busseriis, *Liber Peregrinationum*, ed. S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, IV, Jerusalem, 1984, p. 246, sect. LVI.

302. A. Kazhdan and N. P. Ševčenko, "Euphemia of Chalcedon," *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, eds. A. Kazhdan and A.-M. Talbot, New York – Oxford, 1991, pp. 747–8.

303. On this, see H. Nicholson, "The Head of St Euphemia: Templar Devotion to Female Saints," *Gendering the Crusades*, eds. S. B. Edgington and S. Lambert, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001, pp. 3–5. See also Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit," ed. Pringle, *Pilgrim's Castle ('Atlit)*, I, p. 55, followed by Pringle, " 'Atlit," *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 1, p. 71.

304. F. Tommasi, "I Templari e il Culto delle Reliquie," in *I Templari: Mito e Storia*, Siena, 1989, pp. 208–9.

The relics now in the patriarchal Church of St. George in Istanbul (Constantinople) were apparently not the relics originally preserved at 'Atlit. The relics from 'Atlit eventually made their way via the Hospitallers where they were placed in a new reliquary in the sixteenth century. Nicholson thinks this reliquary was carried off by Napoleon's troops in 1798 and lost at sea when Napoleon's flagship, "L'Orient," sank on 1 August 1798 off the coast of Egypt. See Nicholson, "The Head of St Euphemia," p. 4.

For a photo of the relics preserved now in the patriarchal Church of St. George in their nineteenth-century reliquary, see H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Sparkford, 2001, p. 146, Pl. 5.7.

305. See n. 301, for the reference to Philipp.

306. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, p. 147.

307. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 199, and Nicholson, "The Head of St Euphemia," pp. 3–5. Barber and Nicholson go on to point out that the relics of St. Euphemia were apparently moved by the Templars to Nicosia in 1291, and then eventually came into the possession of the Hospitallers (Barber, pp. 199–200; Nicholson, pp. 3–4). Barber also mentions the relics of St. Euphemia at 'Atlit in *The Trial of the Templars*, Cambridge, 1978, p. 138, and n. 38.

308. P. Riant, "Les Dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au XIIIe siècle," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 4 ser., 6 (1875), pp. 1–214.

309. K. Molin, *Unknown Crusader Castles*, Hambledon and London, 2001, pp. 3–88.

310. K. Molin, "The Non-military Functions of Crusader Fortifications, 1187–*circa* 1380," *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), p. 385.

311. Ibid.

312. For a discussion of the controversy over the dating of this attack and dismantling, see H. W. Hazard, "Caesarea and the Crusades," *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, vol. 1, The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Missoula, MT, 1975, p. 87, and p. 105, n. 84.

313. Pringle, "Town Defenses in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 89–91; idem, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, p. 166; and Hazard, "Caesarea and the Crusades," *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, 1, pp. 86–7.

314. For a discussion of the archaeological findings and their possible interpretations, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, pp. 166–79.

315. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, pp. 208–16, and Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 308–9.

316. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, pp. 111–15, and Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 70–1.

317. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 302–5.

318. The church that can eventually be compared to the Cathedrals at Caesarea and at Beirut is the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Tortosa. As we have seen the shrine of the Virgin had become an important pilgrimage site, which both Wilbrand and Jacques de Vitry visited. However, there is no indication that the Tortosa cathedral was completed until the second quarter of the thirteenth century. See n. 44 (Jacques de Vitry) and n. 179 (Wilbrand).

319. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, pp. 61–2.

320. Ibid., p. 265.

321. Pringle, "Town Defenses in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," p. 88.

322. Ibid., pp. 80–1.

323. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, pp. 120–1.

324. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, II, pp. 67, 206, 367.

325. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, p. 287, II, pp. 304–5.

326. See the recent article by P. Antaki, "Le Château Croisé de Beyrouth: Etude Préliminaire," *ARAM*, 13–14 (2001–2), pp. 326–9, 343.

327. The text says "cisterna" but this is a special fountain with mosaics in the manner of domestic waterworks for pleasure found in Roman villas.

328. Wilbrandi de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, pp. 166–7. See also the French translation by J. Richard, "Un Palais à Beyrouth au début du XIIIe siècle," *Res Orientales*, 8 (1996), p. 140, and the Italian translation by S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, III, pp. 205–6.

329. Camille Enlart expressed the opinion that the mosaics in the palace of Beirut were the work of indigenous artists, but he thought they may have been done before the arrival of the Crusaders (Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, I, Paris, 1925, p. 159). This, however, seems impossible because Wilbrand describes the palace as being located in a tower of the castle recently built.

330. *L'Islam dans les collections nationales*, Paris, 1977, p. 216, no. 486, Inv. No. 7674. See also M. S. Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammadan Art*, New York, 1958, pp. 117–18.

331. For the wooden panels at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, see Z. Jacoby, "The Medieval Doors of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem," *Le Porte di Bronzo dall'antichita al secolo XIII*, ed. S. Salomi, Rome, 1990, pp. 126–34, Pls. CXVI, CXXII–CXXVII.

332. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, I, pp. 139, 154–5. It is worth noting that these inscriptions reckon the date of the panels by the Armenian calendar on the one hand, and by the Muslim calendar on the other, indicating that Bethlehem was still under Muslim control when they were done, just as Bethlehem was when Thietmar saw it.

333. Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, p. 239, transl. R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1993, p. 203.

334. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, pp. 202–3. See also A. Gayet, "Les Monuments de Damiette et Mansourah contemporains de l'époque des Croisades," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, Paris, 1899, pp. 71–8. According to Gayet, the mosques associated with the period of the Crusaders in "the old part" of Damietta mentioned by Gayet are either newly rebuilt or in ruins. There is nothing in the modern city of Damietta, which was built southeast of the thirteenth-century city site, which seems to relate to the Crusader period. Old Damietta was of course completely razed in 1250 by the sultan of Cairo, and rebuilt on a site located farther inland. See Chapter 6. No obvious remains of the Crusader period could be identified in any part of modern Damietta by the author during a visit in the spring of 1999.

335. I am indebted to Scott Redford of Georgetown University for his discussion of the dynamics of pottery production and trade in the eastern Mediterranean, based on his archaeological work in the area, especially at Kinet or Hisn al-Tinat = Crusader Callamella. For the location of Callamella, see J. Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Atlas of the Crusades*, London, 1991, p. 107, and our map no. 4. See S. Redford, "On *Saqis* and Ceramics, Systems of Representation in the Northeast Mediterranean," *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, eds. D. Weiss and L. Mahoney, Baltimore and London, 2004, pp. 282–312. Redford et al.,"Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report," *Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, 38 (2001), pp. 58–138.

336. For an interesting possible example of painting on parchment, however, see the discussion of one of the miters of Jacques de Vitry, nn. 363–5.

337. Messier Piere [Chappe] me fist lire devant lui en un romans: messier Rau dist que je lisoie moult bien. Après fu messier Rau [Raoule de Tibériade] malade, et messier Piere Chape, à la requeste de messier Rau, me manda lirre devant lui. Issi avint que trois mois et plus y fu; et moult me desplaisoit ce que moult me deust pleire: messier Rau dormet poi et malvaisement; et quant je avoie leu tant com il voleit, il meismes me conteit moult de chozes dou royaume de Jerusalem et des us et des assises, et disoit que je les retenisse. Et je, qui moult doutai sa maniere, otreai tout.

Philippe de Novarre [sic], *Livre de Philippe de Navarre, RHC: Lois*, I, p. 525, ch. XLIX, as quoted by D. Jacoby, "La Littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des Croisades: diffusion et creation," *Essor et Fortune de la Chanson de Geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient Latin*, Actes du IXe Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals..., Modena, 1984, pp. 617–18.

338. See ibid., p. 619.

339. A recent Ph.D. dissertation at King's College, London, is being prepared for publication that may offer some additional information on Crusader manuscripts. See Cristina F. Dondi, "The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII–XVI Centuries): With special reference to the Practice of the Orders of the Temple and St John of Jerusalem," Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 2000.

340. See Chapter 3, nn. 380, 382, and 397.

341. See Chapter 3, nn. 380, 382.

342. K. Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai: New Aspects in Crusader Art," *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, Princeton, 1982, p. 400 (p. 292 of the original publication, which appeared in 1972).

343. R. Branner, "Manuscript Painting in Paris around 1200," *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, New York, 1975, pp. 175, 183, Fig. 8.

344. For the early *Bibles Moralisées*, see the publication of Vienna, ÖNB MS 5224, by G. Guest, *Bible Moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, London, 1995. For the larger picture of manuscript painting in Paris in the 1220s, of which the Moralized Bibles were a part, see R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1977, pp. 22–41.

345. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's Mount Sinai (no. 1463): This icon is 32.5 × 22.2 cm. See K. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200," *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, pp. 68 and 92, Figs. 35, 36. See also his more extended discussion in, idem, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 79–81. See my entry on this icon in *Faith and Power: Byzantine Art 1261–1577*, ed. H. Evans, New York, p. 376, no. 2.

346. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200," p. 68.

347. K. Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)], p. 220.

348. For these two examples see K. Weitzmann, "The Icons of Constantinople," *The Icon*, New York, 1982, pp. 62 and 75.

349. The patron's name, "George Parisi," has sometimes been interpreted as "George from Paris," but it appears more likely that it is a Greek surname. This is a known surname even into modern times. For assistance on this issue, I am indebted to my colleague Angela Hero in New York City. Valentino Pace originally proposed this interpretation; see V. Pace,"Italy the Holy Land:... Apulia," *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, 1982, p. 254.

350. For the epithet "diasorites," see G. Demetrokalles, "Ho naos tou Agiou Georgiou tou Diasoritou tes Tragaias Naxou," *Technika Chronika*, 217 (1962), p. 17. For examples of images with this epithet, see, e.g., S. E. J. Gerstel, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea," *The Crusades from the Perspective of the Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington, DC, 2001, p. 284, and E. N. Tsigaridas, "La Peinture à Kastoria et en Macédoine Grecque Occidentale vers l'année 1200: Fresques et Icones," *Studenica e l'Art Byzantin autour de l'Année 1200*, ed. V. Korac, Belgrade, 1988, pp. 309–10, and note 4. I thank my colleagues Sharon Gerstel and Angela Hero for their generous assistance with this difficult issue.

351. L.-A. Hunt, "Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt: A Triptych of the Ascension with Military Saints," *Al-Masaq*, 12 (2000), p. 18, for the quote, and her earlier article, idem, "A woman's prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), pp. 106–7.

352. Hunt, "Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt," p. 18, for the quote.

353. I have not been able to find this style in the wall paintings, nor do I think that the St. Sergios with the kneeling female donor (no. 80) belongs stylistically with this icon. The question of where the artist of the latter icon came from will be addressed in Chapter 6.

354. This icon (no. 285) is 38.5 × 28 cm. See D. Mouriki, "Icons of the 13th Century," *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis, Athens, 1990, pp. 119–20 and 184, no. 58.

355. This icon (no. 679) is 38.6 × 26.9 cm. See Mouriki, "Icons of the 13th Century," *Sinai*, pp. 119–20 and 185, no. 59. Mouriki first published comments on this icon in her monograph, idem, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, nos. 1–2 (1985–6), pp. 32, 34, 83, Fig. 6.

356. For a discussion of bold frame designs like this, on an icon from the second half of the thirteenth century, see J. Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon, *Maniera Cypria*, *Lingua Franca*, or Crusader Art," *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, Menil Collection Monographs, 1, Austin and Houston, 1992, pp. 110–12.

357. F. Courtoy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies aux soeurs de Notre-Dame à Namur et l'Oeuvre du Frère Hugo*, Bruxelles, 1953, p. 5. See also the review of this work by A. Lanotte, "Le Trésor du prieuré d'Oignies et l'oeuvre du frère Hugo," *Namurcum: Chronique de la Société archéologique de Namur*, 27e année (1953), pp. 49–53.

358. Funk, *Jakob von Vitry, Leben und Werke*, Hildesheim, 1973, pp. 67–8; J. Longère, "La Vie et les Oeuvres," in Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire Occidentale*, Paris, 1997, pp. 14–16. See also the narrative of F. Courtoy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies*, pp. 9–12. One of the important historical sources for information on the founding of this priory and the connection of its treasury with Bishop Jacques de Vitry is found in a charter written by Prior Siger in the late thirteenth century. It was later transcribed and eventually published by E. Martène and U. Durand (eds.), *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmatoricum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, vol. 6, Paris, 1730, cols. 1278–80.

359. Courtroy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies*, pp 85–95, no. XXIV, and A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1961, pp. 479–80, no. 652. For the considerable bibliography on this reliquary cross, see nn. 360 and 363.

360. Mosan: J. Weale, *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, Brussels, 1866, Pl. 1, along with J. Marquet de Vasselot and Père de Jerphanion, as reported by Courtoy, pp. 91–2. Byzantine: Canon Reusens, *Exposition rétrospective*, Brussels, 1888, catalogue p. 29, no. 36. Orientale: C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2eme edn., Paris, 1926, vol. II, p. 688.

361. See J. Durand, "Reliques et reliquaires arrachés à l'Orient et à Byzance au temps des Croisades," *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, pp. 380–1, 420, no. 251; S. Ratz, *Le Temps des Croisades*, Brussels-Huy, 1996, p. 127; U. Henze, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, vol. 3, Cologne, 1985, p. 117, no. H 34; and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Splendeur de Byzance*, Brussels, 1982, p. 194, no. E 6.

362. J. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 290–4.

363. F. Courtroy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies*, pp. 100–5.

364. The dimensions are: total height with lappets, 58 cm, width, 28 cm. Courtoy, ibid., p. 102, says that this miter entered the treasury from Jacques de Vitry: See the 1628 inventory quoted in his appendix, p. 136.

365. The two winged symbols in the corners are quite normal, the winged lion and the eagle. However, the notion of combining them with two seated Evangelist symbols is quite unusual, and indeed it is rare to find any Evangelist symbols seated. On top of that, we can recognize that the animal-headed symbol of Luke, with the ox head on the human body, is in itself an unusual type that goes back to Spanish Romanesque iconography. However, mixing regular, seated, and animal-headed symbols is unique to this program, so far as I know.

366. Courtoy, *Le Trésor*, p. 100.

367. Ibid., p. 102, and J. Braun, "Die Paramente im Schatz der Schweistern U. L. Frau zu Namur," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 19 (1906), cols. 289–304.

368. The date of this commission is debatable. J. Greven, "Die Mitra des Jakob von Vitry und ihre Herkunft," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 20 (1907), cols. 217–22, proposes that it was done in late 1216 or 1217, when Jacques de Vitry first arrived in the Holy Land, and that he had it sent back from the East as a gift to the prior of Oignies. I prefer to think that if the iconography is closely related to Jacques de Vitry as C. Cannuyer argues (C. Cannuyer, "Les emblèmes sigillaires de Jacques de Vitry reproduits sur trois pièces du trésor d'Oignies," *La Vie Wallonne*, Liege, 1984, pp. 117–26), and as we are proposing here, he used the miter in Acre and brought it back with him in 1225. Thus it may be dated to 1216–25.

369. S. Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, vol. 1, Lucca, 1733, p. 114, Pl. V, no. 52, and G. Schlumberger et al., Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin, Paris, 1943, p. 104.

370. Courtroy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies*, pp. 96–7; Cannuyer, "Les emblèmes sigillaires de Jacques de Vitry...," pp. 118–19.

371. Courtoy notes what he calls an "aspect archaique, d'accent byzantin" about the saints. He says the painting is nonetheless done by a French atelier, and the miter is not of Eastern origin as others have suggested. See notes 367 and 368.

The idea of French painters working in the Latin Kingdom is of course well-known in the second half of the thirteenth century. See the discussion of the Paris–Acre Master, formerly known as the "Hospitaller Master," as recently presented by J. Folda, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 51–9, 269–72. The problem here is to find specific evidence to show that already in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, French artists recently arrived from the West were working in Acre.

372. Courtoy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies*, pp. 103–5. The dimensions are: total height with lappets, 61 cm, width, 28 cm. This miter is quite possibly mentioned in the inventory of 1628 as having come from Jacques de Vitry.

373. J. Braun, "Die Paramente im Schatz der Schwestern U. L. Frau Namur," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 19 (1906), cols. 293–4.

374. Courtoy, *Le Trésor du Prieuré d'Oignies*, p. 105.

375. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, p. 82.

376. A. G. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, ed. A. G. Berman, New York, 1994, p. 77, no. 32a (Jerusalem), and Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Pl. 24, no. 628 (Cyprus). Recall that Guy de Lusignan also used two different types of crown (see Chapter 2). It is not clear whether this reflects current characteristics of the Crusader regalia, or whether the change in the iconography of the crown as seen on different coins is related to some historical event or is meant to signify a change in royal status.

377. These circles and dots or pellets can be clearly seen on the examples illustrated by Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Pl. 12, nos. 202–5, and by J. Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection of Coins of the Crusades*, Sotheby's, London, 1997, pp. 38–40, nos. 260–82.

378. H. Longuet, "La Trouvaille de Kessab en Orient Latin," *Revue Numismatique*, 4th ser., 38 (1935), pp. 173–4.

379. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Pl. 23, nos. 594–5.

380. See Chapters 2 and 3.

381. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, p. 66.

382. John of Würzburg, in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, ed. J. Wilkinson, London, 1988, p. 264.

383. Ibid., p. 265.

CHAPTER 5: THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM: 1225–1244

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF JOHN OF IBELIN AND FREDERICK II

1. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 366; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 454. See also J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, Paris, 1970, pp. 183–4, and S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 175–7.

2. I have used the following essential works on Emperor Frederick II: D. Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, London, 1988, esp. pp. 148–201; T. C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Immutator Mundi*, Oxford, 1972; and E. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second: 1194–1250*, trans. E. O. Lorimer, New York, 1931; with idem, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite, Ergänzungsband*, Düsseldorf and Munich, 1963. The following essays are also indispensable: K. J. Leyser, "The Emperor Frederick II," *The Listener*, August 16, 1973, republished in idem, *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbors, 900–1250*, London, 1982, pp. 269–76; and D. Abulafia, "Kantorowicz and Frederick II, *History*, 62 (1977), pp. 193–210, republished in idem, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean: 1100–1400*, London, 1987, article II.

3. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, p. 136, and Abulafia, *Frederick II*, p. 149.

4. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 358–66; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 451–4; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, pp. 151–2; T. C. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," *HC* 2, pp. 440–3; Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, pp. 137–9; Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, 2, pp. 172–4; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 175–7.

5. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," *HC* 2, pp. 445–6; D. Abulafia, *Frederick II*, pp. 164–7; Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, pp. 170–5.

6. "Encyclica Gregorii Papae," *Historica Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, vol. 3, Paris, 1852, rpt. Turin, 1963, pp. 23–30.

7. The charges made by Gregory IX and Frederick's response are discussed by Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," pp. 447–8; idem, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, pp. 196–9; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, pp. 166–70; and Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, pp. 171–6.

8. Abulafia, *Frederick II*, p. 152.

9. Ibid., p. 170.

10. On John of Ibelin, see P. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Woodbridge, 1997, pp. 24–57; J. LaMonte, "John d'Ibelin, the Old Lord of Beirut, 1177–1236," *Byzantion*, 12 (1937), pp. 417–48; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 180–1, 205–6.

11. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, pp. 256–8.

12. Peter des Roches of Winchester and William Brewer of Exeter were two of the most powerful bishops in England. They brought with them a large contingent of English Crusaders and provided important clerical counsel and support for Frederick II during his Crusade. See K. R. Giles, "Two English Bishops in the Holy Land," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 31 (1987), pp. 46–57.

13. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, II, pp. 179–80. Giles, "Two English Bishops in the Holy Land," p. 53, points out that Peter des Roches used his considerable wealth to promote the refortification of Sidon.

14. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 365, transl. H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 1994, p. 122. See also Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 458–9.

15. We shall discuss this briefly along with some of the other considerable architectural work of the Crusaders in this period in the following subchapter.

16. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, 2, pp. 180–3.

17. D. Pringle, "A Thirteenth-Century Hall at Montfort Castle in Western Galilee," *Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), pp. 52–4, and Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 129–31.

18. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 363–4; Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," pp. 447–8; and M. N. Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, pp. 542–3. See also R. D. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, I, eds. I. Corfis and M. Wolfe, 1995, pp. 89, 93; and Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, II, p. 183.

19. Bishop Peter des Roches played a major role in financing the rebuilding of Jaffa. See Giles, "Two English Bishops in the Holy Land," p. 53.

20. G. J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem*, Sydney, 1993, p. 283. The Rothelin Continuation of the Eracles, which covers the years 1229–61, states that, in regard to the year 1229, "The Saracens had demolished all the fortifications, except the Tower of David." (*Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. J. Shirley, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1999, p. 9; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 489.) Even though the writer of this text in the Soissons region in the 1260s conflated all the demolitions of Jerusalem's walls with the time of the Fifth Crusade, the reference to the Tower of David suggests that the citadel was the object of the later destructions, which, according to other Crusader and Muslim sources, escaped damage during the earlier demolitions in 1219. See Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, II: *Syrie du Sud*, 1a: *Jérusalem ville*, *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Française du Caire*, vol. 43, Cairo, 1922–3, p. 136, n. 5.

21. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," *HC* 2, pp. 448–51, and idem, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, pp. 202–5.

22. The Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 366–7, is quite brief on the voyage. We have more details from the following: *Breve chronicon de rebus siculis...*, in *Historica Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, I, pt. 2, pp. 898–900.

23. Quoted in Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, p. 207.

24. John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, was technically acting on behalf of the young Henry of Lusignan's widowed mother, Alice, who was regent.

25. The most recent edition of Philip's section of the *Gestes des Chiprois* was prepared from the unique fourteenth-century manuscript, Turin, Royal Library, MS Varia 433: Filippo da Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)*, ed. S. Melani, Naples, 1994, pp. 66–242. The older editions were prepared from a nineteenth-century copy of that manuscript: *Les Gestes des Chiprois*: Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre qui fu entre l'empereor Frederic & Johan d'Ibelin*, ed. G. Raynaud, Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin: série historique, vol. 5, Geneva, 1887, pp. 40–4, and the older edition, *Les Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Documents Arméniens*, vol. 2, Documents Latin et Français relatifs à l'Arménie, Paris, 1869, pp. 678–9, English translation in Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, transl. with notes and introduction by J. La Monte, New York, 1936, pp. 77–80. For comments on the new edition, see P. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 34, n. 42. For a discussion of the relationship of Philip of Novare's memoires to the *Gestes des Chiprois*, see P. Jackson, "The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), pp. 20–1. For the sections of the *Gestes* that appear to make up the *Mémoires*, see Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires (1218–1243)*, ed. C. Kohler, Paris, 1913, pp. 1–101.

26. J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London, 1973, p. 160.

27. However, as Peter Edbury has pointed out, at least John of Ibelin retained his freedom. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 42.

28. LaMonte, "John d'Ibelin, the Old Lord of Beirut, 1177–1236," *Byzantion*, 12 (1937), p. 430.

29. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 100; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 369; Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, 23; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 87–8.

30. The sources for the time Frederick II was in the Holy Land, that is, from September 1228 until May 1229, are slight. See Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 167–8. We have assembled the main developments in our narrative that follows.

31. Giles, "Two English Bishops in the Holy Land," p. 54, points out:

> The transformation was undertaken with the advice of the patriarch and the magnates of the kingdom, who were no doubt keen to stress the military needs of the crusading states, but the reform was equally in line with the military outlook and career of the bishop himself. The situation of the house at Acre was also changed, from a site near the German hospital on the eastern

> side of the city, to a more suitable location in the northern quarter of Montmusard.

See also A. J. Forey, "The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre," *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), pp. 487–8.

32. Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 462; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 370; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, pp. 215–16; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 183–4. Runciman suggests that news now had reached Palestine that Frederick had been excommunicated again, for setting out on the Crusade before being absolved from the first ban imposed on him.

33. On the negotiations between Frederick and al-Kamil, besides the works of Abulafia, Van Cleve, and Kantorowicz, cited previously, see the following older studies: N. Barbour, "The Emperor Frederick II, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, and His Relations with the Muslims," *Orientalia Hispanica, sive studia F. M. Pareja octogenario dicata*, ed. J. M. Barral, vol. 1, *Arabica Islamica*, Leiden, 1974, pp. 77–95, esp. pp. 84–6; and E. Blochet, "Relations diplomatiques des Hohenstaufens avec les sultans d'Égypt," *Revue Historique*, 80 (1902), pp. 51–64, esp. 55–8.

34. Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties Concerning the History of the Ayyubids*, ed. F. Gabrieli, trans. E. J. Costello, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, London, 1969, pp. 268–9.

35. Ibid., pp. 269–70.

36. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 370–2; Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 461–4; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 186.

37. Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties*, ed. Gabrieli, p. 270.

38. The exchange of gifts between Frederick and al-Kamil is a subject of great potential interest that has been very little studied. Frederick is said to have received wonderful things from the sultan in the fall of 1228, including an elephant, ten dromedary camels, ten Arabian stallions, monkeys, wonderful stones and vessels, and sumptuous textiles of silk and gold in diverse colors. See Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 371–2; also reported by R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)*, Innsbruck, 1898, rpt. Amsterdam, 1966, pp. 780–1, and Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," *HC* 2, p. 453. It would be very interesting to pursue the whole issue of gift exchange here and in other relevant negotiations, especially if specific objects can be identified and linked to these diplomatic exchanges. See, on this problem, the remarks of A. Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, 1996, and our comments earlier in Chapter 3.

39. Letter of Patriarch Gerold to Pope Gregory IX, *Historia Diplomata Friderici Secundi*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, vol. 3, p. 104, "quod cum maxima verecundia referimus et rubore, imperatori Soldanus, audiens quod secundum morem sarracenicum se haeret, misit cantatrices que et saltatrices dicuntur et joculatores, personas quidem non solum infames, verum etiam de quibus inter christianos haberi mentio non deberet." The English translation is found in Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen*, p. 217.

40. M. Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, vol. 4, trans. M. Reinaud, Paris, 1829, rpt. New York, 1978, pp. 429–30, cites this letter in French as coming from the work of Déhébi = Schemseddin Mohammed (1247–1347), who wrote a chronicle entitled *Chronique de l'Islamisme*. The English translation is given in Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, p. 219. Van Cleve notes that whether or not this letter is authentic, it "reveals how desperately Frederick desired to bring the expedition to a successful conclusion." It also indicates what al-Kamil was apparently prepared to accept in terms of a proposal from Frederick in the eyes of the Muslim people.

41. Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," *HC* 2, p. 454, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 186–7.

42. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 100, Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, p. 23, Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 48–9, Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 88–9.

43. Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, trans. with notes and introduction, by J. La Monte, New York, 1936, pp. 36–7.

44. Al-Maqrizi (*A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, Boston, 1980, p. 206) states, "At last it was agreed that the Frankish sovereign should receive Jerusalem from the Muslims, the city to remain dismantled as it was, with no repairs to the walls."

45. John La Monte reconstructed the provisions of this treaty from a series of documents that he cites in detail, Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 37, nt. 4. In addition to the sources he cites there, see also *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, eds. and trans. A. Khater and O. H. E. Khs-Burmester, vol. IV, part 1, Cyril III, Ibn Laklak (1216–43) Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, Textes et Documents, XIV, Cairo, 1974, p. 109. See also Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, 2, pp. 198–200, n. 37.

46. P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy, 1260–1290*, Leiden, 1995, p. 4. Holt cites the work of the Mamluk lawyer al-Qalqashandi (1355–1418) as the basis for the acceptability of truces lasting between four months and ten years. According to certain views in the later, Mamluk, period, recorded by al-Qalqashandi, a truce should not exceed four months if the Muslims were "strong and secure," but it could last for ten years if they were "in weakness and fear." We do not have a similar study on Ayyubid diplomacy, but clearly the ten-year limit was in consistent use, with the extra time added in order to accommodate the Frankish calendar.

47. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 168, and n. 109.

48. The specifics of how problematic Gerold found this treaty to be, along with other activities of Frederick II in the Holy Land, are spelled out in a letter the patriarch sent to the West recorded by Matthew Paris. See E. Peters (ed.), *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198–1229*, trans. by D. C. Munro ("Letters of the Crusaders," *University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, vol. 1, no. 4, Philadelphia, 1896, pp. 25–9), Philadelphia, 1971, pp. 165–70.

49. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 258–9; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 186–8.

50. Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, *The Mirror of the Times*, ed. F. Gabrieli, trans. E. J. Costello, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, London, 1969, pp. 273–4.

51. Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties*, ed. Gabrieli, p. 270.

52. Ibid., p. 271.

53. Ibid.

54. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 374. The fact is that this account is by comparison quite specific compared to other contemporary reports, and the wording of the Paris Eracles may indeed have been the source of some of the confusion over the significance of this event as a crown-wearing, not a self-coronation.

55. H. E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21, 1967, esp. pp. 200–10.

56. Besides the sources that Mayer cites, the papal register and Roger of Wendover (ibid., p. 203), the Paris Eracles and the *Chronique d'Ernoul* all simply refer to the fact that the emperor wore his crown: "li emperere . . . porta corone" (Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 465). The Lyon and the Marsanne Eracles – in contrast to the Paris Eracles – are both comparable to the *Chronique d'Ernoul* in their treatment of the event (*RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 375, lower variants).

57. J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, Amsterdam, 1979, p. 252, says the original crown was held at Baghdad since 1187, so this possibility is unlikely.

58. On the regalia of Frederick II, see P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser Friedrichs II. Herrschaftszeichen, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3e folge, nr. 36, Göttingen, 1955, pp. 11–41, 125–41, with frontispiece; P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica, vol. 13/III, Stuttgart, 1956, pp. 884–919, Pls. 97–101; and P. E. Schramm and F. Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, Munich, 1962, pp. 189–98, 441–64. Besides these important publications, see also the catalogue of *Die Zeit der Staufer*, ed. R. Haussherr, Stuttgart, 1977, which has interesting numismatic material from the time of Frederick II, vol. 1, e.g., pp. 169–70, vol. 2, Pl. 126, and includes the famous torso of the emperor, sometimes said to be Frederick II, now in Barletta, vol. 1, pp. 669–70, vol. 2, pl. 627.

In regard to what kind of crown it was, I know of no text nor any image that describes or depicts the crown in detail.

59. Letter of Hermann von Salza, *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, vol. 3, p. 101.

60. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, II, p. 209; Van Cleve, "The Crusade of Frederick II," *HC* 2, p. 458; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 189. Van Cleve's account of Frederick's interest in the reconstruction of Jerusalem is somewhat different in *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, p. 226, where he reports

that the emperor intended to rebuild Jerusalem and that he left a contingent of soldiers to carry out the work. He notes that these soldiers were probably Teutonic Knights, but that others from the Templars and the Hospitallers also eventually volunteered to help. Runciman, p. 188, reports that Frederick "ordered that the Tower of David and the Gate of St. Stephen were to be repaired at once, and he handed over the royal residence attached to the Tower of David to the Teutonic Order." There is no evidence that any of the work he had in mind was ever carried out.

61. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 375; Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, p. 227; Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, 2, p. 209.

62. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, pp. 103–4; Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, p. 25; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. Raynaud, p. 50, English trans., Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 91–2.

63. In the *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, see the Paris Eracles, p. 375; the Marsanne Eracles (Paris, B.N., Ms. fr. 9086), p. 376 lower margin upper variant; the Lyon Eracles, p. 376 lower margin lower variant; and Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 466.

64. Opinions of modern historians vary widely on this passage. Abulafia (*Frederick II*, pp. 191–2) sees it as a story in praise of John d'Ibelin, who refused to let the king of Jerusalem be dishonored, whatever he thought about him personally. Van Cleve (*The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, pp. 227–8) says this "incredible tale" only appears in writers who were pro-Cypriot, especially pro-Ibelin. He suggests it was formulated to derogate the emperor while praising John of Ibelin. Kantorowicz (*Frederick the Second*, p. 205) specifically identified the papalists whom Frederick had fought with in Acre – the patriarch, the Templars, and their supporters – as responsible for inciting the populace to throw filth at him when he was departing. Runciman (*A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 191–2) saw the whole popular demonstration as an indication that Acre was "seething with discontent," a situation that John and Eudes belatedly dealt with, but with no thanks from Frederick. Röhricht (*Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 795) is, however, quite neutral and matter-of-fact about the incident.

65. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 173.

66. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 376–9; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 174–5.

67. As Hans Mayer points out, the Lombard War was so named, not because Frederick's German and Italian mercenaries came from Lombardy, but because many of them came from south Italy, the former province of Langobardia.

68. *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. J. Shirley, pp. 32–3; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 525–6.

69. The Riccardiana Psalter, now in Florence in the Biblioteca Medicaea-Riccardiana, MS. 323, is attributed to his patronage by Hugo Buchthal, in *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 39–46. Further research suggests that it is unlikely Frederick II personally had anything to do with it directly, and it certainly does not reflect his interest in the classical tradition found in other works linked to his patronage. We shall discuss this remarkable manuscript in more detail later.

70. On William Brewer, see Giles, "Two English Bishops in the Holy Land," p. 52. Bishop Brewer, for example, is said to have brought back costly embroideries from Baghdad.

71. C. A. Willemsen et al., "Handschriften aus dem Umkreis Friedrichs II," and "Skulptur aus dem Umkreis Friedrichs II," in *Die Zeit Der Staufer*, ed. R. Haussherr, Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 645–63, and 664–74, respectively, and T. Van Cleve, "Frederick II, Patron of Art," in *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, pp. 333–46.

72. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 379. It is at this point that the *Chronique d'Ernoul* ends. See Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 466–7 in two of the manuscripts: MS. C= Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS. 11142, Flanders in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, one of the principal codices followed for the *Chronique d'Ernoul* edition by L. de Mas-Latrie in 1871, and MS. E = Paris, B.N. MS. fr. 781, N. France *c.*1300, one of the texts in which Ernoul is named. Cf L. de Mas-Latrie, "Essai de classification," in *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 481–2. However, see now, of course, M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 1–7.

73. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, pp. 230–1.

74. Roger of Wendover, quoted by Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, p. 237.

75. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 526–7.

76. On the political, institutional, and legal developments see especially Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 145–213, and Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, 2, pp. 215–26. Prawer characterizes this as a development, "d'une monarchie féodale à une fédération oligarchique."

77. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 380–436. The years in which the Paris Eracles is so thin correspond roughly to the years that the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold, spent in Rome, away from the Latin Kingdom.

78. Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, p. 546, calls the "sarrasins" "a mass of unorganized beduins."

79. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 384–6.

80. John agreed to be co-emperor and "senior partner" of the Latin Empire for life. Baldwin was to marry Marie de Brienne immediately and when he reached age twenty, he would be given the kingdom of Nicaea, which the Latins did not control in 1229. When John of Brienne died, Baldwin would become the sole emperor. See P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, London and New York, 1995, p. 63.

81. On John of Brienne as Latin Emperor, see Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 62–3; J. M. Buckley, "The Problematical Octogenarianism of John of Brienne," *Speculum*, 32 (1957), pp. 315–22; and J. Longnon, *L'Empire Latin de Constantinople et la Principauté de Morée*, Paris, 1949, pp. 169–77.

82. Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 118, and J. La Monte, "Introduction," in Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 42–3.

83. Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 118–37.

84. We do not have any indication of what this great hall of the palace looked like, but it is noteworthy that it was fully functional at this time. Furthermore, since the palace would have been the residence of the king and queen had they been in Acre, it is significant that the palace can be used by the bailiff for important gatherings of this sort. Prawer says this was the customary venue for the high court.

85. Frederick II is notable for his use of golden seals among the rulers of the Latin Kingdom, who otherwise regularly use lead or wax seals. See G. Schlumberger et al., *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1943, pp. 14–26. See also R. Haussherr (ed.), *Die Zeit der Staufer*, vol. I, p. 35, no. 51, and vol. III, pl. 21. The seals in question would have read as follows: obverse, "Fridericus dei gratia Romanorum imperator et semper Augustus et rex Ierusalem et Sicilie." The image of the seated emperor on the obverse features him wearing a simple royal crown, not obviously an imperial crown. Frederick uses gold seals of this kind with the "rex ierusalem" indication after the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229.

86. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 388. On Filangieri's procedural step here, see the views of Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 179–80, who says that it was not unprecedented for the members of the Haute Cour and the Cour des Bourgeois to meet together, and Prawer, "Estates, Communities and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," pp. 54–5, who argues that this was a special gathering that included mostly participants from Acre, not necessarily from the entire kingdom.

87. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 389–90. A complete English translation of this speech and the succeeding text pertaining to the commune of Acre is given by John La Monte in Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 121–3, n. 3.

88. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 176.

89. Prawer, "Estates, Communities and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," in *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, p. 58.

90. This is the summary given by Riley-Smith (*The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 176–7) of the speech recorded in the Paris Eracles, cited in n. 87.

91. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 391.

92. J. Prawer, "Estates, Communities and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," p. 54.

93. H. E. Mayer, "On the Beginnings of the Communal Movement in the Holy Land: The Commune of Tyre," in *Kreuzzüge und lateinische Osten*, London, 1983, no. XIII, pp. 443–57; Prawer, "Estates, Communities and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," pp. 46–82; and J. La Monte, "The Communal Movement in Syria in the Thirteenth Century," *Charles Homer Haskins Anniversary Essays in Medieval History*, Boston and New York, 1929, pp. 117–31.

94. In his study of the commune of Tyre, Mayer states: "It is the outstanding achievement

of Prawer's paper to have proved beyond any doubt this transition from urban welfare fraternities into nuclei of Estates." Mayer, "On the Beginnings of the Communal Movement in the Holy Land: The Commune of Tyre," in *Kreuzzüge und lateinische Osten*, no. XIII, p. 444. See also Prawer's remarks on the commune at Acre in *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, 2, pp. 239–42.

95. On the problematic imagery found on the seal of the Confraternity of St. Andrew, see Prawer, "Estates, Communities and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," pp. 61–3, and G. Schlumberger, "Neuf sceaux de l'Orient Latin," *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 2 (1894), p. 177, and Pl. I,1. No seal is extant from the commune.

96. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 202; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 113.

97. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 391–2; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 177–9; Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, pp. 274–85; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 195–7. For the other important special studies, see Prawer, "Estates, Communities, and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," pp. 46–82, esp. pp. 54–67; J. Riley-Smith, "The *Assise sur la Ligèce* and the Commune of Acre," *Traditio*, 27 (1971), pp. 179–204; idem, "A Note on the Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), pp. 301–8; and H. E. Mayer, "Zwei Kommunen in Akkon?", in *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten*, London, 1983, no. XIV, pp. 434–53.

98. Prawer, "Estates, Communities, and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," pp. 65–6.

99. In fact there was no resident king in the Latin Kingdom, other than Frederick II's brief sojourn, between 1225 and 1268, during which time the Hohenstaufen kings of Jerusalem were occupied with their problems in Italy or Germany. See Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, p. 288.

100. Gerold was indeed opposed to Frederick II as we have seen, but it was in particular because of Frederick's Treaty of 1229, his high-handed tactics in relation to Jerusalem, and his wearing the crown in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Gerold's patriarchal church, that the emperor incurred Gerold's wrath.

101. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 259–60. The venerable archbishop of Caesarea, Peter died in 1237, after a reign of thirty-eight years, and the archbishop of Nazareth, Hugh, had died after reigning for seventeen years. The church and the kingdom could ill afford to lose such experienced leaders in the midst of the civil war.

102. Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, pp. 547–8.

103. Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 134.

104. *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier, no. 184, pp. 341–2, and see B. Hamilton, "The Latin Church in the Crusader States," *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, *Acta* of the congress held at Hernen Castle in May 1993, Louvain, 1996, p. 19, n. 105.

105. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 259–61; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, pp. 547–8.

106. B. Hamilton, "The Latin Church in the Crusader States," *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, p. 19.

107. On the twelfth-century history of Casale Imbert, also known as Casale Humberti de Pace in the Crusader period, and Akhzive today, see R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 65–71.

108. Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 137–41, 143, 144, 145 and n. 1; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 395–8.

109. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, pp. 176–94; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 96–107; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 146–55; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 399–402. See also Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. B, pp. 314–15, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 198–201.

110. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 47. I am assuming that he is distinguishing the "Latin East" from "Frankish Greece" and the Latin Empire, the latter which was founded, of course, when the Fourth Crusade attacked the Greeks in Constantinople.

111. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, pp. 172–4; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 94; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 143.

112. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 180; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 99; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 149.

113. N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997, pp. 281–3.

114. See, P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 64–8, and Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312*, pp. 37–40.

115. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, pp. 190–2; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 105–6; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 157.

116. The story is also recounted in the Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid. II*, pp. 402–3, and see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 202, and G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 101, 123–4.

117. La Monte, "Introduction," Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 157–8, n. 1. See also E. Bertaux, "Les Français d'Outremer en Apulie et en Épire," *Revue Historique*, 85 (1904), pp. 224–51.

118. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1192–1374*, p. 66. King Henry is reported to have disinherited the liegemen who had opposed him in battle, by Philip de Novare: Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, pp. 196–8; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 108–9; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 157–8.

119. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 403–6; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 642–66; Hardwicke, "The Crusader States, 1192–1243," *HC* 2, pp. 549–50; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 206–8.

120. It is odd that Philip de Novare does not name this bishop, who occupied the see of Sidon between the reign of Ralph de Merencourt (†1224) and that of Geoffrey Ardel (1236 ff.). See Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 251–6, 260. G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*, vol. II, Verona, 1976, p. 206, indicates that Symeon, archbishop of Tyre, held this position during a hiatus among occupants of the see of Sidon.

121. Odo of Montbéliard was appointed bailiff of Acre by Frederick in 1231 along with Balian of Sidon, but he continued to serve as the constable of the Latin Kingdom until 1243.

122. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 202; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 112–13; Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1913, pp. 84–5; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 162–4; and Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 201–3.

123. Philip writes: "Little was he esteemed; it was said that he bedecked his face like a woman and that he was most intimate with the bailli of Tyre." Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 202; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 112; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 162–3.

124. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, pp. 204–6; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 114–15; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 166–7.

125. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 208; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 116; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 167. One wonders whether John of Ibelin, or Philip de Novare for that matter, may have had an illustrated manuscript of the fables of Renard the fox, as the source of his knowledge of this story.

126. It is worth noting that at this point in the Paris Eracles, that is, at Chapters 40 and 41 of Book 33, the text suddenly has very little to say about the years 1234 to 1238, and unaccountably does not even mention the death of Jean d'Ibelin in 1236. See Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 405–8.

127. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 406.

128. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 49–50; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 203–6.

129. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 407. See also Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 50; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 207.

130. La Monte, "John d'Ibelin, the Old Lord of Beirut, 1177–1236," p. 446.

131. Among the events of 1233/4 to 1238 that the Paris Eracles fails to mention in the Latin Kingdom, the death of Jean d'Ibelin is perhaps the most important. This suggests that the author was away from the Holy Land during these years.

132. The *topos* of a major figure like this being killed in a hunting accident is a familiar one, reminding us of the death of King Fulk in 1142. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 173–4.

133. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 210; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 117–18; Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, p. 89; clear and idiomatic translation by Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 50–1. John La Monte also gives a full translation of this passage: Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 169–70.

John of Ibelin was not the first prominent Crusader to die of a riding accident or to enter a religious order during his last days. We can recall the fate that befell King Fulk, mentioned in n. 132, and the fact that King Baldwin II had become a canon of the Holy Sepulcher at the time of his death in 1131 (Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 114).

We may wonder, however, to what extent the Templars and Hospitallers played a special role in royal obsequies and those of prominent nobles; for example, Baldwin V's funeral was placed in the care of the Templars in 1186 (Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2, p. 447). It is in any case interesting that members of the Ibelin family and other people were said to be sad to see John of Ibelin become a Templar.

134. La Monte, "John d'Ibelin, the Old Lord of Beirut, 1177–1236," p. 448.

135. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 51–7.

136. On Philip d'Aubigny, see C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, Chicago and London, 1988, pp. 91, 98–9, and the comments in N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205–1238*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 132 n. 105, 155, 161–2, 182, 193, 200, 214, 250 and n. 110, 278, 285, 287, 308 n. 235, 323, 365, 432 n. 15.

137. Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 259.

138. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, pp. 91, 98–9, 138. Tyerman describes Philip d'Aubigny further as a royalist civil war commander in England, who was tutor and councillor to Henry III. He quotes Matthew Paris as saying that Philip's grave in front of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was one for which "he had long yearned in life" (p. 99).

139. The coat of arms has four lozenges on the shield. The inscription and part of the shield below are illustrated in S. de Sandoli (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, Jerusalem, 1974, pp. 64–5, no. 74, Fig. 15. The best illustration appears in A. Re'em, "Burial Customs in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. S. Rozenberg, Jerusalem, 1999, p. 296, Fig. 7. Unfortunately, however, the photograph is reversed and the inscription is illegible.

140. The tomb plaque is published by C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873–1874*, vol. 1, London, 1896, p. 106, and C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem*, vol. 1, Paris, 1925, p. 169. It is unclear what Enlart means when he says the following: "Sur le parvis du Saint-Sépulchre, celle de Philippe d'Aubigny (1236), retrouvée dans l'intérieur de l'eglise, porte son épitaphe and son blason."

141. One assumes that this tomb slab was done in Jerusalem, where Christian pilgrims had been buried for centuries, and where presumably the making of tomb slabs continued before and after the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229.

142. Despite his prominence, and the fact that he died in Templar quarters in Acre, we do not know where John of Ibelin was buried.

143. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 205–6, enumerates the eight most important sons, nephews, and cousins who carried on the Ibelin legacy in the years after John's death. See also the geneological charts of the Ibelin family in Edbury, Riley-Smith, Runciman, and La Monte: Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. xv–xviii; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 315–16, Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, Appendix III: Genealogical Trees, on fold-out sheet; and La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 251.

144. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin*, 2, pp. 263–5; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 210–11.

145. Al-Ashraf died on 27 August 1237, and the redoubtable al-Kamil died in Damascus on 8 March 1238. Al-Kamil would always be remembered in the Islamic world for having ceded Jerusalem to the Crusaders, but even Sibt ibn al-Jauzi, who preached the sermon in Damascus about this, writes about him "in admiring terms as brave and sagacious, a lover of learning, and just and generous in the highest measure." H. A. R. Gibb, "The Aiyubids," *HC* 2, p. 705.

It seems remarkable that the Paris Eracles records the death of al-Kamil in 1238, marking a point where this text returns to a more detailed narrative, whereas it omits the death of John of Ibelin in 1236 altogether. See Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 407–8.

146. The co-emperor of the Latin Empire, John of Brienne, died on 23 March 1237, leaving the government in the hands of the young Baldwin II.

147. For the Crusades of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, see P. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241 and Their Aftermath," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 50 (1987), pp. 32–60; Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2, pp. 265–87; S. Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239–1241," *HC* 2, pp. 463–85; and R. Röhricht, "Die Kreuzzügge des Grafen Theobald von Navarra und Richard von Cornwallis nach dem heiligen Lande," *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, 26 (1886), pp. 67–102, and the study of M.-L. Bulst, "Zur Geschichte der Ritterorden und des Königreichs Jerusalem im 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Schlacht bei La Forbie am 17. Okt. 1244," *Deutsches Archiv*, 22 (1966), pp. 197–226. On the Crusade of Thibaut de Champagne, see also the recent important studies of M. Balard, "La Croisade de Thibaud IV de Champagne (1239–1240)," *Les Champenois et la Croisade*, eds. Y. Bellenger and D. Quéruel, Paris, 1989, pp. 85–95; and C. Taittinger, *Thibaud le Chansonnier, comte de Champagne*, Paris, 1987, pp. 241–68.

Besides the Paris Eracles and the Rothelin Continuation, another important source for these two Crusades is the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, ed. H. R. Luard, *Rolls Series* (=*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*), vol. 57, parts 3, 4, and 6, London, 1870, 1877, 1882, respectively. This chronicle is particularly important because the part written by Matthew Paris contains quotations from important original documents by Gregory IX, Frederick II, the Master of the Templars, and Richard of Cornwall. Richard of Cornwall is of particular importance for Matthew Paris, because they were friends and clearly Richard was one of Matthew's most significant sources for his knowledge of the Crusades of 1239–41 and of the Holy Land. Matthew Paris only left England once – to visit Norway in 1248 – and certainly never visited the Crusader East, but his contacts in England were remarkable – he was known at the royal court and by important clerics. Furthermore, his monastery was well situated, enabling him to keep abreast of current events. St. Albans was located about a day's ride north of London on the main road, it was a large and important monastery, and many important persons stayed at St. Albans during their travels. Richard Vaughan reports that Henry III visited St. Albans no fewer than nine times. R. Vaughan, *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. viii–x.

148. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 413–14; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 526–9, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 33–4.

149. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 4, pp. 43–5.

150. On the circumstances surrounding this ban of excommunication, see Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, pp. 427–41. Otherwise see, Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne," *HC* 2, pp. 468–72.

151. The Paris Eracles says, however, that they left from Marseilles and Aigues Mortes en route to Acre (Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 413).

152. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 531–2; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 35; Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 261.

153. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 38; Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne," *HC* 2, p. 473, and n. 13.

154. Balard, "La Croisade de Thibaud IV de Champagne," p. 89.

155. In an effort to keep the principal figures clearly identified, the names of the main Ayyubid princes are given in the text according to the usages of both P. Jackson ("The Crusades of 1239–1241") and al-Maqrizi (*A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, ed. R. J. C. Broadhurst, pp. 352–3, Table III), the latter in parentheses.

156. Ibid., p. 37; al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, pp. 233–5.

157. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, pp. 248–9. This has the sound of a mythological story; both Baybars and Shajar al-Durr would be future rulers of Egypt! However, this Baybars may be the emir who led Ayyub's army at La Forbie, not the formidable Baybars who became the Mamluk sultan of Egypt in 1260.

158. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 413–14; Balard, "La Croisade de Thibaud IV de Champagne," p. 90; Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," pp. 38–9; Painter, "The Crusade

of Theobald of Champagne," *HC* 2, pp. 473–4; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 213.

159. Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne," *HC* 2, p. 473.

160. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 533–6; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the 13th Century*, pp. 37–9.

161. The Rothelin Continuation reports the following knights belonged to this second raiding party: Henry, count of Bar, Amaury, count of Montfort, and Henry IV, duke of Burgundy, were joined by Walter of Brienne, count of Jaffa, John of Ibelin, count of Arsuf, and the two bailiffs of Acre, Balian of Sidon and Odo of Montbéliard. See Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 538–40; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the 13th Century*, pp. 41–2.

162. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 546; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the 13th Century*, p. 46.

163. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 414–15.

164. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 548–9; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the 13th Century*, pp. 47–8.

165. For additional perspective on this battle with regard to Thibaut of Champagne as commander, see Balard, "La Croisade de Thibaud IV de Champagne," pp. 89–90.

166. R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260*, Albany, 1977, p. 261.

167. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, p. 251, explicitly dates the battle at Gaza before al-Nasir Daud's attack on Jerusalem. The chronology is erroneously reversed in the Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 529–30; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the 13th Century*, pp. 35–6. The same report and the same confused chronology appears in the Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 529–31.

The Rothelin Continuation places an-Nasir's attack on Jerusalem before the Crusader war council and the decision to march south leading to the defeat at Gaza. This, however, seems completely unsupportable. It makes no sense that according to these texts the Crusaders newly arrived and eager for military action would have watched the Muslims recapture Jerusalem under their noses, and then decided lamely to march off to Ascalon and Gaza without even discussing the possibility of an attack on the Holy City.

168. C. M. Bennett and B. Hennessy, "The Crusader Barbican," in *The Damascus Gate, Jerusalem*, ed. G. J. Wightman, pp. 45–60, and general fieldplan, p. 119, and G. J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem*, Sydney, 1993, p. 285, and Fig. 82, nos. 18, 22, 25, 26, 28.

169. The problem with this view is that the terms of the treaty on this point are not completely clear. Ernoul, *The Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 465, says, for example, that the Crusaders could restore the city walls and gates, but could not build new ones.

170. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem*, pp. 284–6.

171. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 261, 288–9. Hamilton thinks the main source of this money was from the patriarch's share of the offerings made by pilgrims at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher while the holy sites were accessible to Christians under the terms of Frederick's treaty, 1229–39, and then later, 1243–4.

The act of depositing this substantial sum of money with the Templars is reminiscent of the treasury of the patriarch of Antioch, which had been deposited with the Hospitallers in 1209, as we have seen earlier. These acts attest to the increasing importance of the two major military orders for security for holdings of the Church in the embattled Crusader States.

172. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 261–2.

173. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 416; Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," pp. 40–1; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 216.

174. Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne," *HC* 2, p. 478.

175. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 263.

176. Ibid., p. 264.

177. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, pp. 250–7.

178. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 416–19; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 552; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 50–1.

179. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 41.

180. Ibid., p. 44. Jackson proposes, "There is...no doubt whatsoever that Theobald did reach an agreement with the prince of Kerak, who was simply engaged in a desperate attempt to survive since he had returned from Egypt diplomatically isolated. Once in power Ayyub had reneged on promises extracted from him under duress, and al-Nasir's hopes of recovering his Damascene patrimony were frustrated yet again." See also Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 265.

181. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 42, and n. 65 with a list of Muslim sources; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 266; Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne," p. 479; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 216.

182. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 266.

183. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 552–3; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the 13th Century*, p. 51.

184. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 553–4; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 51–2; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 419.

Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 43, doubts that al-Salih Ismail or al-Mansur joined forces with the Franks in the southern part of the Latin Kingdom at this time, proposing instead that the Paris Eracles was conflating these events with what happened a year later, in the summer of 1241. The account in the Paris Eracles is, however, the only one that plausibly explains the split in the Crusader army between the Hospitallers and the Templars vis-à-vis al-Salih Ismail of Damascus and al-Salih Ayyub of Cairo. Hence we are relying heavily on the Paris Eracles here.

185. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 553; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 51–2.

186. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 553; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 52.

187. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 419; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 216–17.

188. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 216, says that the Templars "were rewarded with the possession of Safed." However, the anonymous text of the "De Constructione Castri Saphet," written sometime between 1260 and 1266, presents a different story, namely that Benedict of Alignan, bishop of Marseilles, had to actively persuade the reluctant Templars to accept the responsibility and the expense of rebuilding Safed, which in the end they agreed to do. Seen in this light, the issue of Safed's castle seems to be less of a problem between the Hospitallers and the Templars than the role each order was able to play in the negotiations over the various treaties under discussion. See R. B. C. Huygens, "Un nouveau texte du traité 'De Constructione castri Saphet,'" *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 6 (1965), pp. 355–87, trans. in H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 190–8. We will discuss this text further and the issue of castle building and refortification in this period in Chapter 6.

189. Humphreys cites the Muslim historian, Ibn Shaddad, as the source of the Templar massacre of the Muslim slaves working at Safed: Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 267–8.

190. Jackson, "The Crusade of 1239–1241," p. 45.

191. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 555, mentions these men and describes the fate of Henry, count of Bar le Duc.

192. Balard, "La Croisade de Thibaud IV de Champagne," pp. 89–95.

193. Matthew Paris is reported to have suggested that Thibaut left partly because he could not face the disputes over the command of the Crusader army that were sure to arise when Richard of Cornwall arrived. See Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne," p. 481. This negative view of Thibaut is part of Richard of Cornwall's long letter giving his account of his activities in the Holy Land, 1240–1. See Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 57, part 4, pp. 138–44, trans. J. A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, vol. 1, London, 1852, pp. 362–8. In fact a good deal of the negative view about Thibaut's activity while on Crusade seems to derive from this source.

194. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 553–4; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 52.

195. Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne," *HC* 2, p. 481.

196. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, pp. 380–1.

197. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 46, and n. 104; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 218.

198. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 420, and 421–2; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 123; Rothelin

Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 555–6; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 52–3.

199. Ibid.

200. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 46.

201. Ibid., pp. 46–7.

202. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 421; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 556.

203. See Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 4, esp. pp. 141–3.

204. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 47.

205. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 421.

206. It is unfortunate that the text does not specify exactly where they went. "All the other places in the land of *Outremer* that they could go to" could include Tortosa, Saidnaya, St. Catherine's, Mount Sinai, but Richard clearly could not have done all that traveling between the time he went to Jerusalem and the time he boarded ship to go home.

In light of the accounts of these sources, it is odd that Mathew Paris's account of Richard's activities in the Holy Land does not include an explicit reference to his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

207. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 556; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 53–4. Steven Runciman is more positive by far, but even he inserts a negative note: "Richard himself stayed in Palestine till May 1241. He had behaved with great wisdom and tact and had made himself generally accepted as temporary viceroy of the kingdom.... He returned to Europe, to a career of high hopes and small fulfilment." Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 219.

208. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," pp. 35–48.

209. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, p. 102. Richard's letter on his activities in the Holy Land, cited by Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 4, pp. 138–44, is the best evidence.

210. A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Toronto, 1992, p. 120.

211. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 50. Among the others who sailed later, P. Jackson ("The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59 (1986), pp. 32–3) lists the following: William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, men in the contingents of William de Forz, titular count of Aumâle, Count Amaury of Montfort, Count Guigues IV of Forez and Nevers, and Hugh IV, duke of Burgundy.

212. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 67.

213. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 269–70.

214. R. Röhricht, "Acte de Soumission des Barons du Royaume de Jérusalem à Frédéric II," *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 1, Paris, 1881, pp. 402–3. The document currently survives in a copy found in the British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian F 1, fol. 114.

215. Ibid., p. 403.

216. On the erroneous date of 7 May 1241 often seen for this document, see Jackson, "The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria," p. 22, and n. 11.

217. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 68; Prawer, "Estates, Communities, and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," pp. 66–7. H. E. Mayer, "Ibelin versus Ibelin, The Struggle for the Regency of Jerusalem, 1253–1258," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 122 (1978), pp. 32–3, presents the alternative argument that the author may have been "John of Ibelin," count of Arsur.

218. Röhricht, "Acte de Soumission des Barons," p. 403. In response, these lords hoped to hear from the emperor about these peace proposals that he sealed with his golden seal, "qu'il les seele de son seele d'or."

219. Mayer, "Ibelin versus Ibelin," p. 33; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 219; Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 68.

220. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 556–62. The Rothelin Continuation also has political developments from Germany in the years 1246–8 inserted between the discussion of Frederick II and arrival of the Khwarismians in the Holy Land (pp. 560–1).

221. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 422–9.

222. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 69, places this coup attempt in October 1241. This corresponds to the date reported by Richard of San Germano that the city of Acre rebelled against the emperor in October 1241 (Jackson, "The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria," p. 34).

223. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, pp. 222–6; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 124–7; Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, pp. 89–93; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 170–4.

224. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 226; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 127; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 173–4.

225. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, pp. 176–83.

226. The documentation on Conrad's announcement and the regency is found in "Documents relatifs à la successibilité au trône et à la régence," *RHC: Lois, II*, pp. 399–400, and the relevant parts are translated by J. La Monte in Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 207–9.

227. See D. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," *DOP*, 40 (1986), pp. 83–4, 87, who argues that fourteen was the age of majority in the Sicilian kingdom where Conrad was born, and that he claimed his coming of age in a letter sent to the Latin Kingdom shortly after his fourteenth birthday on 26 April 1242. For other scholars who accept this position in regard to the date of Conrad's majority, see, ibid., p. 84, n. 3 (M. L. Bulst-Thiele and R. Hiestand); Jackson, "The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria," pp. 23–6; and Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 70–1.

228. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," pp. 85–7. Marsilio Zorzi's report is published in Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, vol. II, pp. 354–98. There is now a new edition, O. Berggötz (ed), *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1991.

229. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," p. 89.

230. Ibid., pp. 89–90. Jacoby discusses the complicated reasons for the successive elections of Odo of Montbéliard and Alice of Champagne as regent and the sophisticated legal arguments used to support the rights of the latter on pp. 94–7.

231. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 72–3, discusses these two accounts and the legal issues surrounding the election of the new regent.

232. See n. 217.

233. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, pp. 226–30; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 127–30; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 174–8.

234. La Monte points out that Alice had advanced her claim to be queen of Jerusalem on these grounds earlier, in 1229, but was refused because Conrad was the rightful heir. Here she is claiming her right to be recognized as regent under the laws and usages of the Latin Kingdom (La Monte, in Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 175, n. 3).

235. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," pp. 90–1, gives an intricate interpretation of the developments, both those reported by the four main sources and those behind the scenes. He notes that there is conflicting information on the nonnoble attendence at this meeting, but we can expect representatives from all important parties in the Latin Kingdom to have witnessed this important event.

236. Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 230; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 130; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 178. According to Jacoby ("The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," p. 84) and Jackson ("The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria," pp. 23–4), the dating of this event and the election of Alice as regent in the year 1242 by Philip de Novare constitutes major evidence to anchor these developments in this year.

237. The Paris Eracles (*RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 426–7) tells this story in detail, but the sequence of the events surrounding the Ibelin takeover of Tyre is quite confused.

238. Here again, Philip de Novare provides the date 1242 for these events: Filippo da Novara, *Guerra*, p. 238; Phelippe de Nevaire, *Estoire de la Guerre*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 135; Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II*, p. 184. His long account of the siege of Tyre covers pp. 130–6 of the Raynaud edition, and pp. 178–84 in La Monte's translation.

239. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," pp. 97–101, discusses the new order with reference to the commune of Acre and the high court, and the precedents that had been set during the dramatic events of 1242.

240. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 420, and p. 423, translation, Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 75.

241. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, p. 269; Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," pp. 51–2; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 271.

242. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 143 and n. 105, 206 and n. 91. Despite its bloodiness, or rather perhaps because of it, this was an exploit about which the Templars gave particular publicity in the West. As one example, the Church of San Bevignate in Perugia had frescoes painted *c.*1280 that include scenes of the Templars fighting Muslims that may represent the raid on Nablus in 1242.

On San Bevignate, see G. Curzi, *La pittura dei Templari*, Milan, 2002, pp. 39–51, Figs. 32, 33; A. Cadei, "Architettura sacra templare," *Monaci in Armi*, eds. A. Cadei et al., Certosa di Firenze, 1995, pp. 169–70, Figs. 107, 108; and P. Scarpellini, "La chiesa di San Bevignate, i Templari e la pittura perugina del Duecento," *Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia*, eds. P. Scarpellini et al., Quaderni storici del Comune di Perugia, 4, Milan, 1987, pp. 93–158.

243. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 223.

244. C. Cahen, "The Turks in Iran and Anatolia before the Mongol Invasion," and "The Mongols and the Near East," *HC* 2, pp. 691–2, and 725–32, respectively. See also H. A. R. Gibb, "The Aiyubids," *HC* 2, pp. 708–9.

245. Mayyafariqin, or Silvan in modern Turkey, is located about 75 miles west–southwest of Lake Van in eastern Turkey.

246. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 269–74; Cahen, "The Turks in Iran and Anatolia . . . , B. The Khorezmian Empire," *HC* 2, pp. 673–4; Gibb, "The Aiyubids," *HC* 2, pp. 708–9; and Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," pp. 55–6.

247. A ruler had the prerogative of inserting the name of his Muslim sovereign in the prayer of the Friday sermon, known as the *khutba*.

248. The clearest discussion of these tangled developments is found in Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," pp. 53–5, and Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 271–4.

249. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, p. 272. Some of the terms of this treaty are debated, but the complete return of Jerusalem with the Haram is not in doubt. See Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 55, n. 168.

The comment about the wine bottles and the bells appears in more than one Muslim source and is clearly an oblique reference to the celebration of Christian liturgical services at the Dome of the Rock, known to the Crusaders as the *Templum Domini*.

250. "A[nno] M et CC et XLIIII, fu afermée la triwe [sic] et le signour de Damas [al-Salih Ibrahim] e le Nasser [an-Nasir Daud], son nevout, et rendirent Jerusalem et Templum Domini et toute la terre du flum [Jordan] en cha fors Naples [Nablus] et Jerico." R. Röhricht (ed.), *Annales de Terre Sainte*, B, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II, p. 441. The *Annales de Terre Sainte* exists in two versions and is a compilation that covers the years 1095–1291.

251. Letter quoted by Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 4, pp. 288–91, partly translated by M. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 143–4, alternative trans. by Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, vol. 1, pp. 482–4.

It is also notable that in the passage following this letter, Matthew Paris echoes the same reservations and suspicions about the Templars, and the Hospitallers, that Philip de Nanteuil had voiced in the verses quoted earlier after the Crusader defeat at Gaza during the Crusade of Thibaut IV. He basically accuses them of treachery and fraud, without which the brave Crusader soldiers coming from the West would have been successful. This negative opinion continues to grow with regard to the Templars, leading ultimately to their suppression in the early fourteenth century. Significantly, the Hospitallers gradually manage to disassociate themselves from these charges after La Forbie.

252. When he heard what had happened, Frederick II wrote to the Templars and denounced what they had done, which contravened the treaty he had signed in 1229. He threatened that if the Templars did not reliquish their illegally gotten gains, he would confiscate their holdings in Sicily and Germany. See Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 144.

253. Runciman observes succinctly, "it was the last diplomatic triumph of Outremer." Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 223.

254. Hamilton, *The Crusader Church in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 263.

255. Jackson, "The Crusades of 1239–1241," p. 56; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 274–5.

256. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 563; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 63–4; al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Syria*, p. 273.

257. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 428.

258. Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk*, eds. and trans. U. and M. C. Lyons, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, vol. 2, with introduction and notes by J. Riley-Smith, Cambridge, 1971, p. 3.

259. Ibid.

260. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 563–4; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 60.

261. Despite the emergency recruiting, the size of the Crusader army was modest as compared to the Muslim forces. See, for estimates of the size of the armies, Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, p. 147–50.

262. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 428; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 564; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 225–6.

This Baibars should not be confused with the more famous and more formidable soldier of the same name, who entered the service of Sultan Ayyub in 1246 and later became sultan of Egypt in 1260.

263. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 429; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 129.

264. Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh*, ed. Lyons, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, p. 5.

265. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, p. 181, notes that although it was thought at first that he had died while a prisoner, William was held in Cairo until 1250 and when he was finally released he seemed to be a very sick man.

266. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 429–30; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 564–5.

267. Al-Dahabi, *Kitab Duwal al-Islam*, trans. A. Nègre, Damascus, 1979, p. 248.

268. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 227.

269. Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 431–2; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 566–7. News of the loss of Jerusalem and the defeat of the Crusaders at La Forbie was carried to Europe in November of 1244. Louis IX was responding to this information. The official proclamation of the Crusade took place at the Council of Lyon, convened in June of 1245, where Innocent IV issued his bull, "*Afflicti corde*." See Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 4, pp. 456–62; Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, vol. 2, pp. 86–8; and P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*, Cambridge, MA, 1991, pp. 164–5.

270. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, pp. 276–82; and Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 276–8, 283–8.

271. Ibid., pp. 283–4; Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 432–5.

272. Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, p. 283, only says that the sultan had the walls of the city measured, which is apparently the basis for interpreting that he intended to rebuild them. Wightman (*The Walls of Jerusalem*, p. 286) reports: "In April 1247, . . . Ayyub passed through Jerusalem and laid plans for its repair and refortification, . . . To what extent the project was carried through remains uncertain. It seems likely that the walls themselves were at least partially rebuilt, including Saladin's own wall around Mount Sion. . . . The Tower of David remained in ruins for the time being, though some attempt may have been made to restore the adjoining citadel."

273. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 229–30.

274. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, pp. 565–6; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 61.

275. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 264.

276. J. Riley-Smith, "Latin Titular Bishops in Palestine and Syria, 1137–1291," *Catholic Historical Review*, 64 (1978), pp. 1–15, discusses the issue of bishops with holdings *in partibus infidelium*. This had been a major problem since 1187, and was again an issue because of the recent territorial losses to the Muslims.

Hamilton (*The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 289) points out that the papacy did not move to deal with problems of the patriarchal see of Jerusalem until the reign of Urban IV (1261–4), when the sees of Jerusalem and Acre were combined administratively and gave the patriarch a territorial base of support in the Latin Kingdom once again.

277. Ibid., pp. 264–5. P. Riant published the most detailed discussion of this whole sequence; see *Études sur l'histoire de l'Eglise de Bethléem*, vol. 1, Genoa, 1889, pp. 33–7, and his earlier discussion, idem, "Une dependence italienne de l'église de Bethléem. Varazze en Ligurie (1139–1424)," *Atti della società ligure di storia patria*, 17 (1885), pp. 573–9.

278. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 4, pp. 640–2, and P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400*, New Haven and London, 1995, pp. 142–3. See now N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 1–30.

On Henry III's vascillating policy with regard to the Crusade, see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, pp. 94, 111–123.

279. The Franciscans began to exist as an order with a rule established by Francis in 1209 that was eventually confirmed by Honorius III in 1223. The Dominican order took shape at the time of their general chapter of Bologna in 1220.

280. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 322.

281. Hamilton notes that there is no evidence that the legate had any dealings with the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem (ibid., p. 323).

282. Hamilton explains the conditions this way: Orthodox clergy previously subject to Latin bishops would remain subject to them, but Orthodox clergy who had never been subject to a member of the Latin hierarchy would be directly subject to the pope himself (ibid., p. 323).

283. Ibid., pp. 322–3.

284. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 230–3.

285. Here we should distinguish between local Christian troops who served in the Crusader armies as mercenaries, especially for the military orders, specifically the light cavalry known as Turcopoles, and the Arab Muslim troops under Muslim commanders who fought with the Frankish troops at La Forbie. We are referring to the latter in this case.

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286. See Chapter 2, nn. 208–23.

287. This terminology is drawn from R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 183–4.

288. R. Morgan, "The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre," *Outremer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar et al., Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 244, 249, 251.

289. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 490; translation, Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 9; alternative translation, C. R. Conder, "The City of Jerusalem," *PPTS*, vol. 6, London, 1896, p. 1.

290. The text of the "Estat de la Cité" or "La Citez de Iherusalem" appears in a number of editions: ed. Comte Beugnot, *RHC: Lois*, II, pp. 531–4; ed. T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 197–224; Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 490–504; M. de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, rpt. with introduction by J. Prawer, Toronto, 1973, pp. 436–44. An abbreviated version of these texts is found in H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem rédigés en français aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1882, pp. 21–8, and S. de Sandoli (ed.), *Itineraria Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vol. II, Jerusalem, 1980, pp. 415–21.

291. L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 189–210, and Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, pp. 22–52.

292. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 490–507.

293. The author of the Rothelin Continuation is referring to the fact that the Paris Eracles text mentions this destruction. See Paris Eracles, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 339.

294. This was the first Muslim raid on the unfortified Holy City in 1229, but there would be others.

295. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 489; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 9.

296. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 504–9; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth-Century*, pp. 19–20.

297. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 510–15; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth-Century*, pp. 21–2.

298. The three Bern MSS are abbreviated chronicles to 1228 or 1232; the Paris MS is a *History of Outremer* continued to 1261. See J. Folda, "Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist," *Scriptorium*, 27 (1973), pp. 93, 95.

299. For the text of these two chapters, see "La Citez de Jerusalem," in de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 444–51: Chapter 10 appears there as "Des Pelerinages de la Sainte Terre, I," and Chapter 11 as "II" and "III." These texts are largely comparable to the translation by Conder of the second part of "The City of Jerusalem," *PPTS*, vol. 6, pp. 29–49, drawn mostly from MSS of the "Chronique d'Ernoul," including the MSS referred to above in n. 298.

300. The Crusader castle of Safed was rebuilt by the Templars as the result of the exhortations of Bishop Benedict of Marseille, who visited the Holy Land in 1239–40. It would be surprising if this castle were under construction when this text was being written, and the author failed to mention such a new and important Crusader fortification. Therefore, it is likely that this addition to the "Estat" text would have been written before *c.*1240.

301. These additional chapters have also been published as separate texts, by Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, pp. 87–103, and 178–99, as "les Pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem," and "les Chemins et les Pelerinages de la Terre Sainte," respectively.

302. See Chapter 4, nn. 304–7.

303. In a select group of manuscripts, there is yet another section introduced in the codices of the "Chronique d'Ernoul," which is called "Fragments relatifs à la Galilée," or "Ernoul's account of Palestine": Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, pp. 54–76, and Conder, pp. 50–64. This material is, however, tied consistently to the period of Saladin's invasion in 1187, and dates earlier with no references to later developments.

304. His name appears as Mousket, Mouskes, or Mouskées. He died in 1283. I do not know for certain whether he visited the Holy Land in person.

305. Philippe Mousket, "Description Rimée des Saintes-Lieux," in Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, pp. 105–22.

306. Ibid., pp. 108–9.

307. See Chapter 4, nn. 172–238.

308. Ibn Wasil and Sibt ibn al-Jauzi, in Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 271–2, 274–5. See also Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, p. 225.

309. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, pp. 99–100; K. R. Giles, "Two English Bishops in the Holy Land," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 31 (1987), pp. 52–3.

310. N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205–1238*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 229–58, and Giles, "Two English Bishops in the Holy Land," pp. 46–7, 52–5.

311. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, p. 101.

312. Giles, "Two English Bishops in the Holy Land," p. 52, and K. M. Clarke, "Te Misereres of Exeter Cathedral," *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 39 (1907), p. 232.

313. Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 256 and n. 137; R. H. C. Davis, "William of Tyre," in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker, Edinburgh, 1973, p. 71. Modern Crusader historians, including R. B. C. Huygens in particular, have searched in libraries both east and west for manuscripts of this text for years, but so far to no avail.

314. Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 256 and nn. 137, 138.

315. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 554; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 52.

316. R. B. C. Huygens, "Un nouveau texte du traité *De constructione castri Saphet*," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 6 (1965), p. 379, translation, Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Appendix, p. 191.

317. Huygens, "Un nouveau texte du traité *De constructione castri Saphet*," p. 379, Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Appendix, p. 191.

318. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, p. 104.

319. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 556; Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 54.

320. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, p. 94.

321. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 4, p. 308; Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, vol. 1, p. 498.

322. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 264.

On the relic of the Holy Blood, which Henry III carried in procession to Westminster on October 13, 1247, see N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 7–19. See also Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 142.

323. See Chapter 3, nn. 294–300, for a discussion of the work on this church following the

earthquake of 1202. See also Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 302–5.

324. "Enlart a pensé qu'on fit quelques travaux vers l'an 1200. Mais c'est à partir du milieu du XIIIe siècle qu'on acheva l'édifice ver l'Ouest." P. Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, Abbaye de Ste. Marie de la Pierre qui vire, 1964, p. 234; C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, vol. 2, Paris, 1928, pp. 395–426; see also P. Deschamps, *La Défense du Comté de Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche*, Paris, 1973, pp. 287–92, and R. Dussaud, P. Deschamps, H. Seyrig, *La Syria Antique et Médiévale Illustrée*, Paris, 1931, Pls. 117, 118.

325. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, p. 126, clearly makes this association.

326. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 285–6.

327. See Chapter 4, nn. 172 ff.

328. Chapter 4, nn. 172–238.

329. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, p. 410.

330. Ibid., pp. 411–24.

331. "La sculpture seule suit dans la cathédrale de Tortose une évolution bien marquée: elle est le seul indice qui permette de préciser les dates des diverses parties de l'édifice." Ibid., p. 424.

332. See, for example, our discussion of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, in volume 1 of this study, Chapter 7.

333. R. Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*, London, 1965, pp. 56–84.

334. T. S. R. Boase, "The Arts in Cyprus: A. Ecclesiastical Art," *HC* 4, pp. 168–9, 172.

335. Ibid., p. 168, and J. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, *c.*1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Question," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 211–12.

336. See vol. 1, pp. 309–13, and N. Kenaan-Kedar, "The Cathedral of Sebaste: Its Western Donors and Models," *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, Jerusalem, 1992, pp. 99–120. We shall not entertain here the question of the Gothic features found in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which date from the 1140s and later, that is, parallel in date with the abbey church of St. Denis or the Cathedral of Sens.

337. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 190, Pl. 7.3f, 191, Pls. 7.3g–h, 200, Pl. 7.3y.

338. Ibid., pp. 469–71, Pl. 10.22, and H. Plommer, "The Cenacle on Mount Sion," *Crusader Art in the 12th Century*, ed. J. Folda, Oxford, 1982, pp. 139–66. See also the recent article by J. Krüger, "Der Abendmahlssaal in Jerusalem zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 92 (1997), pp. 229–47.

339. Besides the works already cited on Tortosa, see also Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 132–8; P. Deschamps, *La Défense du Comité de Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche*, vol. III, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1973, pp. 287–92.

340. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, pp. 408–26.

341. For the comments of R. D. Pringle, see idem, "Architecture in the Latin East, 1098–1571," *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith, pp. 166–7.

342. Ibid., p. 409.

343. Folda, *ACHL*1, pp. 70–3.

344. Ibid., p. 247–8. Enlart calls this the Church of St. James the Less, but he means the Armenian church, dedicated to St. James the Greater. See H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem: Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, vol. 2, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, fasc. III, Paris, 1922, pp. 518–61.

345. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, p. 410.

346. It is problematic how relevant St. Victor may be. The abbey church on the site today is built on the foundations of an early Christian and eleventh-century structure. It was built in the first half of the thirteenth century, but the east end, including transept and choir, was reconstructed in the mid-fourteenth century. "It was also at this time that the abbey received its fortified character with crenellated outer walls." See A. Kennedy, "St. Victor," *Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Shoaf Turner, vol. 20, New York, 1996, p. 475.

347. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, p. 411.

348. Ibid.

349. Ibid., p. 412.

350. Ibid., pp. 412–13.

351. We are using 1202 as the date of the most consequential earthquake for the thirteenth century, based on the work of D. H. Kallner-Amiran ("A Revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 1 (1951), p. 228). The date of an earthquake in 1212, which sometimes also appears in discussions of Crusader history, does not appear in this catalogue.

352. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, pl. 171, Fig. 541.

353. Ibid., p. 421.

354. On Noyon, see J. Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1983, p. 152, Pl. 146, and also C. Seymour, Jr., *Notre-Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century*, New Haven, 1939, rpt. New York, 1968, pp. 134–9, 166–74.

355. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, Pl. 160, Figs. 507–9.

356. Ibid., Pl. 191, Fig. 576, and see Bony, *French Gothic Architecture*, p. 70, Pl. 65.

357. "Ceux du pilier à chevalement,…, représentent seul le début du XIIIe siècle; tous les autres sont du milieu ou de la seconde moitié du même siècle." Ibid., p. 423.

358. Enlart, Pl. 158, Fig. 502, Pl. 159, Fig. 506; Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, Pls. 88, 92, 93.

359. See n. 354, and for Soisson, see Bony, *French Gothic Architecture*, p. 164, Fig. 155.

360. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, Pl. 171, Fig. 542, Pl. 161, Figs. 514, 516.

361. Bony, *French Gothic Architecture*, p. 219, Pl. 204, or P. 225, Pl. 210.

362. Plommer, "The Cenacle on Mount Sion," pp. 154, Pl. 6.4a, 160, Pl. 6.10a, 161, Pls. 6.11a and b.

363. He finds "la même variété de motifs et la même souplesse d'exécution qu'a la cathédrale de Reims." Ibid., p. 423.

364. For some good photos of a selection of capitals in the Sainte-Chapelle, see, e.g., the guidebook by L. Grodecki, *Sainte-Chapelle*, Paris, 1975, pp. 58, 59, 61, 63.

365. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 129–31, and B. Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine: A Report of Explorations Made by the Museum," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, part II, New York, 1927, p. 29, Figs. 33–7.

366. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, Pl. 173, Fig. 546. This capital and the jackal appear on the left side of the right window on the west façade, as indicated on the line drawing by Enlart, Pl. 190, Fig. 492.

367. T. S. R. Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom*, Oxford, 1967, p. 96.

368. Compare the photos in Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, Pl. 153, Fig. 490, with the plain rebuilt portal, with that in Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, Pl. 79, with the restored portal, imitating that of the castle chapel at Margat/Marqab (Pl. 43). See also Enlart's comments on this portal, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, p. 414.

369. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, p. 413.

370. Ibid., p. 414, and Pl. 53, Fig. 165. See also Folda, *ACHL*1, pp. 306–9.

371. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, Atlas, 2e album, Paris 1926, Pl. 169.

372. Ibid., Pl. 171, Fig. 542.

373. Ibid., Pl. 173, Fig. 546.

374. M. Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 139, 142.

375. R. Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, pp. 94–5, dates the loggia and the refined sculpture of the great hall to the 1250s, during the time of the residency of Louis IX in the Holy Land. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 161–2, dates the loggia to the 1230s, indicating his source as Deschamps's earlier publication of Crac. Deschamps in 1934, however, clearly dates the great hall and the loggia to the years after the decoration of the "logis du maitre," in 1230–40, and links this work to the period of St. Louis in the Holy Land. See P. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, vol. I, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1934, pp. 289–90. We will address this problem of interpretation later.

376. R. D. Pringle, "Architecture of the Latin East, 1098–1571," *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1997, pp. 166–7.

377. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, pp. 12–35; D. Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 20 (1979), pp. 1–45 (with a map indicating his interpretation of many church locations before 1268, as Fig. 4); B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre: An Historical Cartography*, Acre, 1973, pp. 7–30, and idem, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre, 1979, pp. 9–124; Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 78–113, with comments on various churches on pp. 100, 104, 107, 109, 112–13; J. Prawer, "Historical Maps of Acre," *Eretz Israel*, 2, Jerusalem, 1953, pp. 175–84, Pls. XX–XXIII (in Hebrew); and E. G. Rey, "Etude sur la Topographie de la Ville d'Acre au XIIIe Siècle," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 39 (1878), pp. 115–43, and idem, "Supplément a l'Etude sur la Topographie de la Ville d'Acre au XIIIe Siècle," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 49 1898), pp. 1–18.

378. The most important recent archaeological reports on Acre have appeared in *'Atiqot*, vol. XXXI, a special volume entitled, "'Akko (Acre): Excavation Reports and Historical Studies," ed. A. Roshwalb-Hurowitz, Jerusalem, 1997. Following the first two volumes, R. D. Pringle will publish *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, Cambridge; volume 3. This volume will deal with Acre and Jerusalem, and is scheduled for publication in 2005.

379. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, pp. 13–14.

380. Ibid., p. 13.

381. Ibid., pp. 15–23.

382. Ibid., pp. 13–14.

383. Ibid., p. 23.

384. Ibid., pp. 24–8, and B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre: An Historical Cartography*, Acre, 1973, pp. 17–30.

385. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, pp. 23–4.

386. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, p. 28.

387. Ibid.

388. Ibid.

389. Ibid., pp. 28–9.

390. Ibid., pp. 29–30.

391. Ibid., p. 30.

392. Ibid.

393. Ibid.

394. Ibid., p. 29.

395. M. Struckmeyer is publishing an article on "The Sisters of the Order of St. John at Mynchin Buckland," in *The Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, eds. H. Nicholson and A. Wittsell, Ashgate, forthcoming in 2005. She is arguing that despite the fact that the Order was known to have had convents of nuns, historians of the Order of the Knights of St. John have not taken women into account. This article is a first step toward this type of serious assessment.

In the meantime, the only study known to me otherwise that addresses this issue is by A. J. Forey, "Women and the Military Orders of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Studia Monastica*, XXIX (1987), pp. 91–2. Here he concludes that the women basically lived a contemplative lifestyle, and participated very little in the public mission of the order in the Near East. Struckmeyer contends, however, that there is more to learn about the role of women in this Order, since they always incorporated women and their history has not been investigated. I express my gratitude to Ms. Struckmeyer for permitting me to read a typescript of her work (May 2000).

In spring 2002, M. Struckmeyer announced her Ph.D. dissertation at the University of North Carolina on this topic, which will cover the role of women in the Hospitaller Order in a much more comprehensive manner during the first two-hundred years.

396. Enlart, *Les Monuments*, p. 28.

397. Ibid., p. 24.

398. Ibid.

399. Ibid.

400. Ibid.

401. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 300 and n. 13.

402. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, p. 34.

403. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 301, bases his estimate on the useful compendium published by Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, pp. 9–124.

404. R. D. Pringle, "The Churches of Crusader Acre," *Historic Acre as a Living City*, Program of a Conference organized by the Old Acre Development Company and the Ministry of Tourism, Acre, 13–16 July 2003, p. X.

405. Montfort is one of the few Crusader castles to receive serious study in the twentieth century. Following the establishment of the British Mandate in Palestine, there was a new opportunity for archaeological work. Bashford Dean sought to advance what he calls "our special problem, the study and exhibition of armor and arms, though we should naturally endeavor at the same time to trace other lines of culture" (Dean, p. 6). Together with P.L.O. Guy, acting director of the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine, he selected Montfort for investigation. Accordingly, in 1926, Dean conducted a campaign in which he cleared 4.5 tons of fill from the site in a month, work apparently sponsored by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Many of the artifacts found were taken to New York, but most of the finds are in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem.

See Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 129–32; R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 40–3, with extensive bibliography; idem, "A Thirteenth-Century Hall at Montfort Castle in Western Palestine," *Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), pp. 52–81, with full bibliography to date, on pp. 76–7, esp. n. 19; Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, pp. 108–11; Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 331–7; W. Hubatsch, "Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande," *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Nachrichten*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, no. 5 (1966), pp. 161–99, 27 pls.; and B. Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, part II (1927), pp. 5–46, reprinted as *The Crusader's Fortress of Montfort*, intro., M. Benveniste, Jerusalem, 1982. P. Deschamps, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1939, pp. 139–40, only seems to know the older work of Rey, Guérin, and the Survey of Western Palestine on Montfort, and he republishes the inaccurate plan of Rey.

406. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 30–2.

407. Pringle, "A Thirteenth-Century Hall at Montfort Castle," p. 53, has a useful map with the locations of these and other relevant sites east and north of Acre.

408. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 129.

409. The castle was occupied by the Teutonic Knights between the time building began in 1227/8 and 1271, when it was captured by Baibars. Already by 1266 the Mamluks had destroyed its lands to the extent that the knights were forced to use land borrowed from the Hospitallers on which to grow their grain. Sultan Baibars then had the castle destroyed in July 1271. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 41, and Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 129.

410. See the plan published by Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 41, and Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine," pp. 8–9.

411. Pringle, "A Thirteenth-Century Hall at Montfort Castle," pp. 57–75, with 13 pls., and idem, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 73–5, no. 156.

412. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 42.

413. E. G. Rey, *Etude sur les Monuments de l'Architecture Militaire des Croisés en Syrie*, Paris, 1871, pp. 143–51, especially pp. 147–50.

414. On the German characteristics, see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 131–2, and R. D. Pringle et al., "Qa'lat Jiddin: A Castle of the Crusader and Ottoman Periods in Galilee," *Levant*, 26 (1994), pp. 159–62, and see also T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, ed. R. D. Pringle, Oxford, 1988, p. 130, n. 14; R. Fedden and J. Thomson, *Crusader Castles*, 2nd edn., London, 1957, p. 29; and Hubatsch, "Montfort and die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates," pp. 187–99.

415. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 42; Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine," pp. 14, 40, 42, 44–6, Figs. 55, 57–8; and Z. Jacoby, T. Ornan, et al., *A Display of Crusader Sculpture at the Archaeological Museum (Rockefeller)*, Jerusalem, 1987, 24, no. 33.

416. Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine," p. 28, Fig. 30; Jacoby, Ornan, et al., *A Display of Crusader Sculpture*, p. 15, no. 9.

417. Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine," pp. 26, 28 and Figs. 27, 31.

418. Ibid., pp. 26, 27, 42; Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 42–3.

419. Ibid., pp. 24, 26, 30, 31.

420. Ibid., pp. 26, 39, 40. I will discuss this important icon fragment later.

421. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 40; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 129; Hubatsch, "Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates," pp. 186, 187, 196.

422. Compare Jacoby, Ornan, et al., *A Display of Crusader Sculpture*, p. 15, no. 9 (Reims sculpture, 1225–41, etc.), with the character of the sculpture at Chartres in the years from 1204 to *c.*1220, for example, between the time of the head of St. Anne, Chartres north transept trumeau, and that of the north transept Magi portal tympanum, *c.*1220. See W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140–1270*, New York, 1970, Figs. 87, 94. I am comparing the level of naturalism at a very beginning phase, and the proportions and composition of the face and the facial features with its tiny eyes, large nose, pinched mouth.

423. R. D. Pringle, A. Petersen, M. Dow, and C. Singer, "Qa'lat Jiddin: A Castle of the Crusader and Ottoman Periods in Galilee," *Levant*, 26 (1994), pp. 135–66; Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 80–2.

424. Pringle et al., "Qa'lat Jiddin: A Castle of the Crusader and Ottoman Periods in Galilee," p. 161.

425. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 206–9; idem, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*,

pp. 91–2, no. 191, with full bibliography; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 128–9; Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 199–204; and Conder and Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, 1, pp. 248–50 (El Kulah, or Kulat Safed). Deschamps, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, pp. 140–2, visited Safed in 1936, and discusses it only briefly.

426. Modern edition, R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), with an introduction, *De constructione castri Saphet, Construction et fonctions d'un château fort franc en Terre Sainte*, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York, 1981, with the text on pp. 33–44, and his earlier publication, idem, "Un Nouveau Texte du Traité 'De constructione castri Saphet,'" *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 6 (1965), pp. 378–87, trans. H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 190–8, and a review article of Huygen's book by R. D. Pringle, "Reconstructing the Castle of Safad," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 117 (1985), pp. 139–49. On the question of the authorship of this account, see Huygens, *De constructione*, 1981, pp. 10–11, and idem, 1965, pp. 357–8.

The "De constructione castri Saphet" text is the most detailed, but by no means the only contemporary text to mention Saphet. Huygens, 1981, has assembled other useful passages by Burchard of Mount Sion (1280s), Jacques de Verona (1330s), and Guillaume de Boldensele (also 1330s), see pp. 15–16. Huygens also cites a valuable set of later travelers' accounts that provide valuable information on the Safed site before the twentieth century, see pp. 17–24.

427. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 206; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 128–9.

428. See Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, 115–16, 214–21.

429. Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 303–5.

430. Huygens, *De constructione castri Saphet*, 1981, pp. 35–6; idem, 1965, pp. 379–80; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 191–2.

431. Smail's argument is reported by Pringle, "Reconstructing the Castle of Safad," p. 140.

432. Huygens, *De constructione castri Saphet*, 1981, pp. 38–9; idem, 1965, p. 382; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 194.

433. Huygens, *De constructione castri Saphet*, 1981, pp. 39–40; idem, 1965, pp. 383–4; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 195–6.

These impressive specifications for the castle of Safed should be compared with the much smaller fortification at Montfort, discussed earlier, or the equally impressive castles of Crac des Chevaliers and Chastel Pelerin.

434. Huygens, *De constructione castri Saphet*, 1981, p. 41; idem, 1965, p. 384; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 196.

For comparative figures on the size of the garrisons at various thirteenth-century Crusader castles, see Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, pp. 115–21, 214–23.

435. Huygens, *De constructione castri Saphet*, 1981, pp. 42–4; idem, 1965, pp. 385–7; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 197–8.

436. Pringle, "Reconstructing the Castle of Safed," p. 143; idem, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 92. It is also available with the *Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. 1, but the plan is sometimes lost and not located opposite p. 249 where it should be.

437. Huygens, *De constructione castri Saphet*, 1981, pp. 21, 26, 29, and Pringle, "Reconstructing the Castle of Safed," p. 142.

438. See the discussions about this by T. S. R. Boase, "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," *HC* 4, pp. 140–64; R. C. Smail, *The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land*, London, 1973, pp. 114–15; and Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 9, 15, 123, 302, 393–404, along with Pringle's comments, "Reconstructing the Castle of Safed," p. 142.

439. Pringle, "Reconstructing the Castle of Safed," pp. 145–8; idem, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 206–9; and idem, *Secular Buildings in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 91–2.

440. Pringle ("Reconstructing the Castle of Safed," p. 145) makes the argument that the medieval *donjon* was round.

441. O. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijving van gantsch Syrie, en Palestijn, of Heilige Lant*, Amsterdam, 1677, pp. 131–2, cited originally by Huygens, *De constructione castri Saphet*, 1981, pp. 18–19 (in French translation), and by Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 207 (in English).

442. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 208, Fig. 57.

443. J. Mesqui, *Ile-de-France Gothique*, vol. 2, Paris, 1988, pp. 327–31, 180–6, respectively.

444. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 367–8, with full bibliographical citations, and C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchner, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. 1, *Galilee*, London, 1881, pp. 133–5. Pringle points out that in recent years this castle has been the headquarters of the United Nations peacekeeping forces (UNIFIL) in southern Lebanon. Therefore it has been off limits for scholarly work or any archaeological investigation. Paul Deschamps has a long section on Toron: idem, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, pp. 117–43; pls. XXXII–XXXIII.

445. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 317–29; idem, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 94–5; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 121–4; H. Kalayan, "The Sea Castle of Sidon," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 26 (1973), pp. 81–9, and the older study of Deschamps, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, pp. 224–33, esp. 229–34.

446. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," p. 91; C. N. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit: The Crusader Castle, Town and Surroundings," in *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*," ed. R. D. Pringle, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997, pp. 14–26, 67–81; and Deschamps, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, pp. 24–34.

447. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, pp. 69–80, with full bibliographical citations.

448. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," p. 92.

449. C. N. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit," in *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, ed. R. D. Pringle, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997, I, p. 77.

450. Johns, "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Athlit (1931–2), an Unfinished Church in the Suburb," in *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, V, pp. 122–5, 133.

451. C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. D. Hunt, London, 1987, p. 89.

452. Ibid., pp. 94, Fig. 36, 95, Fig. 38, and 97, Fig. 40.

453. Ibid., p. 96, Fig. 39.

454. Johns, "Excavations...an Unfinished Church," pp. 135–6.

455. E. Roberts, "Moulding Analysis and Architectural Research: The Late Middle Ages," *Architectural History*, 20 (1977), p. 5.

456. Plommer, "The Cenacle on Mount Sion," p. 154, Pl. 6.4b, and Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, p. 77, Fig. 26, after Johns.

457. Plommer, "The Cenacle on Mount Sion," p. 159, Pl. 6.9a, and Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, pp. 77, Fig. 26, and 7, Pls. XXXIX and XL.

458. C. Seymour, Jr., *Notre-Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century*, 1939, rpt. New York, 1968, p. 168.

459. R. Branner, *The Cathedral of Bourges and Its Place in Gothic Architecture*, Cambridge, MA, and London, 1989, pp. 26–9.

460. S. Murray, *Notre-Dame Cathedral of Amiens*, Cambridge, 1996, p. 53.

461. C. Bruzelius, *The 13th-Century Church at St. Denis*, New Haven and London, 1985, pp. 75–8.

462. R. Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, London, 1960, pp. 17, 27, 104, 119, 121, 128, 140, 148, 149, 155, 174, 179, 181.

463. For Villard's drawings I am using the annotated publication of F. Bucher, *Architector: The Lodge Books and Sketchbooks of Medieval Architects*, vol. 1, New York, 1979, pp. 15–27, 97, 99, 126–7, 170–1. For references to the full scholarship, see the edition by H. R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt, Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches ms. fr. 19093 der Pariser National Bibliothek*, 2nd edn., Graz, 1972, and the bibliographical update in R. Scheller, *Exemplum*, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 176–87.

464. Johns, "Excavations...an Unfinished Church," Pls. LXXIII 1 and 2, LXXIV 5 and 6. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 1, pp. 96–7, of course, wrote before Johns conducted his archaeological work at 'Atlit, and what he has to say about column bases is therefore rather general. However, even though he did not know the 'Atlit examples, he notices the flattened torus at Tortosa, and he notes that the use of *griffes* or talons is somewhat rare, but both are found here in the 'Atlit parish church.

465. Contrast the early Burgundian diagonal rib profiles in Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, p. 17, with more developed ones, pp. 104, 137, 147–9.

466. Johns, "Excavations...an Unfinished Church," Pls. LXXIII and LXXIV, and Figs. 2 and 5.

467. L. Behling, *Die Pflanzenwelt der mittelalterlichen Kathedralen*, Cologne and Graz, 1964, Pls. XLIV–L.

468. Ibid., Pls. LI–LXV.

469. Johns, "Excavations...an Unfinished Church," p. 131.

470. Bucher, *Architector*, p. 99.

471. Ibid., p. 97.

472. Ibid., pp. 127, 171.

473. We might speculate that the 'Atlit parish church was discontinued in the wake of the great disaster at La Forbie and in the face of Muslim raids in the Latin Kingdom during the following years. However, we have no clear evidence to make this link.

474. On the early history of the Carmelites, see A. Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States*, University Park, 1995.

475. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 252; Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, p. 249.

476. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 244–8. St. Margaret's, or St. Marina's, was the Greek Orthodox monastery on Mount Carmel.

477. "Les Pelerinaiges," in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, eds. Michelant and Raynaud, p. 90, trans. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 249.

478. J. Folda, "Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291," *HC* 4, p. 278; Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 355.

479. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 250–1.

480. Ibid., pp. 251–4.

481. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, pp. 190–1, 279–80, plan 6, and Pls. XLI, XLII, XLIV, LXII a, XCVI; idem, *Terre Sainte Romane*, pp. 89 and Pls. 18, 31, 33; Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, Pls. 70, 78, 79; and Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 163.

482. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, p. 279.

483. "Une belle salle ronde voûtée d'ogives qu'on appelle le 'Logis du Maître'. On a supposé avec beaucoup de vraisemblance que là se trouvait l'appartement du châtelain, c'est-à-dire du gouverneur du Crac, et qu'il pouvait servir aussi de résidence au grand'-maître de l'Hôpital quand il venait séjourner au Crac." Ibid., p. 190.

484. Ibid, and Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 163.

485. No drawn profile of the ribs in the Logis du Maitre was published, but from the photos and from personal inspection, they seem to be similar, although the central roll is more rounded, less pointed, than what we see at 'Atlit.

486. Müller-Wiener, *The Castles of the Crusaders*, Pl. 79, and Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, Pl. XXXVIII.

487. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, p. 191; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 167.

488. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, pp. 61–9; idem, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 21.

489. Remember that Tyre is very relevant to this period, even though much work had been done no doubt before 1225, because of the damage done to the walls and gates of the city by the earthquake of 1202. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 85–7, and see our discussion in Chapter 4.

490. G. J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem*, Sydney, 1993, pp. 283–6. There is no evidence that, in fact, Frederick did any work in Jerusalem to plan or actually rebuild any fortifications of Jerusalem.

491. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, pp. 249–62, attempted to argue the *Coenaculum* was built at the time of Frederick II, but Plommer, "The Cenacle on Mount Sion," pp. 139–66, has demonstrated persuasively that the Cenacle must date to the years just pre-1187. As a possible textual corroboration to this interpretation, we might observe that the text of the "Estat de la Cité de Jérusalem," refers to the Cenacle in exactly the same way in the early section written about Jerusalem just before October 1187, as in the later emendation that appears in the Rothelin Continuation. See, for example, Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 190, and the Rothelin Contination, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, 2, p. 510. The fact that there was no change in referring to this holy site by these texts at worst does nothing to undermine Plommer's argument, and at best lends support to the idea that the project to rebuild and decorate the Cenacle was completed by 1187, because in both cases the author merely refers to key events that occurred there and says nothing about any changes in the configuration or decoration of the holy site.

492. H. Buschhausen (*Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1978, pp. 59–141) attempted to relate certain Crusader sculpture in Latrun and Jerusalem to the patronage of Frederick II. Reviews of this work by Z. Jacoby (review for the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 47 (1984), pp. 400–3) and M. Burgoyne and J. Folda (review for the *Art Bulletin*, 63 (1981), pp. 321–4) have argued against this interpretation and proposed other hypotheses, which have also appeared in fuller separate studies. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 441–56, 467–71; Z. Jacoby, "The Workshop of the Temple Area in Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century: Its Origin, Evolution and Impact," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 45 (1982), pp. 325–94; and idem, "The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185–1186) and the Workshop of the Temple Area," *Gesta*, 18 (1979), pp. 3–14.

493. For the Crusader coinage in this period, see D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd edn., London, 1995, pp. 48–50, 66–74, 86–96, 98–103, 135–8, 150–2, 162–7, 169–76, and 318–22; A. G. Malloy, I. R. Preston, A. J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States, 1098–1291*, ed. A. G. Berman, New York, 1994, 61–9, 127–67, 227–31; J. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 381–7; P. Edbury, "The Baronial Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Coinage in the Latin East*, eds. P. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf, Oxford, 1980, pp. 59–72; and R. Irwin, "The Supply of Money and the Direction of Trade in Thirteenth-Century Syria," *Coinage in the Latin East*, pp. 73–104, and see also the catalogue of the most important collection to be sold in recent years: J. Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection of Coins of the Crusaders*, Sotheby's London, 1997, pp. 28–9, 39–45, 47, 49.

494. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, Pl. 12, nos. 208, 209, and Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 419, Pl. X, nos. 84, 85.

495. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, Pl. 12, Nos. 213, 214.

496. Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection*, nos. 330–6.

497. C. J. Sabine, "The Billon and Copper Coinage of the County of Tripoli to *c.*1268," *Coinage in the Latin East*, pp. 47–57.

498. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 95–6, and Figs. 11–13.

499. F. Mütherich, "Katalog," in *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, eds. P. E. Schramm and F. Mütherich, vol. 1, Munich, 1962, p. 194, no. 208.

500. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 318–22. D. H. Cox (*The Tripolis Hoard of French Seignorial and Crusader's Coins*, New York, 1933, p. 27), for example, reports one denier of Frederick II as king of Sicily only.

501. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," p. 385, and G. Sambon, *Repertorio generale delle monete coniate in Italia*, vol. V, Paris, 1912, nos. IIB, IIC.

502. C. Castellani and G. Raimondi, "La Cancellerie," in *Federico II e l'Italia*, Rome, 1995, pp. 301–2, 304–5, Figs. VIII.12 and VIII.13, and Fig. VIII.20. Other examples are cited but not illustrated in G. Schlumberger and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1943, pp. 18–22.

The central building with towers and a city wall on the reverses of these seals is something of a mystery. Although the image is based on the image of "golden Rome" as found on the reverse of seals of Henry VI, the specifics of Frederick's image have changed and the inscription, "aurea Roma," on the central building on Henry's seal is gone. In the latter, the central building appears as a separate, three-tiered tower with a large scalloped portal and a cross on top. There are two towers on each side, which appear to be standing independently, both of which have crescents on top. Finally, the two smaller flanking towers – also with crescents – at each side are joined by what appears to be a low wall in front of the other elements. Is this Rome, or could it be Jerusalem at the time of the Treaty of Jaffa?

For an example of the bull of Henry VI, see M. S. C. Mariani and R. Cassano (eds.), *Federico II: Immagine e Potere*, Venice, 1995, p. 460, no. I.6. For a comparable image of Jerusalem in the form of the Holy Sepulcher, see the thirteenth-century map of Jerusalem, Uppsala, Universiteitsbibliotek, MS C.691, illustrated in *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, p. 235.

503. S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1987, pp. 76–81, and Fig. 40.

504. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 92–7, and Edbury, "The Baronial Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 63–5.

505. Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection*, p. 44, and nos. 324 and 326.

506. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 95. He did not suggest what real gate it might be, but obviously it might be one of the city gates of Beirut.

507. See for example, the beautiful inlaid woodwork on the pulpit that Nur ad-Din commissioned for a mosque in Aleppo and that Saladin placed in the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem in 1188. For an illustration, see J. Prawer, *The*

World of the Crusaders, New York, 1972, Pl. 16, between pp. 40 and 41. Alas, this handsome work was destroyed by fire in 1968, but the Awqaf administration of the Haram in Jerusalem is sponsoring a project to have it reconstructed from the scraps and fragments that survived the conflagration.

508. Metcalf, *Coinage*, p. 95, Edbury, "The Baronial Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," p. 64.

509. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 93.

510. Ibid., pp. 98–103, and M. Bates and D. M. Metcalf, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 457–68. Bates explains that since the later third series coins bear the mint name of Acre, it is probable that the two earlier series were struck there as well (p. 458). On the other hand other Crusader mints cannot be ruled out, for example, at Tripoli (p. 463).

511. P. Balog, *The Coinage of the Ayyubids*, London, 1980, pp. 196–207, Pls. XXIX–XXXI.

512. On the issue of metrology, for Mamluk coins as well as Muslim coins more generally, see P. Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, Numismatic Studies, no. 12, New York, 1964, pp. 39–49.

513. Bates, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," *HC* 6, p. 462.

514. Balog, *The Coinage of the Ayyubids*, pp. 242–8, Pl. XXXIX.

515. Ibid., p. 464, and Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 265–7.

516. Bates, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 467–8.

517. Ibid., pp. 458–9.

518. J. Riley-Smith, "Government in Latin Syria and the Commercial Privileges of Foreign Merchants," *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker, Edinburgh, 1973, pp. 109–32.

519. Metcalf, "European Coins Imported into the Holy Land," in *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 169–76.

520. Metcalf, "The Templars as Bankers and Monetary Transfers between West and East in the Twelfth Century," in *Coinage in the Latin East*, pp. 1–17.

521. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 175.

522. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, Pls. 24, nos. 628–32, and 25, nos. 636–54.

523. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, p. 20, no. 35, and see n. 502. On Crusader seals, see the basic work of H. E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Munich, 1978, with discussion of seals of Frederick II on pp. 84 ff.

524. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 40.

525. Ibid., pp. 77–9.

526. Ibid., p. 88.

527. Ibid., pp. 121–2.

528. Ibid., p. 140, and Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2, p. 229, Fig. 6.

529. *Byzantine Seals from the Collection of George Zacos, Part II*, Spink, auction 132, London, 25 May 1999, p. 34, no. 188. I am indebted to John Porteous for drawing my attention to this seal.

530. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, p. 94.

531. See A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1961, pp. 414–15, no. 505, and see also p. 380, no. 443; H. M. Gillet, *The Story of the Relics of the Passion*, Oxford, 1935, pp. 115 ff.; and F. Wormald, "The Rood of Bromholm," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, I (1938), pp. 31–45.

532. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, pp. 309–10.

533. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 5, pp. 81–2, trans. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, p. 130.

534. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantegenets*, p. 216, n. 16.

535. On this relic of the Holy Blood, see N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic*, pp. 1–19.

536. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, part 4, pp. 640–2, 644–5, trans. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, pp. 225–6, and Pl. X, between pp. 290–1.

537. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, p. 226.

538. It is, however, worth noting the obvious point that there are limits to the naturalism that characterizes this image. There is no attempt to represent the road with its rough spots, and the two rear clerics who hold up the canopy have their spears reversed to create what is presumably unwitting on the part of Matthew Paris, but nonetheless a whimsical Escher-like play on the perspective of the canopy.

539. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 142.

540. Ibid.

541. Although we do not have this "crystalline vessel" extant, we know of similar vessels in rock crystal and glass that can help provide *comparanda* for us to understand. Such precious containers were widely used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, ranging from glass containers, both open and closed, to ewers, flacons, and ampoules. See, for example, the ewers at St. Denis collected by Abbot Suger, and the various glass vessels in Belgian collections: E. Panofsky (ed.), *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures*, 2nd edn., Princeton, 1979, pp. 79, 219, 220, 221, Figs. 28, 30, and J. Philippe, "L'Orient chrétien et des reliquaires médiévaux en cristal de roche et en verre conservés en Belgique," *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois*, 86 (1974), pp. 245–89.

542. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 264–5, and D. Jacoby, "Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The *Pardouns dAcre*," *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen, Turnhout, 2001, pp. 115–16, mention this strange affair, but the most detailed recent account of it is P.-V. Claverie, "Un cas de trafic de reliques dans le royaume de Jérusalem au XIIIe siècle: l'affaire Giovanni Romano, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 75 (1997), pp. 627–37. P. Riant was the first to discuss this episode in the nineteenth century: see idem, "Histoire générale de l'église de Bethléem depuis l'année 1099 jusqu'à nos jours," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 17 (1886), pp. 573–5, republished in a separate monograph as idem, *Etudes sur l'histoire de l'église de Bethléem*, vol. 1, Genoa, 1889, pp. 34–6, and later added to idem, "Eclaircissements sur quelques points de l'histoire de l'eglise de Bethléem-Ascalon," *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1 (1893), pp. 153–6.

543. This synopsis is based on the discussion by Claverie, "Un cas de trafic de reliques," pp. 628–34.

544. M. Piccirillo, *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem, Museum*, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 81–4; B. Bagatti, *Il Museo della Flagellazione in Gerusalemme*, Jerusalem, 1939, pp. 50–3.

P. Riant, *Etudes sur l'histoire de l'Eglise de Bethléem*, vol. 2, Paris, 1896, pp. 16–17, says the excavations took place in 1869. However, the correct date appears to be 1863; see B. Bagatti, *Antichi Edifici Sacri di Betlemme*, Jerusalem, 1952, p. 72, and C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, ser. 3, 11 (1885), pp. 223–4.

545. S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, Jerusalem, 1974, pp. 227–8, no. 311, and Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria, B. Mosaic, Painting, and Minor Arts," *HC* 4, pp. 139, 337, Pl. XLIX.

546. Piccirillo, *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem, Museum*, pp. 82–3.

547. B. Bagatti, *Antichi Edifici Sacri di Betlemme*, Jerusalem, 1952, pp. 106–12; S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, pp. 229–33; Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 1, pp. 187–93; O. M. Dalton, "On Two Medieval Bronze Bowls in the British Museum," *Archaeologia*, 72 (1922), pp. 133–60.

548. Bagatti, *Antichi Edifici Sacri di Betlemme*, pp. 112–13, photo 66; Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 1, pp. 196–7.

549. Bagatti, *Antichi Edifici Sacri di Betlemme*, p. 113; Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 1, pp. 194–5. Enlart proposed that the pair of enameled candlesticks belonged to the twelfth century, whereas the single large candlestick was from the thirteenth century.

550. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 1, suggested that these silver candlesticks were possibly done in England for Gottifredo de' Prefetti when he was traveling in the West to raise support for his see. I think it is possible he had these works done in the Holy Land when he finally took up residence in the 1250s and had the special inscription added as a memento of the attempted alientation of Bethlehem church property.

551. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 1, pp. 181–7, and Bagatti, *Antichi Edifici Sacri di Betlemme*, pp. 72–3, 113. The idea that these objects were made in the fourteenth century and brought to Bethlehem when the Franciscans returned here in the 1330s and 1340s has been voiced (see S. de Sandoli, *The Peaceful Liberation of the Holy Places in the XIVth Century*, Cairo, 1990, pp. 39–58, on the return of the Franciscans to the Holy Places). The weight of opinion still favors a thirteenth-century date for these musical objects, pending more thorough study.

552. Claverie, "Un cas de trafic de reliques," p. 636.

553. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. xxx–xxx.

554. H. Buchthal, with liturgical and palaeographical chapters by F. Wormald, *Miniature*

Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Oxford, 1957; discussion: pp. 47–8; calendar: 107–9, 110–21, palaeography: 136–7; catalogue: 144 (with older bibliography), Pls. 55–6, and F. Wormald, "The Pontifical of Apamea," *Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 5 (1954), pp. 271–5.

555. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini Latin MS 659: with a Jerusalem calendar (fols. 1r–6v), and one painted initial on fol. 10r: O(rdo secundum) (4.6 × 4.6 cm). See Buchthal and Wormald, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. xxx; calendar: pp. 107–21; litany: pp. 128–31; palaeography: p. 136. See also the comparison of the Jerusalem calendar in Barberini MS 659 with a Carmelite manuscript, published by B. Zimmerman (ed.), *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel par Sibert de Beka (vers 1312)*, Bibliothèque Liturgique, vol. 13, Paris, 1910, pp. 367–70.

556. C. Kohler, "Un Rituel et un Bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (XIIe–XIIIe siècle)," *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient Latin et des Croisades*, fasc. 2, Paris, 1906, pp. 294–344. Wormald notes that the Barletta MS has flyleaves that are fragments of other liturgical manuscripts. It also includes a brief chronicle of events between 1097 and 1202 in the Latin East, which is written in a scribal hand that closely resembles the main hands in the Egerton sacramentary and the pontifical of Apamea (Buchthal and Wormald, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 136).

557. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican Latin MS 4947, is mostly written in the 1160s, with additions *c.*1180 and the last three sections in this codex written in the mid-thirteenth century. See G. Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1984, pp. 7–9, 17, and the edited text following. This manuscript is also MS B in the edition by E.de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'Eglise du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1849, pp. v–vi, and the edited text following.

558. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican Latin MS 7241, is mostly written in the 1230s. See Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, pp. 10–13. This manuscript is MS A in the edition by E. de Rozière cited earlier. Wormald wonders whether this manuscript was written in Outremer; he thinks the hand in this codex shows similarities to the others, but is lacking the closely related scribal characteristics otherwise identified in this group of manuscripts.

559. Wormald, "The Pontifical of Apamea," pp. 271–9. This manuscript has a colophon that reads, "*Normandus scripsit hoc opus.*" See also Buchthal and Wormald, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*; discussion: pp. xxx, 47–8; palaeography: p. 136; catalogue: p. 144, with older bibliography.

560. Buchthal and Wormald, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. xxx and 136. Buchthal also mentions an additional manuscript now in Chantilly, a breviary of the Holy Sepulcher, that Kohler studied and in which he identified liturgical indications that relate to Jerusalem and the period 1229–44. However, the manuscript itself dates to the late thirteenth century, and is thus not part of the group mentioned earlier by Buchthal and Wormald (p. xxx and n. 7). On all of these manuscripts see L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, III Colloquio Internazionale Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, 1999, pp. 86–7.

561. Kohler, "Un Rituel et un Bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem," *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient Latin et des Croisades*, fasc. 2, Paris, 1906, p. 353.

562. For the main bibliography, see n. 554.
The main contents/decoration of the manuscript consist of the following:
Sacramentary in Latin:
London, British Library, Egerton MS 2902:

151 fols., with 6 flyleaves, 30.3 × 21 cm, 21 lines written in one column, one extant full page miniature of the Crucifixion, numerous painted initials.
Fol. 1r–v, Calendar (January and February) written in an Italian fourteenth-century hand.
Fol. 2r–6v, Calendar (March to December)
Fol. 7v, *Summe sacerdos*
Fol. 9r, *Prephatio de omnibus apostolis*
Fol. 14r, Preface:
Initials: P(*er omnia*) and V(*ere dignum*) (9.5 × 5.8 cm)
Fol. 14v, Miniature: Crucifixion (20.7 × 13.7 cm)
Fol. 20v, *Proprium de tempore.*
Initial: E(*xcita domine*) (5.5 × 4.0 cm)
Fol. 56r, *In die sancte pasche*
Initial: D(*eus qui*) (4.8 × 5.0 cm)
Fol. 62r, *In die ascensionis domini*
Initial: C(*oncede quesumus*) (4.2 × 4.0 cm)
Fol. 64v, *In die sancte pentecoste*
Initial: D(*eus qui*) (4.4 × 3.0 cm)
Fol. 74v, *Proprium sanctorum. Natale s. stephani protomartiris*
Initial: D(*a nobis*) (5.8 × 5.2 cm)
Fol. 83r, *Annunciatio s. marie*
Initial: D(*eus qui*) (4.3 × 7.0 cm)
Fol. 100v, *Assumptio s. marie*
Initial: V(*eneranda nobis*) (4.3 × 7.0 cm)
Fol. 112r, *Festivitas omnium sanctorum*
Initial: O(*mnipotens sempiterne*) (3l2 × 7.0 cm)
Fol. 151r, *De nativitate domini secundum Lucam... sic dictum ad illos* (end).

563. For the main bibliography see nn. 554 and 559.
The main contents/decoration of the manuscript consists of the following:

London, British Museum, the Pontifical of Apamea (formerly in the private collection of Professor Francis Wormald)
206 fols. with three flyleaves, 28.5 × 18.5 cm, 19 lines in one column,
one illuminated initial, numerous illuminated and painted initials.
Fol. 1r (*In nomine domini incipit ordo de septem ecclesiasticis gradibus.*)
Initial: O(*remus*). Bust of an archbishop (4.0 × 4.0 cm).
Fol. 21r, *Vis ecclesie appamiensi. Michi meisque successoribus. Fidem obedientiam et reverentiam exhibere.R. Volo* (marginal addition)
Fol. 204v, *Normandus scripsit hoc opus.*
Fol. 205r, *Ego N. electus valanensis ab hac hora in antea....*
Anno domini Millesimo CC.XIII. VI. die intrante decembris. (addition).

564. Ibid., p. 108, and Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 257.

565. This kind of evidence suggests several possibilities, either that the artist was not a native Frankish Christian, and therefore might have been, for example, Syrian or Armenian, or that he was not completely in command of the writing and spelling of Latin inscriptions, or both. The style of the miniature otherwise seems to indicate a Crusader artist of modest talents who may have Italian ancestry, but perhaps he was an Eastern Christian artist who was trained by artists of Italian descent?

566. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 47.

567. See M. Andrieu, "Le Pontifical d'Apamée et autres textes liturgiques communiqués à Dom Martène par Jean Deslions," *Revue Bénédictine*, 48 (1936), pp. 321–48.

568. Wormald, "The Pontifical of Apamea," p. 274.

569. Ibid., p. 277.

570. H. Buchthal, with liturgical and palaeographical chapters by F. Wormald, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, discussion: pp. xxx–xxx, 39–48: calendar: pp. 107–8, 110–21; litany: pp. 129–30; palaeography: p. 137; catalogue: pp. 143–4 (with the older bibliography), and Pls. 52–4; G. D. Regoli, "Il Salterio di San Giovanni d'Acri della Riccardiana di Firenze," *Federico II: immagine et potere*, Venice, 1995, pp. 441–5; J. Folda, "Crusader Painting in the 13th Century: The State of the Question," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'Arte del XIII secolo*, ed. H. Belting, Bologna, 1982, pp. 107–8, and see now Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," p. 86.

Most reviews of Buchthal's book and comments on the Riccardiana Psalter by other scholars have accepted his interpretations in regard to the Riccardiana Psalter, at least provisionally, as a working hypothesis. H. Bober's review in the *Art Bulletin*, 42 (1961), p. 67, however, does raise questions about Buchthal's attributions.

571. For the main bibliography, see n. 570.
The main contents/decoration of this manuscript consist of the following (Fig. 120, CD nos. 22–37):
Psalter in Latin:
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 323:
175 fols., 22.0 × 16.5 cm, 21 lines written in one column, one full-page and 7 panel miniatures, numerous small illuminated initials.

Fol. 1r–6v	Calendar
Fol. 7r	Calendrical information: *-sti stet dies aput grecos quos manifestavit....*
Fol. 7v–8r	Easter tables.
Fol. 8v	blank
Fol. 9r	*Prima ala est confessio...* (Alanus ab Insulis)
Fol. 12v–13r	*Summe sacerdos*
Fol. 14v	Psalter: Initial: B(*eatus vir*),

	Annunciation and Nativity, with prophets Isaiah and Habbukuk, and King David (15.9 × 10.4 cm).
Fol. 36r	(*Dominus illuminatio mea*) Panel Miniature: Adoration of the Magi (5.8 × 5.6 cm).
Fol. 49v	(*Dixi custodiam*) Panel Miniature: Presentation in the Temple (5.7 × 5.6 cm).
Fol. 62r	(*Dixit insipiens*) Panel Miniature: Entry into Jerusalem (6.1 × 6.2 cm).
Fol. 75r	(*Salvum me fac*) Panel Miniature: Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet (6.1 × 5.4 cm).
Fol. 90v	(*Exultate deo*) Panel Miniature: Harrowing of Hell, and Holy Women at the Sepulchre (6.0 × 5.9 cm).
Fol. 105v	(*Cantate domine*) Panel Miniature: Ascension (5.8 × 5.8 cm).
Fol. 121v	(*Dixit dominus*) Panel Miniature: Pentecost (6.8 × 6.1 cm).
Fol. 171r	Litany
Fol. 172v	Prayers
Fol. 174v	*Pro comite . . . ut famulum tuum N. comitem nostrum . . . custodias . . . ut gratie tue munere defensi donis semper celestibus iocundentur* (end).
Fol. 175v	*Suor margharita dasschorna monacha in sancto Silvestro* (marginal addition in a later hand).

572. I am enormously grateful to Dr. Cathleen Fleck for having generously shared with me the results of her unpublished research on the Riccardiana Psalter. The intensive scrutiny she has given this problematic codex and the penetrating questions she raised about it have been instrumental in stimulating me to attempt to formulate my own hypotheses for the origin, the place of execution, the dating, the patron, and the function of this extraordinary manuscript. In developing my interpretation of the evidence, I have relied heavily on her substantial fifty-five-page paper prepared for a graduate seminar at the Johns Hopkins University with Dr. Daniel Weiss.

573. Wormald, in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 40 and n. 2.

574. "Suor Margharita dasschorno monacha in sancto silvestro" on fol. 175v, see ibid., p. 143. G. Dalli Regoli, "Il Salterio di San Giovanni d'Acri della Riccardiana di Firenze," in *Federico II: immagine e potere*, ed. M. S. C. Mariani, Venice, 1995, p. 441, identifies Da Scorno or Scornigiani as an influential Pisan family and San Silvestro as the Pisan Benedictine monastery that became in 1331 a Dominican convent for women.

575. Wormald, in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 108.

576. These additions appear for Samuel the prophet (August 20), Pantaleonis (28 July), and Count Roger (21 June). See Wormald, in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 109, n. 6.

577. Wormald, in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 108–9, n. 6.

578. The eight divisions are as follows: Matins on Sunday (Psalms 1–25), Matins of the Six Feria (psalms 26–37, 38–51, 52–67, 68–79, 80–96, and 97–108), and Vespers of Sunday and the Feria (Psalms 109–50).

579. A more or less contemporary example in England is the Huntingfield Psalter, New York, Morgan Library MS 43 (see N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, I, 1190–1250*, London, 1982, pp. 77–9, Figs. 107, 109, 113) and the Ingeborg Psalter in France (F. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967).

In France and England we also frequently find psalters with a set of historiated initials at the eight divisions, such as the Noyon Psalter c.1200 (F. Avril, *Un Très Précieux Psautier du Temps de Philippe Auguste*, Paris: Galerie Ratton & Ladrière, 1989, pp. 3–15). The Noyon Psalter has recently been acquired by the Getty Museum. I am indebted to Dr. E. Teviotdale, former Associate Curator, for supplying me with a copy of the Avril article just mentioned.

The historiated initials found in these English and French psalters are typically illustrated with scenes such as the following, mostly of King David, for example, Ps. 1, David playing the psaltery, Ps. 26, David annointed by Samuel, Ps. 38, David pointing to his mouth, Ps. 52, David before Saul, Ps. 68, the Fool, Ps. 80, David in prayer, Ps. 97, David playing the bells, Ps. 109, Christ enthroned.

580. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 41.

581. Ibid., p. 130.

582. Ibid., p. 129.

583. Buchthal and Wormald, Ibid., p. 41, n. 3, and 130.

584. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 259.

585. Wormald, in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 108.

586. Ibid., p. 129.

587. V. Leroquais, *Les Psautiers Manuscrit Latins des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, I, Macon, 1940–1, pp. XL–LXXI, and comments by V. Pace, "Untersuchungen zur sizilianischen Buchmalerei," in *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur*, vol. 5, Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977, p. 443.

588. This proposition seems parallel to my own personal case where I, as a married historian of art, have as a prayerbook, a copy of the Jesuit *Liber Devotionum*, 5th edn., Chicago, 1947, which, even though it is written specifically for celibate Jesuit scholastics, is useful for private prayer for those who do not belong to the order.

589. A. Büchler, "Zu den Psalmillustrationen der Haseloff-Schule: Die *Vita Christi*-Gruppe," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 52 (1989), p. 216; and A. Haseloff, *Eine Thuringische-Sächsische Malerschule des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 37.

590. The text for Isaiah is "Ecce virgo [in utero] concipiet" (Isaiah 7:14), a literal translation of the Greek, for which "in utero" does not even appear in the Vulgate. The text of Habukkuk is "In medio duorum animalium cognosceris" (Habukkuk 3: 2, a literal translation of the Greek). See Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 42.

591. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 43, and Pl. 144c. This manuscript is Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, MS 52, fol. 80r, Virgin and Child enthroned.

592. Ibid., p. 43.

593. See J. Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 61, *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, Symposium Papers XXXVIII, Washington, DC, 2002, pp. 122–45; idem, "The Kahn and Mellon Madonnas: Icon or Altarpiece," *Byzantine East, Latin West, Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, eds. C. Moss et al., Princeton, 1995, pp. 503–4, and Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 91–7, and Colorplates 1 and 2.

594. See L.-A. Hunt, "Churches of Old Cairo and Mosques of Al-Qahira: A Case of Christian-Muslim Interchange," *Medieval Encounters*, 2 (1996), pp. 61 (with bibliography in nn. 54 and 55), 63, 64, and Z. Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo: Additional Evidence on the Temple Area Workshop of Jerusalem," *Crusader Art in the 12th Century*, ed. J. Folda, Oxford, 1982, pp. 124–5.

595. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 44.

596. Ibid., pp. 4, 44.

597. Ibid., p. 44.

598. Pace, "Untersuchungen zur sizilianischen Buchmalerei," pp. 431, 437, Fig. 344.

599. A. Daneu Lattanzi, "Ancora sulla scuola miniaturistica dell'Italia meridionale Sveva," *La Bibliofilia*, 66 (1964), e.g., p. 132, and idem, *Lineamenti di Storia della Miniatura in Sicilia*, Florence, 1966, pp. 46–54.

600. V. Pace, "Icone di Puglia, della Terra Santa e di Cipro: Appunti Preliminari per un'indagine sulla ricezione Bizantina nell'Italia meridionale duecentesca," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell' Arte del XIII secolo*, ed. H. Belting, Bologna, 1982, pp. 183–4.

601. On manuscripts known in the period of Frederick II, see V. Pace, "Pittura e miniatura sveve da Federico II a Corradino: storia e mito," *Federico II e l'Italia: Percorsi, Luoghi, Segni e Strumenti*, Lucca, 1995, pp. 103–10, and for a more general sketch of Frederick II as an art patron, see T. Van Cleve, Frederick II, Patron of Art," *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 333–46.

602. N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 256 and 137, refers only to the *Historia Orientalium Principum*, a work that was also known by Jacques de Vitry and William of Tripoli, but has not survived to modern times. See also R. H. C. Davis, "William of Tyre," *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, p. 71. T. S. R. Boase suggests, however, that both this lost work and his well-known "History of Outremer" were taken to St. Albans (idem, *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders*, London, 1971, p. 125).

603. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, p. 3.

604. J. Folda, *The Illustrations in Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre*,

Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, vol. 2, Baltimore, 1968, pp. 2–11. Of the ten manuscripts or fragments extant, only MS Reg. Lat. 690, in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome has an illustrated initial.

605. Paris, B. N. MS fr. 9081, done in Paris in the style of the Moralized Bibles; see ibid., pp. 15–21.

606. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, pp. 269–90.

607. Ibid., p. 270.

608. Paris, B. N. MS fr. 2628, done in Acre; see, Folda, *Illustrations*, pp. 276–81.

609. Ibid., pp. 121–324. I am considering only the *History of Outremer* manuscripts done in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, not the relatively few from the fifteenth century.

610. I am only considering Matthew's "action" scenes, not other types of illustrations that he also does, including, for example, extensive maps, drawings of seals, heraldry, and standards.

611. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 270.

612. Ibid., p. 273.

613. Ibid., Pl. XIII, between pp. 290 and 291.

614. The earliest example is probably Paris, BN, MS fr. 2628, done in Acre in the 1260s, mentioned in n. 608. See also Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 1963, done in Antioch, *c.*1260–8. MS Pal. Lat. 1963 is notable, not only for being the only extant illustrated Crusader manuscript we have from Antioch in the thirteenth century, but also because it includes imagery that indicates firsthand knowledge of the site of the city of Antioch, which is incorporated into its miniatures. See J. Folda, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, ser. 3, *Rendiconti*, 42 (1969–70), pp. 283–98.

615. Folda, "Crusader Painting in the 13th Century: The State of the Question," p. 108.

616. See K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], Figs. 17, 18, and idem, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], Figs. 8, 32.

617. See Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], Figs. 8, 48.

618. This tiny detail seems to be quite peculiar. Sandaled feet in icons from the eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century appear to have straps that divide into two a short way up on the foot, one strap running along the instep of the foot, the other running across the foot.

619. See the figures of standing male saints cited in two previous notes, nn. 616 and 617.

620. Unpublished icon of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai: It is a Crusader icon painted in a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style attributed here to the period of the 1260s. See our discussion in Chapter 6.

621. Dean, "The Exploration of a Crusaders' Fortress (Montfort) in Palestine," pp. 39–40.

622. K. Weitzmann, "The Icons of Constantinople," *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 19–20, 63–7; D. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai, Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis, Athens, 1990, pp. 108–16, 164–85. See also the general essay on St. Catherine's Monastery by J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Le Monastère du Sinai: Creuset de Culture Chrétienne (Xe–XIII siècle), *East and West in the Crusader States: Context – Contacts – Confrontations*, Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle in May 1993, eds. K. Ciggaar et al., Louvain, 1996, pp. 103–29, esp. 120–5.

623. D. Mouriki, "Four Thirteenth-Century Sinai Icons by the Painter Peter," *Studenica et l'Art Byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korac, Academie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts: colloques scientifiques, vol. 41, classe des sciences historiques, vol. 11, Belgrade, 1988, pp. 329–47, with twenty-one figures.

624. Besides the black and white reproductions given in the article cited in n. 623, ibid., see also the excellent color plates of three of these icons in Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai, Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis, pp. 172, Fig. 45, 174, Fig. 47, and 175, Fig. 48.

625. Ibid., p. 109.

626. It is clear that the study of the Byzantine icons at Sinai is still in a stage of preliminary evaluation with regard to developments in the first half of the thirteenth century. Up to this point, the attribution of icons by K. Weitzmann and D. Mouriki to the thirteenth century has almost consistently followed a pattern of assignments to "the start of the 13th century" or to "the second half of the 13th century," with virtually nothing attributed to the first quarter or the second quarter of the century as such. Examples of these assignments can be seen in the publications cited above in n. 622, or in the study by D. Mouriki of thirteenth-century Sinai icons with donor figures: D. Mouriki, "Portraits de donateurs et invocations sur les icônes du XIIIe siècle au Sinai," *Etudes Balkaniques: Cahiers Pierre Belon*, Actes de la table ronde no. 9, XVIIIe Congrès International d'études byzantines, Moscow, 1990, Athens, 1995, pp. 103–35. Therefore, the article of Mouriki cited in n. 623 with four Byzantine icons dated to the period 1224–7, is an important and very welcome addition to the ongoing process of understanding the stylistic developments reflected in these paintings.

By the same token, the study of many of the thirteenth-century Western-influenced or Crusader icons is also at a stage of preliminary evaluation, and identification of work done in the first half of the thirteenth century is difficult and problematic. Nonetheless it is possible to propose a series of these icons done before 1250 as we shall argue further.

627. Mouriki, "Icons...," pp. 113–14, 170, Fig. 41, and Weitzmann, "The Icons of Constantinople," *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 20, 66, first published by G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, Athens, 1956, vol. 1, pp. 87, 88, vol. 2, Pls. 72, 73.

628. O. Bihalji-Merin and S. Mandic, *Byzantine Frescoes and Icons in Yugoslavia*, New York, 1958, Pls. 27, 29. See now also the interesting study of Mary Aspra-Vardavakis, who attributes these angels with other Sinai templon screen great Dëesis icons to Cyprus *c.*1200, "Three Thirteenth-Century Sinai Icons of John the Baptist Derived from a Cypriot Model," *Medieval Cyprus: Studies... in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. P. Ševčenko and C. Moss, Princeton, 1999, pp. 179–93.

629. Unpublished icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai (no. 1997): This icon and its companion are Crusader-influenced icons here attributed to the 1230s.

630. Unpublished icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai (no. 1998): This icon and its companion are Crusader-influenced icons here attributed to the 1230s.

631. See the St. Nicholas icon (*c.*1270s) and two icons with standing saints (1260s): Weitzmann, "Thirteenth-Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 195, Fig. 20, and idem, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 345, 347, Figs. 46, 50.

632. Bihalji-Merin, *Byzantine Icons and Frescoes in Yugoslavia*, Pls. 31, 33, the well-known angel at the tomb and the Virgin of the Annunciation.

633. Unpublished icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai (no. 1414): It is a Crusader icon here attributed to the 1260s, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

634. Unpublished icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai (no. 1357): It is a Crusader icon here attributed to the 1260s, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

635. I am not excluding the possibility that one or more painters came to Sinai from Mileševo, on pilgrimage or otherwise, but I am also not insisting on painters physically coming to St. Catherine's, only that some kind of model book or sketch book must have made the trip.

636. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 61, 2 Aug. 80, of which part 2, fols. 75–94, measuring 16.6 × 12 cm per folio, has the famous drawings. See H. Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and Its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century*, Byzantina Vindobonensia, vol. 12, Vienna, 1979, and R. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)*, trans. M. Hoyle, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 165–75.

637. Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel*, p. 22, Pl. VII, Fig. 10.

638. I am relying here on Buchthal's characterizations, see ibid., p. 66.

639. Scheller, *Exemplum*, pp. 176–87. Villard traveled widely for his day, including the north of France, Rhineland, Switzerland, and all the way to Hungary (p. 178).

640. See Chapter 3, nn. 396ff.

641. K. Weitzmann, "Die Malerei des Halberstädter Schrankes und ihre Beziehung zum Osten," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 41 (1978), pp. 258–81, "mit einem Anhang von Renate Kroos," pp. 281–2. The older bibliography is included on p. 258 in n. 1.

642. Unpublished icons from St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, nos. 36–8. Attributed here to the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style of the 1260s, to be grouped with the archangel icons (Fig. 202, App. no. 89/1414, and Fig. 203, App. no. 85/1357), as part of the same Great Deësis ensemble. See our discussion in Chapter 6.

643. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai (no. 285): measurements: 38.5 × 28.0 cm. See Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai*, ed. K. Manafis, pp. 119–20, 184, Fig. 58.

644. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai (no. 679): measurements: 38.6 × 26.9 cm. See Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus,"

The Griffon, nos. 1–2 (1985–6), pp. 32, 83, Fig. 6, and idem, “Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century,” *Sinai*, ed. K. Manafis, pp. 119–20, 185, Fig. 59.

645. Mouriki, “Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century, *Sinai*, ed. K. Manafis, pp. 119–20, 184–5.

646. D. Mouriki, “A Thirteenth Century Icon with a Variant of the Hodegetria in the Byzantine Museum of Athens,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987), pp. 411–15.

647. See Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 91–7.

648. B. Hamilton, “The Latin Church in the Crusader States,” *East and West in the Crusader States*, eds. K. Ciggaar, et al., Louvain, 1996, pp. 14–20, and idem, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 361–9.

649. A. W. Epstein, “The Middle-Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 134 (1981), pp. 1–28. For the case of the Church of St. Catherine's in the monastery on Mount Sinai, see K. Weitzmann, “Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai,” [15 (1986)], pp. 63–116.

650. The *tramezzo* and liturgical screens both East and West have become a topic of lively interest recently. The pioneering work was by M. B. Hall, “The Italian Rood Screen: Some Implications for Liturgy and Function,” *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, eds. S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus, vol. 2, Florence, 1978, pp. 213–18, and her earlier important articles on the particular evidence for such screens in Florence and their special characteristics for the liturgy. In the past few years see Donal Albert Cooper, *In Medio Ecclesiae: Screen, Crucifixes and Shrines in the Franciscan Church Interior in Italy (c. 1230–c. 1400)*, Ph.D. dissertation for the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2000, 2 volumes, and the work of Jacqueline Jung, *The West Choir Screen of Naumburg Cathedral and the Formation of Social and Sacred Space*, Ph.D. dissertation for Columbia University, 2002, with an important article as well, idem, “Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches,” *Art Bulletin*, 82 (2000), pp. 622–57. There has also been an international symposium on the templon screen at Dumbarton Oaks, organized by S. Gerstel and G. Majeska, “The Sacred Screen, Development and Diffusion,” 9–11 May 2003, for which a major volume of papers, including work by Hall and Jung, can be expected.

651. The work of Lucy-Anne Hunt, among others, has made significant progress in this area in recent years, cf, e.g., “Eternal Light and Life: A Thirteenth-Century Icon from the Monastery of the Syrians, Egypt, and the Jerusalem Pascal Liturgy,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 43 (1993), pp. 349–66, with useful bibliography in notes 1 and 2, and idem, “Christian-Muslim Relations in Painting in Egypt of the Twelfth to mid-Thirteenth Centuries: Sources of Wallpainting at Deir es-Suriani and the Illustration of the New Testament MS Paris Copte-Arabe 1/Cairo, Bibl. 94,” *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 33 (1985), pp. 111–55. Other scholars who have worked on Coptic painting that possibly bears on developments in the first half of the thirteenth century are A. Dean McKenzie at the University of Oregon and Robert Nelson at the University of Chicago. Nelson also independently published an article on Copte-Arabe 1 and comments on its style in relation to Coptic fresco painting in Egypt: R. Nelson, “An Icon at Mt. Sinai and Christian Painting in Muslim Egypt during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” *Art Bulletin*, 65 (1983), pp. 211–13.

As of this writing in 2003 Elizabeth Bolman of Temple University has made the most important contribution to the study of Coptic painting contemporary with thirteenth-century Crusader painting in the north through the publication of her study of fresco painting at the Coptic monastery of St. Anthony along the Red Sea. See E. Bolman (author of six chapters and editor of nine chapters contributed by other scholars), *Monastic Visions, Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea*, American Research Center in Egypt, New Haven and London, 2002.

652. Stained glass is reported as follows: C. N. Johns, “Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, ‘Atlit (1931–2): An Unfinished Church in the Suburb,” in *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, ed. R. D. Pringle, no. V, p. 133, and B. Dean, “A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine,” pp. 40, 42. The glass includes evidence of figural designs at Montfort, and nonfigural designs at ‘Atlit (our Fig. 103 cited earlier). The attention of scholars with specialized knowledge of stained glass is needed to assess the significance of these archaeological finds in the Latin Kingdom.

653. See nn. 483–6.

654. See, e.g., A. Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, Frankfurt am Main, 1996, pp. 47–8.

655. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095–1588*, p. 94.

656. Dean, “A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine,” pp. 33–6.

657. R. D. Pringle, “Some More Proto-Maiolica from ‘Athlit (Pilgrims' Castle) and a Discussion of its Distribution in the Levant,” *Levant*, 14 (1982), pp. 111–12.

658. Ibid., 112.

CHAPTER 6. TURMOIL IN THE HOLY LAND: 1244–1266

The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Hohenstaufen Kings, Ibelin *Baillis*, Louis IX, Italian Mercantile Warfare, and Mongols versus Mamluks

1. See J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London, 1973, pp. 209–18, for a detailed discussion of the intricate developments between 1243 and the 1260s pertaining to the Hohenstaufen heirs to the crown of Jerusalem, and the law of *baillage* in the Latin Kingdom.

2. J. Riley-Smith, “Introduction,” in U. Lyons and M. C. Lyons, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, Selections from *The History of the Dynasties and the Kings*, of Ibn al-Furat, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1971, p. xiii.

3. Riley-Smith, “Introduction,” Ibu al-Furat, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, p. xiii.

4. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 82–7.

5. For useful comments on the *baillage* and the activities of the *bailli*, see Riley-Smith, “Introduction,” *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, p. xiv.

6. The main sources I have used for the period of 1244–68, and especially the Crusade of Louis IX and his residency in the Latin Kingdom, are as follows: first are the continuations of the *History of Outremer* in two versions: the Noailles Eracles Continuation and the Rothelin Eracles Continuation.

The Noailles Continuation, as I refer to this text here, is published in the *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 427–57, covering the years 1244–68, for our purposes here. Beugnot used Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9082, a codex written and illustrated in Rome, in 1295, as its base, but following a text tradition from Acre, suggesting to M. R. Morgan (“The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre,” *Outremer*, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 244–57) that this be called the “Acre Continuation.” I choose to retain the old “Noailles” nomenclature to minimize the confusion in an already confused and difficult problem of identifying these continuations with reference to the standard published edition. But my late, lamented friend and colleague Ruth Morgan was certainly correct in her analysis, and had she lived longer, she might have significantly cleared up the confusion with further publications on these texts. Janet Shirley, in her recent translation of a section of the Noailles Continuation (*Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, Brookfield, 1999, pp. 121–43) follows Morgan but refers to this as the “Acre” or the “Eracles” Continuation.

The Rothelin Continuation, as I call the other one, is also published in the *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 561–639, covering the years 1244–61, for our purposes here. Beugnot used Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9083, a codex written in Paris about 1340 as his base. Although there appear to be eleven extant MSS with this text substantially complete, the text tradition seems to be entirely Western. This text seems to have been written in the region of Soissons, and most of the surviving codices were produced in Paris between the 1290s and the 1330s.

Other source materials we have used include the following, which is the most important French source, written by Louis IX's confidante Jean de Joinville, who accompanied him on the Crusade: Jean, sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, Paris, 1868, with translations published as *The Life of Saint Louis*, by M. R. B. Shaw, in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, London, 1963, as *The Life of St. Louis*, by R. Hague, London, 1955, and as *Memoirs of the Crusades*, by F. Marzials, London, 1958.

Among other important independent French sources is the Minstrel of Reims who wrote his account in 1260. It is published as the *Chronique de Reims, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XXII, Paris, 1865, trans. E. N. Stone, *The Chronicle of Reims*, in *Three Old French Chronicles of the Crusades*, University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, Seattle, 1939, pp. 249–366. There are also a series of lives of Louis IX written mostly with regard to the canonization proceedings, which are less valuable for the Crusade years 1248–54 than Joinville. The main authors in this group are Geoffrey de Beaulieu, Guillaume de St. Pathus, and Guillaume de Nangis, available in old editions, e.g., G. de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde, Paris, 1899, or in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XX, eds. MM. Daunou and Naudet, Paris, 1840, pp. 3–27, 309–465. Finally, among the French source material is the massive collection of documents from the reign of Louis IX, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. A. Teulet, in the series, Inventaires et Documents, vols. 2 and 3, Paris 1866, 1875 (Kraus reprint, Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1977), covering the years 1244–70.

Matthew Paris, who is closely linked to Louis IX and his court and well informed about his activities, even though he never went to the Holy Land, is the most important English source: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. Luard, 7 vols., London, 1872–83, translated as *Matthew Paris's English History* by J. A. Giles, vols. 2 and 3, London, 1853, 1854.

I have also used certain important Arabic sources in translation, primarily the texts of Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties Concerning the History of the Ayyubids*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, London, 1969 (selections), and that of Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasties and the Kings*, trans. U. and M. C. Lyons, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1971.

For the secondary works we are fortunate to have the outstanding studies by W. C. Jordan and J. Riley-Smith. Jordan's, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*, Princeton, 1979, focuses on Louis IX and his involvement with the Crusade. Jordan follows brilliantly in the steps of his master teacher Joseph Strayer, who wrote the chapter, "The Crusades of Louis IX," in *HC*, 2, pp. 487–518. Riley-Smith's *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London, 1973, deals at length with the momentous and complex constitutional developments in the Latin Kingdom, especially during the years 1242–69.

I have also consulted other standard Crusader histories, including those by R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, vol. III, Paris, 1936; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, Cambridge, 1954; J. Richard, *The Crusades: c.1071–c.1291*, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge, 1999; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, A Short History*, New Haven and London, 1987; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1988, as well as additional relevant chapters in the *HC*, 2. Important studies on Louis IX himself include J. Richard, *Saint Louis, Crusader King of France*, ed. and abridged by S. Lloyd, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge and Paris, 1992; and the original French edition published in Paris, 1983; J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, Paris, 1996; and M. W. Labarge, *Saint Louis: Louis IX, Most Christian King of France*, Boston, 1968. From the Muslim point of view, see Michael Chamberlain, "The Crusader Era and the Ayyubid dynasty," *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 211–41.

7. J. Richard, *The Crusades: c.1071–c.1291*, pp. 329–30; Runciman, "The Crusader States: 1243–1291," *HC*, II, p. 564.

8. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 562–6; idem, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. J. Shirley, pp. 63–6, Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 432–5; idem, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. J. Shirley, pp. 134–6.

9. Noailles Continuation, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. J. Shirley, p. 134; idem, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 431–2.

10. Rothelin Continuation, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. J. Shirley, pp. 66–7; idem, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 566–7.

11. The canonization proceedings were begun by Gregory X and completed, ironically, by Boniface VIII. See J. Richard, *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*, ed. S. Lloyd, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge, 1992, p. 331; and L. Carolus-Barré, *Le Procès de Canonisation de Saint Louis (1272–1297): Essai de Reconstitution*, Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 195, Rome, 1994.

For manuscripts with images of Louis IX taking the Cross in 1244, see the following *History of Outremer* manuscripts:

a. Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS 9492–3, Hainault, c.1295, fol. 405v
b. Lyon, Palais des Arts, MS 29, Hainault, c.1295, fol. 312v
c. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 2825, Paris, c.1300, fol. 353v
d. Turin, Bibl. Naz., MS L.II.17, Paris, c.1305, fol. 332r
e. Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS Reg. Lat. 737, Ile de France, c.1305–1310, fol. 360v
f. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Fr. 9083, Paris, c.1340, fol. 320v
g. Amiens, Bibl. Mun., MS 483, Flanders, 1429–1474, fol. 332r.

These manuscripts are discussed and catalogued in J. Folda, *Illustrations in the History of Outremer, by William of Tyre*, Ph.D. diss. Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1968, vols. 1 and 2.

12. W. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, Princeton, 1979, p. 3.

13. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi (= Rolls Series)*, vol. 57, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1877, part 4, p. 456, trans. J. A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, vol. 2, London, 1853, p. 86.

14. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 57, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1879, pt. 5, R. Vaughan, *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 50–1; and alternative trans. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, vol. 2, pp. 253–4. This story appears in Matthew Paris's text in the context of the events of 1248, but Louis's retaking of the vow must have occurred in early 1245, after he had regained his health and before the Council of Lyon convened that summer.

15. J. Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History* 65 (1980), pp. 177–92. In this remarkable article Riley-Smith discusses the idea of love, firmly rooted in the writings of St. Augustine, as the basis for Crusade ideals just as much as it is the basis for the idea of love preached by St. Francis. Although Louis IX is not mentioned in the article, which brilliantly explains the complex notions of how love can be expressed in violence in writings primarily selected from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Louis IX is perhaps the foremost exemplar of these ideas and ideals.

16. Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 98; J. Richard, *The Crusades, c.1071–c.1291*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 339.

17. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 14–22.

18. Ibid., p. 32.

19. Ibid., p. 51.

20. Ibid., p. 55.

21. Ibid., pp. 63–4.

22. J. Richard, *The Crusades, c.1071–c.1291*, p. 341.

23. Ibid. For the story, see Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de St. Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 40–1, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, p. 192.

24. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de St. Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 46–7, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, p. 197.

25. Jordan (*Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 74–6) notes that little attention has been given to the Tour de Constance. It is a pity because this military architecture at Aigues-Mortes was a harbinger of what Louis would sponsor for Crusader sites between 1250 and 1254, using local materials to construct a major defensive fortification to protect the city. At this point we can note the important fact that Louis IX had dealt with both military and ecclesiastical architectural commissions during the 1240s, as preparations for the Crusade went forward.

26. Jordan comments that no revenues for the Crusade came from England, from Germany, from Norway, or from Spain: *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 81–2.

27. The major denominations are livres tournois and livres parisis. Our figures are stated in livres tournois, which were more widely used in French territory. The ratio was five livres tournois equaled four livres parisis.

28. This is the official estimate, but most historians think it is grossly underestimated. Personal communication of Jonathan Riley-Smith.

29. Strayer ("The Crusade of Louis IX," pp. 490–1. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 77–104) goes into enormous detail about these finances, their sources and disposition, but basically Jordan agrees with Strayer's figures.

30. For the Sainte Chapelle, see R. Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style*, London, 1965; L. Grodecki, *La Sainte Chapelle*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1975. On the stained glass, M. Aubert, L. Grodecki, et al., *Le Vitraux de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France, I, Paris, 1958; and L. Grodecki, "Les Vitraux de la Sainte-Chapelle," *Revue de l'Art*, 1–2 (1968), pp. 8–16. There is also a recent Bryn Mawr Ph.D. dissertation by A. A. Jordan, now published as a major monograph, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle*, Turnhout, 2002. The most important study linking Saint Chapelle with the Holy Land is by D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge, 1998, esp. pp. 11–77.

31. Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style*, pp. 64–5.

32. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 16–74.

33. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 31–2.

34. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, p. 108.

35. J. Riley-Smith, "The Politics of War: France and the Holy Land," *The Book of Kings*, eds. W. Noel and D. Weiss, Baltimore, 2002, p. 76.

36. R. Branner, "The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., vol. 58, pt. 2 (1968), pp. 3–42.

37. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 39.

38. Ibid., p. 44.

39. Ibid., p. 47.

40. Ibid., p. 52.

41. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, p. 108.

42. Branner, *St Louis and the Court Style*, pp. 58–86; Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 91–2.

43. Jordan's most recent work on this issue gives even more precise information on the financial impact of preparing for the Crusade. See W. C. Jordan, "Cutting the Budget: The Impact of the Crusades on Appropriations for Public Works in France," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 76 (1998), pp. 307–18. This helps places the Sainte Chapelle project in greater focus.

44. For the literature on this manuscript, see R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1977, pp. 59, 207; *La France de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1970, pp. 94, 96, no. 181; J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, Princeton, 1976, pp. 31, 32, 33, 81,135, 150; and idem, *The Illustrations in Manuscripts of the "History of Outremer" by William of Tyre*, Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 151–61, vol. 2, pp. 15–21 (with the older literature cited), vol. 3, figs. 47–50.

The main contents and illustrations of Paris, B. N. MS fr. 9081 are as follows:

318 folios, 40 gatherings of 8 folios each, with 2 folios missing and 4 folios mutilated.
Text in two columns of 40 lines each; justification: 23.5 × 12.5 cm.
17 historiated initials, one miniature panel extant; four historiated initials missing.
Captions for the reader in Old French.

Fol. 1r, Book 1, (L)es encienes estoires . . . (initial: 6.7 × 5.4 cm):

1. Jesus appears to Peter the Hermit, sleeping at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Peter the Hermit leads some pilgrims to the Holy Land.

Fol. 16v, Book 2, (V)enuz estoit li mois . . . (initial: 6.9 × 5.5 cm):

1. Departure of Godefroy de Bouillon and his men.
2. The King of Hungary returns the hostages and gives many gifts to Godefroy.

Fol. 26r, Book 3, (D)e la cite de nique . . . (initial (smeared): 5.8 × 5.8, tail, 12.0 cm):

1. The Crusader army assaults Nicaea.
2. The capture of the wife of Qilij Arslan.

Folio with start of text for Book 4 is missing. Historiated initial takeoff visible on fol. 34v:

1. Thoros is killed while trying to escape from Edessa.
2. Tancred receives gifts from Persian and Armenian satraps.

Folio 44r, Book 5, (V)eant le seigneur dantioche . . . (initial: 6.0 × 6.3 cm):

1. The Crusaders assault and enter the city of Antioch.

Folio with start of text for Book 6 is missing. Historiated initial takeoff visible on fol. 53v:

1. The Crusaders at Antioch.
2. The count of Flanders leads the Crusader defense against a strong Turkish attack.
3. A detachment of men attempts to prevent the Crusaders from crossing a bridge.

Fol. 65r, Book 7, (C)es choses furent . . . (initial: 5.9 × 5.6 cm):

1. Crusaders lie stricken with the plague.
2. Count Baldwin receives barons and other pilgrims at Edessa.

Fol. 77r, Book 8, (V)eritez est . . . (initial: 6.3 × 5.7 cm):

1. Saracen sorceresses on the ramparts of Jerusalem during the Crusader assault on the city.

Fol. 88v, Book 9, (S)i con vos avez . . . (initial: 6.5 × 5.3, tail, 13.4 cm):

1. Godefroy de Bouillon is presented by the nobles to be crowned ruler of Jerusalem by the new patriarch.
2. Crusaders rout Egyptian troops and capture their herd of animals.

Fol. 99v, Book 10, (R)ois fu li dus Godefroy . . . (initial: 6.1 × 4.9 cm):

1. The coronation of King Baldwin I.
2. Baldwin I cares for the captured wife of an Arab emir.

Fol. 113v, Book 11, (E)stez estoit ia trespassez . . . (initial: 6.1 × 5.7 cm):

1. Bohemond prince of Antioch sails for Apulia.
2. Bohemond marries Constance, with her father, King Philippe of France, attending the wedding.

Fol. 132r, Book 12, (X)erses fu uns puissanz rois . . . (panel: 5.9 × 4.5 cm):

1. Baldwin II grants to Hughes de Payens and Godefroy de Saint Omer a house near the Temple for their new Order.
2. Turkish invaders ride victorious from the battlefield, leaving Roger prince of Antioch dead.

Fol. 146r, Book 13, (F)orz estoit . . . (initial: 5.9 × 5.2, tail, 4.8 cm):

1. The Crusaders assault the city of Tyre.
2. William I, archbishop of Tyre, is consecrated by Gormand, patriarch of Jerusalem.

Fol. 160r, Book 14, (R)ois fu apres . . . (initial: 6.1 × 5.0 cm):

1. At Sidon Cecelia countess of Tripoli pleads with King Fulk her brother to help her liberate her imprisoned husband.
2. The count of Jaffa is assassinated in Jerusalem while playing backgammon.

Fol. 174r, Book 15, (A)pres les mois . . . (initial: 6.1 × 5.5, tail, 7.4 cm):

1. The patriarch and citizens of Antioch welcome the emperor of Constantinople.
2. The council of Crusader barons at Antioch with the Byzantine Emperor.

Folio with start of text for Book 16 is missing. Historiated initial takeoff visible on fol. 189v:

1. Coronation of King Baldwin III.
2. Zengi rides to Edessa to besiege the city.

Fol. 206r, Book 17, (C)onraz lemperes dalemaigne . . . (initial: 6.1 × 5.3 cm):

1. Emperor Conrad and King Louis camp before Damascus.
2. Nureddin bathes in the sea in view of his army as a sign of victory.

Fol. 224v, Book 18, (O)r vos parlerons . . . (initial cut out, takeoff visible on fol. 225r):

1. The abuse of the patriarch of Antioch by Raynauld de Chatillon.
2. The king of Jerusalem flees the battlefield after suffering a defeat returning home from Banyas.

Fol. 245v, Book 19, (R)emes estoit uns freres . . . (initial: 6.1 × 5.4 cm):

1. The sultan Sanar leads two Crusader messengers, Hugh of Caesarea and Geoffrey Fulcher, into the caliph's palace at Cairo.
2. The sultan kisses the caliph's foot in the presence of the messengers.

Fol. 262v, Book 20, (U)ne chose . . . (initial, smeared: 6.0 × 5.3 cm):

1. Syracon, the Turk, after killing Sultan Sanar, receives from the caliph rule over Egypt.
2. King Amaury I visits Constantinople.

Fol. 280v, Book 21, (M)out fu granz . . . (initial: 5.9 × 6.3, tail, 12.6 cm):

1. The count Philippe of Flanders enters the land of the Saracens and attacks a city.
2. The Crusader army led by King Baldwin IV and Bishop Albert of Bethlehem, who carries the relic of the True Cross, routs a Saracen army.

Fol. 296r, Book 22, (B)uiemonz li princes dantioche . . . (initial: 6.3 × 4.9 cm):

1. Baldwin IV marries his sister to Guy de Lusignan.
2. The protosebastos Alexius is blinded by Andronicus in Constantinople.

Fol. 317r (end), Book 22, ch. 29: bailliez au conte de Triple.

45. We should recall that captions like this are also used for other royal books in the thirteenth century, such as the *Psalter of St. Louis*.

46. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, p. 107.

47. Ibid., pp. 106–9.

48. *Chronique de Reims*, RHGF, XXII, pp. 311–12; Minstrel of Reims, *The Chronicle of Reims*, p. 334.

49. Ibid.

50. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, p. 75. See also G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1942, pp. 140–5.

51. J. Richard, *Chypre sous les Lusignans, Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles)*, Paris, 1962, p. 79, n. 10.

52. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 569–71; idem, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 68–9. The most informative discussion of relations between Louis IX and the Mongols is by J. Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 282–6. See also D. Morgan, *The Mongols*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 181–2.

53. See the Rothelin Continuation as cited in n. 52. This story is found in the Rothelin Continuation as part of the "Letter of Jean Sarrasin" written on 23 June 1249, while the author was in Damietta. Jean Sarrasin was the chamberlain of Louis IX writing to Nicholas Arrode in Paris. Nicholas was son of Eudes Arrode, a household official for Philippe II Auguste. This letter is published independently by A. Foulet, ed., *Lettre à Nicolas Arrode*, Paris, 1924. Three additional letters written from Damietta are included by Matthew Paris as part of the *Additamenta* to his *Chronica Majora*, reference to which is given in n. 54.

54. The text of this letter is included in the *Additamenta* of Matthew Paris; see Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, trans. J. A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, vol. 3, pp. 419–20.

55. Richard, *Saint Louis*, pp. 282–3.

56. P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, pp. 141–222. This study on Andrew of Longjumeau was originally published as the third of three articles in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXVIII (1931–2), pp. 3–84, but is gathered and bound as a monograph in a separate volume in the W. R. Davis Library of the University of North Carolina.

57. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 47–8.

58. Jean de Joinville, *Chronicles*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, p. 198.

59. Jean de Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, trans. R. Hague, p. 57.

60. A. Weyl Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 244, 253–4, nn. 24–26. Carr ponders the possibility that these figural sculptures might be carved in ivory or steatite, as well as stone. For a relevant, although probably slightly later, work in steatite either from Acre or from Cyprus, see P. Hetherington, "Byzantine Steatites in the Possession of the Knights of Rhodes," *Burlington Magazine*, 120 (1978), pp. 811–20.

61. An example of these kinds of figural images can be seen in the Virgin and Child and angels sewn on the altar hanging of Otto of Grandson, apparently done on Cyprus shortly after 1291. Cf. J. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c.1275–1291," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, pp. 216, and 234, pl. 5; and Weyl Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, pp. 243, and 264, fig. 8.

62. Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 283.

63. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 48–50; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, pp. 198–9.

64. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 50–2; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, pp. 199–200.

65. B. Kedar, "Ecclesiastical Legislation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Statutes of Jaffa (1253) and Acre (1254)," *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. Edbury, Cardiff, 1985, pp. 225–6.

66. N. Coureas (*The Latin Church in Cyprus: 1195–1312*, Brookfield, 1997, pp. 90–8) provides the quotes cited and an extensive discussion of the decrees of Eudes of Châteauroux.

67. C. Enlart, *L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, vol. 1, Paris, 1899, pp. 83, 112–16.

68. See the discussion by N. Coldsteam, "Camille Enlart and the Gothic Architecture of Cyprus," in C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. and ed. D. Hunt, London, 1987, p. 8.

69. Gérard de Montréal (?), "Les Gestes des Chiprois," *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 741.

70. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 52; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, p. 200. Joinville claimed there were 1,800 vessels, an impossible number.

71. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 259–61.

72. J. Richard, *The Crusades: c.1071–c.1291*, p. 343, mentions in particular John of Montfort. Not only was he later venerated as a saint, but his tomb located at "Beau Lieu" near Nicosia – originally a Franciscan house in 1249, and then Cistercian in the 1250s – also became a miracle-working holy site. Nicolas Coureas (*The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312*, Brookfield, 1997, pp. 197, 206–7) discusses this at length and gives the full sources.

73. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," *HC*, II, pp. 493–5.

74. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 53; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, p. 201.

75. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," *HC*, II, p. 495.

76. Al-Maqrizi, *The Book of Proceeding to the Knowledge of the History of the Kings*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, pp. 300–1.

77. Ibid., p. 301.

78. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 58; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, p. 206.

79. Jamal ad-Din Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties Concerning the History of the Ayyubids*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, p. 286.

80. Ibid., p. 285.

81. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 58; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, p. 205.

82. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 592–3, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 87–8.

83. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," *HC*, 2, p. 496. Strayer points out the opportunity that an immediate march on the Egyptian army seemed to present, but it was apparently not something the king seriously considered.

84. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 595–6, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 89–90.

85. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 58–9; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, p. 58–9; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, pp. 206–7.

86. J. Richard, "La Fondation d'une Eglise Latine en Orient par Saint Louis: Damiette," *Bibliothèque de L'Ecole des Chartes*," 120 (1962), pp. 39–54.

87. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 64–5; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, p. 210.

88. M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, pp. 738–9; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 264–5; Richard, *The Crusades, c.1071–c.1291*, p. 345.

89. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 65; idem, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *Chronicles*, p. 211.

90. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 597, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 91.

91. The best historical map and discussion of the Delta region based on medieval Arab texts is by A. R. Guest, "The Delta in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, pp. 941–2, with map opposite p. 941.

92. "St. Louis' Letter Concerning His Expedition to Egypt," trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 247.

93. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 600–1, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 93.

94. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 73, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 75.

95. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 602, "St. Louis' Letter Concerning His Expedition to Egypt," trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 248. Joinville calls him a "Beduyns" and says the king agreed to pay him five hundred bezants for his information: Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 75–6. Ibn Wasil also calls this informant a "Muslim": Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties concerning the History of the Ayyubids*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, p. 290.

96. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 604, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 95.

97. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 604–5, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 95–6.

98. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 77–8, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 78.

99. *Annales de Terre Sainte*, *AOL*, II, p. 444.

100. "St. Louis' Letter Concerning His Expedition to Egypt," trans. R. Hague, p. 248.

101. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 605, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 96. Based on this story, many modern historians including

Runciman, Strayer, and Richard, propose Robert of Artois as the *responsable* here. It seems to me the entire vanguard foolishly ignored the explicit orders of the king, but I do not think that Robert of Artois should be singled out as having the fatal flaw.

102. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, p. 81, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 81.

103. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 606, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 97.

104. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, p. 87, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 85.

105. Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties concerning the History of the Ayyubids*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, p. 292.

106. These factors are summarized in "St. Louis' Letter Concerning His Expedition to Egypt," trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 249–50, with no comment on the timing.

107. Joinville describes the appalling conditions in camp: Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 102–4, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 96–7.

108. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 610, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 99.

109. Al-Maqrisi reports this French offer: see *The Life of St. Louis*, trans. R. Hague, p. 278, n. 301. See also Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," *HC*, 2, p. 502; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 269, n. 3.

110. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 104–6, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 98–9.

111. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 108–10, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 100–2.

112. Joinville discusses these Mamluks, who wore the same arms as the sultan and served as his elite bodyguard, in ch. LVI of his *Histoire de Saint Louis*. The Bahri Mamluks were organized by Sultan Aiyub. At the outset they were Turks purchased overseas as slaves and brought to Cairo where they were trained to protect the sultan. They were known as al-Bahriyah as-Salihiyah, signifying their importation from overseas. See M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, pp. 737–8; and idem, "New Notes on Mamluk History" [in Arabic], *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt*, IV (1936), p. 72.

113. Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties Concerning the History of the Ayyubids*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, p. 294.

114. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 615, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 103.

115. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 115, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 105–6. This story seems to verify the cordial relations Frederick II was said to have had with the Ayyubid sultan.

116. The Crusader army had clearly been decimated, and everything they still had was now lost. In a deposition given by Charles of Anjou for the canonization proceedings of Louis IX, he says that out of thirty-two batailles into which the army had been organized at Damietta for the march along the Nile, only six remained by the time of their capture during the retreat from Mansourah. See L. Carolus-Barré, *Le Proces de Canonisation de Saint Louis (1271–1297)*, p. 69.

117. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 616, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 103.

118. Ibn Wasil, *The Dissipator of Anxieties Concerning the History of the Ayyubids*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, p. 294.

The building reputed to be the house of Ibn Luqman is now part of the National Museum in Mansourah, where visitors are shown the room in which Louis IX was said to be held during his captivity in 1250. See A. Gayet, "Les Monuments de Damiette et Mansourah contemporains de l'époque des Croisades," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, Paris, 1899, pp. 71–8; and idem, L'Itinéraire des Expéditions de Jean de Brienne et de St.-Louis en Egypte et les traces qu'elles ont laissés: La Terre Sainte," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, année 27, vol. 18 (1901). Archaeologically speaking, it is difficult to tell much about the house identified as the prison, which may have been completely rebuilt or substantially repaired and which is also now contained in a strikingly modern museum building. Although it may be true that "tradition says" this is the site of Ibn Luqman's house, verification of the date of the structure identified as his house remains to be determined.

119. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 611–12, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 107.

120. See especially the excellent reproduction in the facsimile edition of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, MS acc. No. 54.1.2 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, New York and Lucerne: Faksimile Verlag, 1998, fol. 146v. See also J. J. Rorimer, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France*, New York, 1957, pp. 14–15, 25, and the reproduction of fol. 146v. W. Jordan (*Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, p. 126) refers to these developments.

121. L. Delisle, "Testament de Blanche de Navarre, reine de France," *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris and de l'Ile de France*, XII (1885), p. 29, no. 196.

122. Rorimer (*The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France*, p. 15) refers to the opinions of Emile Male and H. Bober in discussing this idea. For Male's views, see idem, *Art and Artists of the Middle Ages*, trans. S. S. Lowe, Redding Ridge, CT, 1986, pp. 179–88. This volume was first published in 1927 as a series of articles collected by the author. It was reissued in revised form as the 4th edition in 1947, and this translation is made from the 1947 edition.

123. See n. 77.

124. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 616–17, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 104–5.

125. "St. Louis' Letter Concerning His Expedition to Egypt," trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 250–1.

126. Al-Maqrizi, *The Book of Proceeding to the Knowledge of the History of the Kings*, ed. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, p. 302.

127. Joinville does not give the exact date; he only says that it was three days after Marguerite had heard of Louis's capture. This suggests it was in the latter part of April 1250.

128. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 142, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 125.

129. Jordan discusses some of the factors in Louis's relationship with his wife, Marguerite; see Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 5–7.

130. P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt, London and New York, 1992, pp. 38–9.

131. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 130, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 116.

132. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 619, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 105.

133. Louis's letter comments on threats made to him: "St. Louis' Letter Concerning His Expedition to Egypt," trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 251.

134. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 138, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 122.

135. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 143, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 126.

136. Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 135; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 231–2, 322–4; Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," *HC*, 2, pp. 565–6.

137. Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 135.

138. S. Schein, "The Image of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 13th Century," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 64 (1986), p. 713.

139. *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Leiden, 1960, p. 83, cited by Schein, ibid., p. 708.

140. J. Richard, *The Crusades, c.1071–c.1291*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 350–2; J. R. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," *HC*, 2, pp. 504–7; M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, pp. 740–1.

141. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 619–20, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 105–6.

142. Jordan (*Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 127–30) discusses these personal changes in the king at some length.

143. Joinville . . . , *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 148–52; idem, *Chronicles*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, p. 270.

144. Joinville . . . , *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 154–5; idem, *Chronicles*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, p. 272.

145. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," *HC*, II, p. 505.

146. Having lost his personal seal during his capture in Egypt, he has clearly immediately ordered a new seal to have been made for him in Acre. See J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 108, n. 2.

147. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, trans. J. A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, vol. II, London, 1853, p. 391.

148. Clearly his concern for the prisoners is a major motivating factor, as Joinville points out and as other sources also indicate. See, for example, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde, Paris, 1899, p. 91,

149. "Epistola sancti Ludovici regis de captione et liberatione sua," ed. F. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, vol. V, Paris, 1649, pp. 429–30; idem, trans. R. Hague, "St. Louis' Letter . . . ," in *The Life of St. Louis*, New York, 1955, pp. 247–54.

150. We can imagine that Louis took this occasion to ask his mother to help him with various official and personal needs, now that he had determined to stay in the Near East. Louis would need financing, supplies, and men, and he would need certain personal items that had been lost on the Crusade to be replaced, things such as some of his personal royal and religious items: objects of his regalia, relics and religious objects for him and his chaplain, and special books. Some personal things he could order in Acre, but others would have to come from Paris.

151. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 77–8.

152. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 156–7, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 135.

153. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 626, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 110.

154. See Chapter 4 for the discussion of the wall construction at Acre in the early part of the thirteenth century.

155. "Adonc ferma le roi le borc d'Acre." Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 438.

156. F. Bustron, *Chronique de l'Ile de Chypre*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie, *Mélanges Historiques: choix de documents*, V, Paris, 1886, p. 109, cited by R. D. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, I, eds. I. Corfis and M. Wolfe, 1995, pp. 83–4.

For other sources, see J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, 2nd edn., Paris, 1975, p. 343, n. 45; and idem, "The Historical Maps of Acre" [in Hebrew], *Eretz Israel*, 2 (1953), pp. 175–84.

157. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde, Paris, 1899, p. 110. Once again here we see the *topos* of the leader personally participating in the construction, as we saw earlier with Richard I at Ascalon during the Third Crusade.

158. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 219, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 181. In fact Eudes does not wait for an entire year and returns to the West in September 1254, according to the Noailles Continuation.

159. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 625, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 109.

160. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 166, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 142.

161. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 625, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 110.

162. Ibid.

163. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 162, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 139–40.

164. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 163–5, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 140–1.

165. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 157–66, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 136–42.

166. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasties and the Kings*, trans. U. and M. C. Lyons, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, vol. 2, p. 38.

167. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, p. 80, and n. 103.

168. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, London, 1995, pp. 44–5, and nn. 5 and 6.

169. M. L. Bates and D. M. Metcalf, "Crusader Coinage with Arabic Inscriptions," *HC*, VI, pp. 446–7.

170. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 627, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 110–11.

171. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 316–21; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 276, Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 626, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 110.

172. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, 2nd edn., p. 344, n. 47, suggests this might be the hairshirt preserved today in pieces at Meaux and Melun. See *Saint Louis à la Sainte Chapelle*, Paris, 1960, pp. 85–6, no. 166.

173. "Ornamenta ecclesiae pretiosissima ac devotissima Rex per omnia catholicus habere volebat, et secundum quod variis solemnitatibus congruebat, ornamenta seu paramenta diversorum colorum habebat, et super hoc gerebat ipse curam ad sollicitudinem specialem." Geoffrey de Beaulieu, *Vita et Sancta Conversatio pie memorie Ludovici quondam Regis Francorum*, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, Paris, 1840, p. 14, ch. XXII. Geoffrey's account is the only record of this pilgrimage, which is not recorded in Joinville.

174. On the history of the Church of the Annunciation and its sculpture, see J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 414–38; for detailed discussion of the sculpture, see idem, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, University Park and London, 1986.

175. Geoffrey de Beaulieu, *Vita et Sancta Conversatio pie memorie Ludovici Regis Francorum*, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, Paris, 1840, p. 15, trans. J. Riley-Smith, in "The Politics of War: France and the Holy Land," *The Book of Kings*, eds. W. Noel and D. Weiss, p. 79.

176. Riley-Smith, "The Politics of War: France and the Holy Land," pp. 79–80.

177. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 627–8, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 111.

178. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, pp. 166–83; idem, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, I, p. 89 and n. 144, with multiple references to Joinville in Chapters 96, 97, 98, and 100, pp. 149, 150, 151.

179. William of Nangis, *Gesta Sanctae Memoriae Ludovici Regis Franciae*, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, Paris, 1840, p. 384. William of Nangis gives no date but Pringle proposes the dating c.1251–2 ("Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, 1, p. 95). See also J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, 2nd edn., Paris, 1975, p. 345–6, n. 53.

180. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, p. 222.

181. Joinville mentions in particular, the Norwegian, Alenard of Senaingan: Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 175–6, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 149.

182. Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 65.

183. J. de Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. 3, Paris, 1875, rpt. Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1977, pp. 139–40, no. 3956, cited in Labarge, *Saint Louis*, pp. 138–9.

184. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 440, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 139.

185. Ibid.

186. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 186–7, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 157.

187. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, pp. 264–8.

188. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 278.

189. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 187, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 157.

190. P. Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant with the *Christus Vincit* Legend," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 6 (1954), pp. 169–78; and Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, pp. 132–3.

191. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 183–4, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 154–5.

192. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 199–200, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 166.

193. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 628–9, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 112.

194. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, pp. 265–6.

195. This is based on an estimated three hundred livres for each wall section, five hundred livres for each gate, and four hundred livres for each tower. Given the total reported expenditures of Louis IX for construction in the Latin Kingdom of 95,839 livres tournois, an expenditure of approximately 20,000 livres at Jaffa would have seemed like an astronomical sum, given the number of other major constructions, as well as the expenses of his household and his knights and men, and the military and diplomatic expenses the king paid for. See the citation of expenditures in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules de la France*, vol. XXI, Paris, p. 515.

196. William of St. Pathus, *Vie de St. Louis*, ed. H. F. Delaborde, Paris, 1899, pp. 46–7, cited in Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, p. 271. On the basis of this foundation, one wonders what other Franciscan churches Louis may have founded, especially at Acre.

197. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 440–1, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 139.

198. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 260. On Andrew of Longjumeau, see also P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, pp. 141–54, published originally as the third of a series of articles in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3rd ser., XXVIII (1931–2), pp. 3–16, but it is bound together as a monograph with continuous pagination in a volume in the W. R. Davis Libarary at the University of North Carolina.

199. Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 284. William of Rubruck specifically mentions these gifts in his report to Louis IX. See P. Jackson, *The Mission of William of Rubruck*, London, 1990, p. 116. William, of course, mentions other interesting items, including a Bible in verse, vestments, and various liturgical objects, but he does not attribute them directly to Louis IX or Marguerite.

200. P. Jackson (*The Mission of William of Rubruck*, p. 42) points out that we do not know the date of his departure from the Latin Kingdom. However, the first date we have for his trip is that William preached at Haghia Sophia in Constantinople on 13 April 1253; it is therefore likely that he left Acre on the spring *passagium*, in March.

201. The recent English translation is by P. Jackson, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., no. 173, London, 1990, pp. 57–278. This edition, with an introduction by P. Jackson and D. Morgan, supercedes the older English translations: William of Rubruck, *The Journey of William of Rubruck in the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253–1255*, trans. W.W. Rockhill, Hakluyt Society, ser. II, vol. 4, London, 1900; and C. Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission*, New York, 1955, pp. 87–220. In the case of the Dawson work, the translation is attributed to "a nun of Stanbrook Abbey."

202. Jackson, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 120.

203. Ibid., p. 118.

204. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 198, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 165.

205. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 201–2, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 168.

206. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 202, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 168.

207. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 208–9, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 173. It would be interesting to know what Joinville means by the king gathering laborers "from all parts." Presumably he is referring to the masons and laborers he employed drawn from the various cities of the Latin Kingdom, but may have also included Eastern Christians and even Muslims.

208. Rorimer, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, p. 25, fol. 159v.

209. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, I, pp. 85–7.

210. Ibid., pp. 88–9.

211. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 220, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 181–2.

212. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 213, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 176.

213. November 1252 to July 1253 seems an unduly long time for the news to have gotten to the king. No doubt Louis was notified with all deliberate speed, but one can imagine numerous reasons for the delay.

214. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 216–17, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 179.

215. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, pp. 214–15, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 177–8.

216. P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte, I, Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Paris, 1934, pp. 124–5; and H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 148.

217. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 441–2, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 139–40.

218. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 280.

219. Ibid., p. 281, Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2, 2nd edn., p. 352, and n. 71. This truce does not appear in the Crusader sources and is only mentioned by al-Maqrizi.

220. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 220, trans. R. Hague, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp. 181–2.

221. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, p. 78. These expenses are, once again, apparently considerably underestimated.

222. J. Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 45–62.

223. The Noailles Continuation clearly states that the patriarch, James, arrived in Acre on 3 June 1256, despite Runciman's contention that he only arrived in 1260. See Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 442, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 285.

224. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 268.

225. J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. J. Shirley, vol. IIB, Amsterdam, New York, and Oxford, 1979, p. 358.

226. On Genoa and Venice, see S. A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528*, Chapel Hill and London, 1996, pp. 128–9, 135–8, 141–3, 146–52; and F. C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore, 1973, pp. 67–79.

227. P. Edbury, "The *Livre des Assises* by John of Jaffa: The Development and Transmission of the Text," *The Crusades and Their Sources*, eds. J. France and W. C. Zajac, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1998, pp. 169–70; and n. 1 with other bibliography. Edbury has recently completed a new critical edition of this text.

228. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, p. 215.

229. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 630, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 113, Ibn al-Furat (*Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, vol. 2, p. 40) reports that the length of the truce varies in the accounts that he knows, but it was essentially for ten years and six months.

230. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 630–2, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 114–15.

231. Rothelin Continuation, ibid., p. 633–4, trans. J. Shirley, ibid., pp. 115–16.

232. The Venetians and the Genoese were in conflict frequently in the Mediterranean in various places during this period, but these hostilities in Acre constituted their most serious confrontation in the Latin Kingdom. Futhermore this war had the most damaging effects on the mainland Crusader States, among the many disputes between the various maritime powers. See Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, pp. 128–9, 135–7; Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, pp. 73–4.

233. The shape of the current story about the War of St. Sabas was apparently established by W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, édition française refondue et considérablement augmentée par l'auteur, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1885, rpt. Adolf M. Hakkert, Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 344–54, but the most useful modern telling is provided by J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, B, pp. 364–71.

234. In regard to the location of this property on the hill of Montjoie, in Marino Sanudo's maps from the early fourteenth century, it is indicated as "Lamuntzoia," or "la mount joie." See, for example, B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre: An Historical Cartography*, Acre, 1973, pp. 18, 19, 21, 22, 23. Note that the property is positioned between the quarters inside the city, not exactly "by the sea," and that it appears to be in the territory of the Genoese quarter.

235. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, p. 345, n. 3, notes that the sources call this structure a "maison" but he says it was surely used for services, and was in a strategic location that could be fortified. Prawer (*Histoire du Royaume de Jérusalem*, 2, pp. 363–4) discusses the property of Mar Sabas, identifying it as a house, not a church.

236. The War of St. Sabas is discussed in the following studies: Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, pp. 359–73; Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, London, 1967, pp. 183–6; Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," *HC*, 2, pp. 568–70; and W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, I, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 344–54.

237. The reasons for these alignments are discussed in some detail by Runciman, Prawer, and Riley-Smith, among others.

238. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, p. 75; Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 146.

239. Lane, ibid., p. 74, fig. 4. For the pilastri acritani and their origin in Constantinople, see M. Harrison, A *Temple for Byzantium*, Austin, 1989, pp. 100, 101, 103, 143, and Figs. 118, 122, 123.

240. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2, pp. 368–9.

241. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 86, based on the arguments of Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 215–17.

242. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 284.

243. P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 86.

244. Jonathan Riley-Smith discusses Geoffrey de Sergines and the French regiment in an important paper published in the Acta of the 2000 Johns Hopkins Symposium on Frankish Culture in Acre during the thirteenth century. See Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 45–62. See also the article by C. J. Marshall, "The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254–1291," *Journal of Medieval History*, 15 (1989), pp. 301–7.

245. Riley-Smith, "Introduction," *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, pp. xvii–xviii, 173–4; idem, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, London, 1967, pp. 326–7.

246. Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 45–62.

247. James of Pantaleon never returned to the Holy Land in fact, because while he was in Rome, Pope Alexander IV died in May 1261 and in August James was elected the new pope, Urban IV. Thus the linkage between Rome and the Latin Kingdom was tightened in the person of the new pope, but the fact was that he was not able to be in Acre to provide leadership during the resolution of the dispute in 1260 and 1261. Here I am following Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 269–70, who establishes a different chronology for the patriarch James in contrast to that of Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 285, 290.

248. The reconciliation is discussed by several scholars, including Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 185–6, among others.

249. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, I, p. 354.

250. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 443–7.

251. A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Toronto and Buffalo, 1992, p. 214.

252. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 447–9.

253. Ibid., p. 447.

254. "La ville d'Acre avait déjà énormément souffert; en effet, sans comptait les maisons brûlées en dehors des quartiers marchands, les belligérants avaient monté de 50 à 60 machines de guerre avec lesquelles ils avaient détruit la plus grande partie des tours et un grand nombre de maisons, en les écrasant sous une grêle d'énormes pierres; on comptait qu'il n'avait pas péri moins de 20,000 hommes dans la ville." Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, 1, p. 348.

255. Annales de Terre Sainte, *AOL*, II, p. 453, cited by Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, p. 186, n. 3. See also Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, B, p. 369.

256. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, pp. 44–5.

257. Metcalf (Ibid., p. 45) comments: "The numismatist will hesitate a little over this conclusion, plausible as it is, only because there is a high proportion of specimens on which the date is illegible or doubtful. And it is in principle possible that immobilized dates were used."

258. It is interesting that Genoa minted its first gold coin in 1252, just before the gold Florin of Florence, but long before Venice issued its first gold ducat in 1284. When the North African gold market dried up as a source for Genoese gold in the 1260s and Acre ceased minting its gold bezants about 1258, the main gold coins available in the eastern Mediterranean were Byzantine and, of course, Muslim. See Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, pp. 128–9, 142–3; Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, pp. 148–9.

259. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, pp. 150–1.

260. The pallio is currently being studied by Cecily Hilsdale at the University of Chicago, who discussed it in a paper titled, "Weaving Allegiances: The Exchange of a Pallio in the Thirteenth Century," at the Byzantine Studies Conference, held at the University of Kentucky on 5–8 November 1998. A synopsis of her talk is published in the abstracts, pp. 66–7. She is currently (2000) at work on a larger study, titled "Weaving Allegiances: The Exchange of a Pallio in the Thirteenth Century," which will be part of her doctoral dissertation. I am grateful to Ms. Hilsdale for sharing her work with me and providing the bibliography that follows.

The pallio, despite its importance, is oddly little published and although installed in the Palazzo Bianchi in Genoa, it is in a room that is often locked and inaccessible. It is a major work approximately thirteen feet long, done in purple silk with exquisite embroidery. It includes images of the lives of Sts. Sisto, Hippolito, and Lawrence.

The main bibliography to date includes the following:
E. Parma Armani, "Nuove Indagini sul 'Pallio' Bizantino Duecentesco di San Lorenzo in Palazzo Bianco a Genova," *Studi di Storia delle Arte*, 5 (1984), pp. 31–47; P. Johnstone, "The Byzantine 'Pallio' in the Palazzo Bianco at Genoa," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 87 (1976), pp. 99–108. See also the discussion by P. Schreiner, "Zwei Denkmäler aus der Frühen Paläologenzeit: Ein Bildnis Michels VIII. und der Genueser Pallio," *Festschrift für Klaus Wessel* in ed. M. Restle, Munich, 1988, pp. 249–57.

261. A. W. Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 246–50. These basins are linked to the reign of Hugh IV and said to be of Mamluk origin in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, but their exact dating is as yet undetermined. Further study of the heraldry on the basins may yield more precision on this point. See the exhibition pamphlet by Sophie Makariou, "Two Objects from the Louvre made [by the Mamluks] for the Lusignan Kings," Paris, 2000, 3 pp. with 11 endnotes. For the "baptistère de St. Louis," see the catalogue of the exhibition, *La France de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1970–1, pp. 98–9, with fig., where the *bassin* is said to be dated c.1290–1310.

262. M. Balard, "The Genoese in the Aegean (1204–1566)," *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, eds. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, and D. Jacoby, London, 1989, p. 159.

263. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 140.

264. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 287.

265. See P. Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," *English Historical Review*, XCV (1980), pp. 481–513; R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany, 1977, pp. 344–63; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 293–314; C. Cahen, "The Mongols and the Near East," *HC*, 2, pp. 715–32; M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, pp. 735–58.

266. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 307.

267. The Templar of Tyre, in the new edition edited by L. Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314), La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, Naples: Liguori, 2000, p. 82, no. 67 (303), and one older edition: *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 751.

268. For the full documentation on the Templar of Tyre, see Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, pp. 1–5; *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 426, and n. 14; or the older version, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin, série historique, V, Geneva, 1887, pp. 161–2; and see now the new translation by P. Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre*, Aldershot, 2003.

269. *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 82, sect. 67 (303), *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, sect. 303, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, sect. 303, *The Templar of Tyre*, trans. P. Crawford, sect. 303.

270. P. Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), pp. 486–7.

271. Jackson, "The Crisis," p. 486. P. Thorau (*The Lion of Egypt*, trans. P. M. Holt, London and New York, p. 273) basically agrees with regard to *La Flor*, commenting that it was "on the whole largely a propagandist work against Islam, designed to strengthen the zeal of the West for the liberation of the Holy Land."

272. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 68. Thorau has not resolved the problems raised by the Templar of Tyre because later in his assessment of the written sources he says the following about the Templar of Tyre, whom he identifies as probably Gérard de Montréal: "as an eyewitness . . . , his work is one of the most valuable sources of Frankish history in the second half of the thirteenth century" (ibid., p. 273).

273. R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 31.

274. Runciman is followed by T. S. R. Boase, *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders*, London, 1971, pp. 203–4.

275. J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jerusalem*, vol. 2, 2nd edn., Paris, 1975, p. 426 and n. 14.

276. Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 388; idem, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge, 1999, p. 410.

277. H. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1988, p. 276.

278. I have noted the opinion of Mayer on the Crusader side. Among other historians of the Mongols and Mamluks, David Morgan (*The Mongols*, Cambridge, MA, and Oxford, 1986, pp. 154–5) and R. S. Humphreys (*From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany, 1977, p. 353) accept the story of the entry of the three Christians into Damascus, along with E. Hildinger (*Warriors of the Steppe*, New York, 1997, p. 149) and J. J. Saunders (*The History of the Mongol Conquests*, New York, 1971, pp. 112–13). Morgan's acceptance is important because he certainly knew Jackson's article of 1980 and is fully aware that

the Templar of Tyre provides the unique account of this event.

279. D. Sourdel, "Bohémond et les chrétiens à Damas sous l'occupation mongole," *Dei Gesta per Francos*, eds. M. Balard et al., Aldershot, 2001, pp. 295–9.

280. See the next section of this chapter on the art of 1244–68. Sourdel (ibid., p. 296–7) discusses what is known about which mosque was taken over and converted into a church. Whereas many French scholars asserted, based on Arabic sources, that the mosque in question was the great mosque of Damascus, Sourdel concludes that this was unlikely, and I agree with her and N. Elisséef on this point.

281. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 356–7.

282. Ibid., pp. 355–6.

283. Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," p. 492.

284. The one significant action taken by the Mongols in the summer was an attack on Sidon, mentioned by all the sources, occurring just about the time Qutuz marches to Gaza. Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," p. 499, says the attack on Sidon took place early in August, and news of the attack reached Damascus on 17 August 1260.

285. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 637–8, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 118–19, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 86, sect. 308, *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 753, M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, p. 745, Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 311–12. Jackson ("The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," pp. 502–3) discusses this issue and concludes that Qutuz requested Crusader assistance, but the High Court refused and only agreed to allow the Mamluks unimpeded passage via Acre to confront the Mongols.

286. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, p. 76.

287. This account follows Ziada and Runciman, cited earlier in n. 285, and P. Thorau, "The Battle of 'Ayn Jalut: A Re-examination," *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. Edbury, Cardiff, 1985, pp. 236–9. A different interpretation is given by S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca and Oxford, 1956, p. 40. The *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro* (ed. L. Minervini, pp. 86 and 88, sect. 74 (310), *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 754) gives a simplified version of the battle in which Baybars defeats Kitbogha, and the latter dies in battle. Thorau (*The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, p. 77) says the numbers of the two armies were approximately equal and also that Kitbogha "apparently met his death in the heat of battle."

288. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 80–3. Thorau reports four versions of the event by the major chroniclers, but Baybars played a major or decisive role in each case.

289. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, II, pp. 745–6, Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 314, Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 91–2; and Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, pp. 41–2.

290. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, p. 42.

291. The basic studies of Baybars and the early Mamluk dynasty that I used are the following: On Baybars there is the following comprehensive critical study: Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. P. M. Holt, first published in German in 1987 and in the present English translation in 1992. There is also A.-A. Khowaiter, *Baibars the First: His Endeavors and Achievements*, London, 1978, with a useful survey of the Arabic sources on Baybars (pp. 143–90); and S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dacca and London, 1956, with a translation of the *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, by Muhi al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Zahir (b. 1223–d.1292). There is also the translation of *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings*, by Ibn al-Furat (b.1357/8–d.1448) that, although written much later, preserves important material on Baybars written by earlier historians; the text is translated by U. Lyons and M. C. Lyons, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1971.

For important studies on the Mamluks, see L. S. Northrup, "The Bahri Mamluk sultanate, 1250–1390," *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. C. F. Petry, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 242–89; see the excellent books and articles by R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*, Cambridge, 1995; D. Ayalon, "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon," in *The Mamluk Military Society*, London, 1979, articles Xa and Xb; and idem, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," in *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250–1517)*, London; 1977, article I; R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382*, London and Sydney, 1986; and the volume of collected studies, *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, eds. T. Philipp and U. Haarman, Cambridge, 1998. Finally, there is the important work of P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, Leiden, New York, and Köln, 1995.

Among the Frankish sources, the Rothelin Continuation ends in 1261, but the Noailles Continuation continues its narration of the 1260s and includes activities of Baybars. Among other sources, there is also the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, published in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. II, Paris, 1884, pp. 450–4.

292. It is shortly after this Mamluk victory, in February 1261, that the Crusaders are reported to have attacked a Turcoman force east of the Sea of Galilee (*Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 752–3; and Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," p. 509). The fact that the Crusaders suffered a terrible defeat in this battle is not as surprising as the puzzling decision apparently instigated by the Templars to make this ill-advised attack, squandering manpower that was needed to defend the kingdom against the Mamluks, not the Mongols or the Turcomans. The Crusaders seemed as yet unable to identify fully the peril that loomed before them in the guise of Sultan Baybars.

293. Rothelin Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 638–9, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 119–20.

294. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 111–16.

295. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, pp. 44–6; Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, pp. 746–8; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 315–17; P. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, London and New York, 1986, pp. 90–5.

296. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 103–5.

297. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, pp. 93–4; Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, pp. 747–8; Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, pp. 47–9.

298. See Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 120–8.

299. There had been a long tradition of Muslim diplomatic interchange with the Hohenstaufens, most notably during the time of Frederick II. See, for example, E. Blochet, "Relations diplomatiques des Hohenstaufen avec les sultans d'Egypte," *Revue Historique*, 80 (1902), pp. 51–64; this was by no means a wholly new initiative. Following the victory at Ain Jalud, for example, in 1261, Baybars had sent sent Manfred a giraffe accompanied by Mongol prisoners, as living proof of the sultan's great victory. See Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, p. 120.

300. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, pp. 93–4; Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, p. 748; and Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, pp. 49–52; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 316–17.

301. S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," *HC*, 2, pp. 652–3.

302. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 12–13.

303. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings, Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, pp. 43–4.

304. One wonders what impact the sacking of Port St. Simeon had on the production of pottery there. A. Lane ("Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria," *Archaeologia*, 87 (1937), pp. 19–78) dates the end of pottery production at this site to 1268, the year of the fall of Antioch to the Mamluks, but does not comment on the events of 1262.

305. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 446.

306. Muhi al-Din, *Sirat al Malik al Zahir*, ed. Sadeque, pp. 167–71.

307. Thorau (*The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, p. 144) explains that the Muslim prisoners, mostly well-trained craftsmen, were more valuable to the Orders than their unskilled coreligionists.

308. Muhi al-Din, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, ed. Sadeque, p. 171.

309. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, p. 7 and n. 19; Gaston Le Hardy, *Histoire de Nazareth et de ses Sanctuaires: Etude chronique des documents*, Paris, 1905, pp. 99–105. See Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, p. 147, and n. 26.

310. Muhi al-Din, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, ed. Sadeque, pp. 173–4.

311. *Annales de Terre Sainte, AOL*, 2, p. 450.

312. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 317.

313. I am indebted to Jonathan Riley-Smith for his observations and generous advice on this and many other points in my discussion, points far too numerous to mention individually.

314. Muhi al-Din, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, ed. Sadeque, p. 178.

315. On Mamluk Jerusalem see M. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*,

Buckhurst Hill, 1987, pp. 53–87. Burgoyne notes (p. 77) that "Baybars ordered the restoration of the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock, which had suffered from the years of neglect under the later Ayyubids. The mosaics on the Qubbat al-Silsila, of which traces have recently been revealed, were probably repaired at the same time; and the marble revetment of its *mihrab* is also attributable to Baybars. The terrace around the Dome of the Rock was repaved, the work being overseen as usual by the Nazir al-Haramayn, the Superintendent of the Two Harams of Jerusalem and Hebron, who also restored the Bab al-Mathara, the gate leading from the Haram to the Ablutions Place."

316. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, p. 94.

317. Muhi ad-Din, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, pp. 188–90.

318. We should note that Muhi ad-Din seems to mention Frankish helmets frequently as an example of the best warrior helmets, so we must consider the possibility that this may be a reference to a type, and not necessarily helmets literally acquired from the Franks.

319. *Annales de Terre Sainte, AOL*, II, p. 451.

320. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 318.

321. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 270–3.

322. B. Spuler, *History of the Mongols*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972, pp. 121–2, C. Cahen, "The Mongols and the Near East," *HC*, 2, pp. 717–20; D. Nicolle, *The Mongol Warlords*, Poole, Dorset, 1990, pp. 132–4.

323. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 103–5; and Sadeque, *Baybars the First of Egypt*, pp. 71–2.

324. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 160–1.

325. This was probably the cathedral, St. Peter's, which the Mamluks had taken with the city.

326. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings*, trans. U. Lyons and M. C. Lyons, II, pp. 70–1. This image of the ruler personally taking the lead in construction or demolition work seems to be a topos in these narrative medieval accounts. Besides Baybars here we have also encountered similar reports on the activity of Richard I at Ascalon during the Third Crusade, and on Louis IX at Caesarea during his residency in the Holy Land. We must also recall that whereas Ibn al-Furat tells a good story, he is writing long after the fact, in the late fourteenth century, and his main value is the anthology of earlier sources he incorporates in his text.

327. Ibn al-Furat, ibid., pp. 72–3; *Annales de Terre Sainte, AOL*, II, p. 452, *Noailles Continuation, RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 450–1; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 318. The *Gestes des Chiprois*, p. 758, reports that Baybars took Caesarea and Arsuf but incorrectly states that he also took Tyre instead of Haifa.

328. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 161–2.

329. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings*, trans. U. Lyons and M. C. Lyons, II, pp. 73–83; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 318–19.

330. Runciman, ibid. The text of the poem is found in Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, ed., *Poesie provenzale storiche relative all'Italia, vol. II, Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, vol. LXXII, Rome, 1930, pp. 222–4.

331. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 450; *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 759.

332. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, pp. 88–9; and idem, "The Disputed Regency of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1264/6 and 1268," *Camden Miscellany*, XXVII (=Camden 4th ser., 22), London, 1979, pp. 4–6.

333. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.* II, p. 454, *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 762; *Annales de Terre Sainte, AOL*, II, p. 452.

334. Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 45–62. This accounting is based on the "inventaire" of the count of Nevers published by A. Chazaud, which I discuss at some length later in the chapter.

335. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings*, trans. U. Lyons and M. C. Lyons, II, pp. 83–4.

336. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 166–71. The distance from Acre to Safed by the new modern road is 75 kilometers, or approximately 45 miles.

337. It was shortly after this, between 1260 and 1266, that an anonymous author wrote an account of the construction of this castle for Benedict of Alignan titled, "De Constructione Castri Saphet." I comment on this text later in the chapter when I discuss certain issues pertaining to the developments in Crusader architecture during the years 1244–68.

338. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 195; R. D. Pringle, "Reconstructing the Castle of Safed," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 117 (1985), pp. 147–8.

339. The Noailles Continuation (*RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 454–5) gives a brief account of the siege of Safed, but the *Gestes des Chiprois* (*RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 179–81) has a much longer account, summarized also in Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 321.

The long, complicated story of the attack on and the surrender of Safed is told from the Muslim point of view by Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings*, in *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, pp. 88–96. Sadeque (*Baybars the First of Egypt*, p. 56) proposes that "this was the only time that Baybars attempted to gain converts by force. The experiment was a conspicuous failure, and he did not attempt it again." This interpretation does not seem to accord with the account given by ibn al-Furat or with Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 169–70.

340. Ibn al-Furat, *The History*, 2, p. 105.

341. Sadeque, *Baybars the First of Egypt*, pp. 56–7. Ibn al-Furat says that the slaves were being sold in Hisn Akkar (Gibelacar), not Acre as reported by some historians (Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings, Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, pp. 99–100).

342. On the fresco fragments from the Syrian Orthodox church at Qara, see L.-A. Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), p. 98 and figs. 4 and 5; and J. Leroy, "Decouvertes de Peintures Chrétiennes en Syrie," *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 25 (1975), pp. 97–9, figs. 1–3.

343. "Chronology of Hetoum," *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, I, p. 487, cited by T. S. R. Boase, "The History of the Kingdom," *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. T. S. R. Boase, New York, 1978, p. 26.

344. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," *HC*, II, p. 654.

345. P. Edbury, "John of Jaffa and the Kingdom of Cyprus," *EKEE*, XXIII (1997), p. 16.

346. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 455.

347. Sadeque, *Baybars the First of Egypt*, pp. 57–8.

348. "Le soudan ... fist abatre les molins et les tors des jardins et tayllier les arbres et les vignes quy estoient hors d'Acre" (*Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 768).

349. Hassan Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution a l'Histoire de Tripoli et de sa Région a l'Époque des Croisades: Problèmes d'Histoire, d'Architecture et de Céramique*, Paris, 1980, pp. 34, 36–7.

350. The truce is not dated exactly but was signed in May 1267. It is published by P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, Leiden, New York, and Cologne, pp. 32–41. The duration of the truce is recorded in clause 33 on p. 41.

351. *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 768–9.

352. Not surprisingly, Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan's claim to the throne was not uncontested. Hugh of Brienne presented his claim as well. For the details see Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, pp. 35–6.

353. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, p. 188.

354. *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.* II, p. 771, Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 456; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 324. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings, Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, p. 108, refers to wood and marble being taken to Cairo.

355. The mosque of Sultan Baybars I, al-Bunduqdari, was built between 1266 and 1269. Although now in poor condition, with its interior turned into a public garden, it forms the central feature of the maydan al-Zahir in Cairo. See V. Seton-Williams and P. Stock, *Egypt* [Blue Guide], 3rd edn., London and New York, 1993, pp. 409–11.

356. Ibid., pp. 322–6, and the main portal is depicted in E. Prisse d'Avennes, *Islamic Art in Cairo*, Cairo, 1999, p. 11. I have discussed the relief with images of buildings in Jerusalem elsewhere. See Chapter 5, note 594.

357. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 188–9.

358. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings, Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, p. 113.

359. Ibid., pp. 121–2; and Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. Holt, pp. 190–2.

360. Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings, Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, 2, pp. 122–5.

361. Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," *HC*, 2, p. 579.

362. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1171–1374*, pp. 88–90.

363. Ibid., p. 90.

364. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 330.

365. Ibid., 3, p. 327–9.

366. "La gent d'Acre firent grant feste & grant luminaire, quy dura aucuns jours." Templar of Tyre, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, Geneva, 1887, p. 190.

367. Ibid., pp. 328–9; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1171–1374*, pp. 90–5.

368. See M. H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*, published by the World of Islam Festival Trust on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, 1987, esp. pp. 33–102.

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369. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, p. 263.

370. J. Riley-Smith, "Latin Titular Bishops in Palestine and Syria, 1137–1291," *Catholic Historical Review*, 44 (1978), p. 5; S. Schein, "The Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the Late Thirteenth Century – *Seignors Espiritueles et Temporeles*," *Outremer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar et al., Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 298–9, and B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, pp. 270–1.

371. N.B. In this chapter are copious references to works on Crusader manuscripts by Hugo Buchthal and to works on Crusader Icons by Kurt Weitzmann. For Buchthal, the reference to his 1957 book will be the abbreviation as it appears in our list of abbreviations, *MPLKJ*. For Weitzmann, please note the system of references to his corpus of studies on Crusader icons in the list of abbreviations.

372. *Rothelin* Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 563–4, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, Brookfield, 1999, p. 64.

373. Ibn al-Furat, in *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, trans. U. and M. C. Lyons, Cambridge, 1971, p. 3.

374. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 428, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, p. 132.

375. J. Riley-Smith notes (*Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, p. 172, n. 2, p. 3) that not only is this same report of the destruction of the tombs mentioned by Ibn al-Furat, but also by the Rothelin Continuation, as well as patriarchal letters found in Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, vol. 4, p. 340), in the *Chron. Mailros* (pp. 161–2); and finally, in the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* (ed. G. Waitz, *MGHS rerum Germanicarum*, vol. XVIII, pp. 286–7).

376. For the tombs designed for the Crusader kings in the twelfth century, see Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 37–40, 74–5, 114–15, 174, 328, 461, 467–9.

377. Y. Porath, Y. Neeman, and R. Badihi ("Caesarea," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 9 (1990), pp. 132–4) provide a recent description of archaeological work, but that work does not address the thorny problem of destructions and repairs. On this history and destruction of Caesarea during the Mamluk invasions, see H. W. Hazard, "Caesarea and the Crusades," *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima*, vol. 1, Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima, Missoula, Montana, 1975, pp. 88–9.

378. P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, trans. P. M. Holt, London and New York, 1992, pp. 160–1.

379. See H. Kalayan, "The Sea Castle of Sidon," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 26 (1973), pp. 81–9; and the summary by H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 121–4, 207 n. 2, with the older bibliography.

380. D. Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 20 (1979), pp. 1–45.

381. The main recent study is by B. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 157–80. There are excellent summaries by R. D. Pringle, "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," *The Medieval City under Siege*, 1 (1995), pp. 81–4; and A. Boas, "Some Reflections on Urban Landscapes in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: Archaeological Research in Jerusalem and Acre," *Dei Gesta Per Francos*, pp. 247–9; and in Boas's book, idem, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*," London and New York, 1999, pp. 32–42. See also the older work by M. Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 78–113.

382. See R. Frankel, "The North-Western Corner of Crusader Acre," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 37 (1987), pp. 256–61.

383. See Pringle in n. 381.

384. In the twelfth century at its greatest extent, Jerusalem's walls enclosed a little more than 95 hectares.

385. On the work of E. Gravier d'Ortières and his work in the eastern Mediterranean for the French crown, see the recent exhibition catalogue *Byzance Retrouvée: Erudits et Voyageurs Français [XVIe-XVIIIe siècles]*, ed. J. Durand, Paris: Chapelle de la Sorbonne, 2001, pp. 41–3, 60–1.

386. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," p. 159, plan 4, and his discussion on pp. 164–76.

387. W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter*, Munich and Berlin, 1966, p. 71. Kedar also communicated his opinion to me on the current state of the question by e-mail (sent 19 April 2001).

388. See the recent article by Boas, "Some Reflections on Urban Landscapes," pp. 247–9, and the plan he proposes on p. 248. In this useful plan his locations of the various buildings and quarters is, however, sometimes unclear, with the words written on the map without a specific placement being indicated. For example, he indicates the "Church of the Holy Cross (Sca Crux)" without clarifying whether he agrees with Kedar's proposal to place it much farther to the east than heretofore (see subsequent discussion) or is retaining the old view of locating it near the Hospital of St. John.

389. B. Kedar, "Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templar," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 89–100. I am indebted to B. Kedar for allowing me to read the article in page proofs prior to its publication.

390. Kedar, "Convergences," p. 96.

391. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," p. 159, plan 4; see our Map 8A.

392. D. Jacoby, "Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: the *Pardouns dAcre*," *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen, Turnout, 2001, pp. 106–17. See also Röhricht, *Biblioteca Geographica Palaestinae*, p. 55; and the text in Michelant and Raynaud, eds., *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, pp. 229–36. This interesting text contains the indulgences (= pardouns), which pilgrims to the Holy Land could gain – cited in terms of years and "karantaines" or days – by visiting specific sites under certain conditions. It refers to forty places in Acre, but its list is not complete.

393. A. M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, Comte de Nevers," *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 32 (1871), pp. 198–200. We discuss this inventory as a source of knowledge about works of art toward the end of this chapter.

394. See Chapter 5, and Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, vol. 2, Paris, 1928, pp. 12–35.

395. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 300–1. Hamilton is presumably basing his number on B. Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre, 1979, pp. 11–121.

396. David Jacoby dates the text specifically to 1258–64. See Jacoby, "Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The *Pardouns dAcre*," pp. 111–12.

397. Röhricht, *Biblioteca Geographica Palaestinae*, pp. 52–3; S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, pp. 321 ff., esp. 356–62; and B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre*, Acre, 1973, pp. 9–15.

398. Röhricht, *Biblioteca Geographica Palaestinae*, pp. 67–8; Dichter, *The Maps of Acre*, pp. 16–24. Röhricht, *Biblioteca Geographica Palaestinae*, pp. 67–68; Dichter and J. Prawer, eds., *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, by Marinus Sanutus dictus Torsellus, Hanover, 1611, rpt., Toronto, 1972, pp. I–XIX, esp. p. XI.

399. For Paolino Veneto, also known as Paulinus of Pozzuoli, see Dichter, *The Maps of Acre*, pp. 25–30; and A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 34.

400. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 300 and n. 13.

401. See J.-B. Chabot, "A propos du couvent du Mont Sinai," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 5 (1900), pp. 495–8. The text is also quoted in L. Eckenstein, *A History of Sinai*, London, 1921, p. 150. J. Richard (*Le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1953, p. 282) interprets this reference as meaning that St. Catherine's in Acre was a Greek Orthodox house, as I also did (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 6 and n. 12). However, it should also be noted that in the important publication of K. Manafis, ed., *Sinai: Treasures of the monastery of Saint Catherine*, Athens, 1990, p. 380, the comprehensive list of *metochia* of the Monastery does not include Acre or mention St. Catherine's there. Also C. Enlart (*Les Monuments des Croisés*, vol. 2, Paris, 1928, pp. 15–23) does not connect St. Catherine's in Acre to the monastery of the same name on Mount Sinai.

402. Most authors who comment on the holdings of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai cite the modern list, which includes property in the following places: Pharan, el Tor, Suez, Cairo, Asmara, Tripoli (Syria), several sites on Cyprus and Crete, as well as Constantinople and Athens, among others. See, for example, J. Kamil, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai*, Cairo 1991, p. 36; and M. H. L. Rabino, *Le Monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Mont Sinai*, Cairo, 1938, pp. 2–5, 62–4, 92–3. Other historical introductions to the monastery at Mount Sinai also refer to these holdings (e.g., A. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, Baltimore, 1955, pp. 1–5), but the definitive list appears to be in *Sinai*, ed. K. Manafis, p. 380, mentioned earlier. These references to more modern holdings unfortunately omit some of the property held by the monastery during the Crusader period, such as the Church of St. Catherine's in Acre.

403. I am indebted to my colleague E. Jane Burns for her expert translation of the meaning of this passage.

404. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn., Oxford, 1997, pp. 178–9.

405. See Chapter 5, nn. 188, 189, 425–40.

406. See nn. 336–8 to this chapter.

407. The text of *De constructione castri Saphet* has been edited by R. B. C. Huygens, "Un nouveau texte du Traité, *'De constructione castri Saphet', Studi Medievali*, 6 (1965), pp. 355–87, with an English translation by Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 190–8; R. D. Pringle has written a review article on the text in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 117 (1985), pp. 139–49; see also his comments on the text of T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, ed. R. D. Pringle, Oxford, 1988, pp. 65–9. For the older references, see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 208, n. 6.

408. Preliminary excavations were conducted in the 1960s, and now (2003) a campaign is underway under the auspices of the Israel Antiquities Authority, as noted in Chapter 5. For two good panoramic views of the site of the castle, see plates 2.9 and 2.10 in the recent publication by H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar, A New History*, Sparkford: Sutton Publishing, 2001, pp. 59, 60.

409. *De constructione castri Saphet*, ed. Huygens, p. 379, trans. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 191.

410. *De constructione castri Saphet*, ed. Huygens, p. 386, trans. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 198.

411. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 190.

412. Ibid., pp. 145–68; P. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, text, Paris, 1934, pp. 213–24; and his more recent discussion in *Terre Sainte Romane*, L'abbaye de Ste-Marie de la pierre qui vire, 1964, pp. 73–137; C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, Paris, 1928, pp. 96–9; T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, ed. R. D. Pringle, Oxford, 1988, pp. 76–8; and see the essay by G. Coppola and L. Marino, "Le Crac des Chevaliers," in *Les Croisades: L'Orient et L'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, pp. 263–7.

413. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, p. 213–14 and plan 4. A clear photo of this internal wall does not seem to survive.

414. For the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, see Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 190–1, pls. 73f–h. For the cathedral at Tortosa, see Figs. 30, Chapter 3, and 85, Chapter 5. For the remains of the chapel in the Templar castle at Tortosa, see H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 137, pl. 48.

415. These openings between the loggia and the grande salle are drawn, along with the tympanum design, on Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, p. 221. The designs of these ensembles seem to reflect rayonnant ideas, if any do at Crac. But to evaluate this idea fully, one would need to look at cloister designs from the 1240s and 1250s. None survives from this period in Syria-Palestine, but we have Bellapais on Cyprus with its lovely fourteenth-century cloister, dating from the second quarter of the century. Bellapais was, however, under construction from 1205, and we know that the abbey grew rapidly after 1246, when it received a large bequest. So we can wonder what relationship Gothic work being done there and elsewhere on Cyprus may have had on the Latin Kingdom and the County of Tripoli. On Bellapais, see, for example, T. S. R. Boase, "The Arts in Cyprus: Ecclesiastical Art," HC, IV, pp. 183–4.

416. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 2, p. 99, and fig. 233 bis, pl. 34, fig. 111. The photo published by Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, album, pl. LVIb, shows that the sculptural decoration is placed inside of a trefoil Gothic pointed arch at the top of very tall, almost lancet windows, however.

417. Ibid., and 1er album, pl. 26, fig. 83.

418. Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, pp. 94–5; and idem, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, p. 223.

419. See the discussion of Tortosa in the twelfth century, Folda, *ACHL*, 1 pp. 302–6; and in Chapters 3 and 5, this volume. For the Templar grande salle at Tortosa, see Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, text, pp. 427–30, and 2eme album, pls. 175–83, dated to the (early) thirteenth century, but now very heavily damaged. It was much larger than the great hall at Crac, measuring 44 × 15 meters.

420. See the discussion of the Gothic phase of the cathedral in Chapter 3 and especially Chapter 5. See also Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, text, pp. 408–26, and 2eme album, pls.161, 164, 169–73.

421. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 162. Enlart (*Les Monuments des Croisés*, ler album, pl. 28, fig. 93) publishes a photo of the inscription.

422. Most of the comparable examples of this saying cited by Deschamps are from the fourteenth century, but it appears in the *Speculum Maius* of Vincent of Beauvais, written 1247–59. See Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, pp. 218–19.

423. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, p. 220.

424. Ibid., p. 164. He was apparently castellan at Crac between the mid-1250s and the mid-1260s. See J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, 1, pp. 189–90. A maquette of this inscription now located in the Musée National des Monuments Français at the Trocadéro in Paris is published in *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, pp. 258, 399, no. 64.

425. Deschamps, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, p. 165.

426. See the discussion of St. Andrew's in Chapter 5. C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, vol. 2, Paris, 1928, pp. 15–23, and pls. 51–4, figs. 163–5, 167–70.

427. See M. Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 112–13.

428. This marble slab, 70 × 55 cm and 5 cm thick, was found *c.*1874 at the tomb of Sheik Murad near Jaffa. It is now in the Ustinow Collection of the University of Oslo. The most recent article on this work is by Laszlo Berczelly, "En fragmentert gravplate fra Ludvig den helliges Jaffa," *UKM – En Mangfoldig Forskningsinstusion*, ed. E. H. Hofseth, Occasional Papers, no. 1 (2002), pp. 19–30, with four color plates of the slab (figs. 1, 2, 4, and 5) and the older bibliography.

See also R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1, Cambridge, 1993, p. 269, with a photo of its current state as fig. CXC; S. Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, Jerusalem, 1974, pp. 258–9, no. 348, fig. 103; and A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, London and New York, 1999, pp. 231, 233, all with references to older notices by C. Clermont-Ganneau.

429. Pringle (*The Churches*, 1, 269) accepts the idea of a probable link to a church in Jaffa.

430. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, ler album, pl. 39, fig. 126.

431. See Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, ler album, pl. 49, figs. 158, 159.

432. E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, New York, 1964, p. 53, fig. 205.

433. P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, London and New York, 1987, pp. 187–8.

434. Other remnants of Crusader tomb slabs are extant from this period, for example, that of Pierre de la Vieille Bride, a Hospitaller Master, in Acre. See S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, Jerusalem, 1974, pp. 303–5, fig. 131. We are, however, only considering those slabs with some symbolic or figural imagery on them, which this example and many others did not have or do not now retain.

435. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, vol. 1, London, 1899, pp. 279–90.

436. A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, pp. 234–5, and pl. 9.3.

437. See Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, 1er album, pl. 32, fig. 106, with the clef de voute rendered as a sketch.

438. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 166–7, fig. 9. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, text, p. 26, and 1er album, pl. 53, fig. 166, published this same head of St. John in a much less damaged condition in 1928.

439. H. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 1–14, 39–46.

440. See my discussion of the Psalter of Queen Melisende in J. Folda, *ACHL*, 1, pp. 137–59, with additional bibliography. There have been several recent studies since that time that are in press or are just coming out. See my discussion of the Riccardiana Psalter in Chapter 5.

441. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 54–68.

442. Ibid., p. 54.

443. Ibid., p. 68.

444. D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge, 1998.

445. D. Weiss, "The Three Solomon Portraits in the Arsenal Old Testament and the Construction of Meaning in Crusader Painting," *Arte Medievale*, 6/2 (1992), pp. 15–38; idem, "Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art," *Modern Language Notes*, 108 (1993), pp. 710–37; idem, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Sainte Chapelle," *Art Bulletin*, 77/2 (1995), pp. 308–20.

446. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 113.

447. For the literature on the Arsenal Bible, see the fundamental study by H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 54–68, 95–7, 146–8, with the older bibliography, and pls. 62–81. More recently, the most important studies have been by D. H. Weiss, of which the following is his major work, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 79–215. Other, more specialized articles include D. H. Weiss, "The Three Solomon Portraits in the Arsenal Old Testament and the Construction of Meaning in Crusader Painting," *Arte Medievale*, 6/2 (1992), pp. 15–38; idem, "Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art," *Modern Language Notes*, 108 (1993), pp. 710–37; idem, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle," *Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995), pp. 308–20; idem, "Hec est domus Domini firmiter edificata: The Image of the Temple in Crusader Art," *Jewish Art*, 23/24 (1997/1998), pp. 210–17. See now also L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, III Colloquio Internazionale Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, 1999, pp. 89–90. See also the reviews of Buchthal's book by H. Bober, *Art Bulletin*, 43 (1961), pp. 65–8, and L. M. J. Delaissé, *Scriptorium*, XVI (1962), pp. 348–52. See the review of Weiss's book by J. Lowden, "Reviews in History," Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, February 2000, online at http://www.ihrinfo.ac.uk/reviews.

Other notices include J. Porcher, "Bible en Français," in *Saint Louis*, Paris: Sainte Chapelle, 1960, pp. 95–6, no. 192, and pl. 9; F. Avril, "Bible en Français," in *La France de Saint Louis*, Paris: Salle des Gens D'Armes du Palais, 1970, p. 105, no. 208, and plate on p. 107; F. Py, "Bible Française," in *Trésors de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1980, pp. 50–1, no. 87; D. Muzerelle, "French Bible of Acre," in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, eds. M.-H. Tesnière and P. Gifford, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995, pp. 63–5; P.-M. Bogaert, ed., *Les Bibles en Français: Histoire Illustrée du Moyen-Âge à nos jours*, Turnhout, 1991, pp. 27–8, and M. Lefèvre and D. Muzerelle, "La bibliothèque du marquis de Paulmy," in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. 3, *Les bibliothèques de l'Ancien Regime, 1530–1789*, ed. C. Jolly, Paris, 1988, pp. 302–15.

The main content/decoration of Arsenal MS 5211 is as follows: (Figs. 145–8, CD nos. 38–71).

Selected Old Testament Books in Old French, 368 fols., 28.5 × 20.0 cm, written in two columns of thirty lines each, fourteen full-page and six partial-page frontispiece illustrations, six large historiated initials, fourteen large decorated initials, numerous smaller ornamental initials.
Fol. 2r (Rubrics) *Ici comence le livre dou comencement dou munde qui est apele genesis . . .*

Historiated initial: (D)*evine escripture nous enseigne . . .*
(A seated Dominican writing; 3.5 × 3.5 cm).

Fol. 3v Frontispiece to Genesis (21.9 × 14.3 cm).

1. First Day of Creation: The Spirit of God moves upon the face of the waters (Gen. 1: 2).
2. Second Day of Creation: The Dividing of the Waters (Gen. 1: 7).
3. Third Day of Creation: Appearance of the Dry Land (Gen. 1: 9).
4. Third and Fourth Days of Creation: Creation of Vegetation, of Sun, Moon and Stars (Gen. 1: 12, 16).
5. Fifth and Sixth Days of Creation: Creation of Fish, Fowl, and Animals.
6. Creation of Eve (Gen. 1: 21, 25).
7. Adam and Eve Given Trees for Food by the Lord (Gen. 1: 29).
8. Seventh Day of Creation: The Lord rests (Gen. 2: 2).
9. The Fall (Gen. 3: 6).
10. The Expulsion (Gen. 3: 23).
11. Adam and Eve Toiling (Gen. 3: 19; 4: 1, 2).
12. The Offerings of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4: 3, 4).

Fol. 30r Frontispiece to Exodus (21.9 × 14.2 cm).

1. The Finding of Moses (Exod. 2: 5).
2. Moses and the Burning Bush (Exod. 3: 2–5).
3. and 4. The Crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 14: 21ff.).
5. Moses Receiving the Law (Exod. 31: 18).
6. Moses Brings the Tablets of the Law to the Israelites (Exod. 35: 1).

Fol. 30v Decorated Initial: (C)*ist sunt les noms . . .* (5.0 × 6.0 cm).
Fol. 53r Frontispiece to Leviticus (12.6 × 14.3).

1. Offering of the Herd (Lev. 1: 2–10).
2. Offering of the Fowl (Lev. 1: 14).
3. Center/left: Moses makes the Israelites drink water containing powder from the Golden Calf, held by a Levite who has just killed some of his kinsmen (Exod. 32: 20, 27–8).
4. Center: The Golden Calf (Exod. 32: 1–6).
5. Center/right: Moses Breaking the Tablets of the Law (Exod. 32: 20).
6. Nadab and Abihu: The Strange Fire (Lev. 10: 1).
7. The Lord's Fire consumes them (Lev. 10: 2).

Fol. 53v Historiated Initial: (N)*ostre sires dist a moysen . . .* (The Lord speaks to Moses; 5.0 × 4.0 cm).
Fol. 54v Frontispiece to Numbers (16.6 × 14.2 cm).

1. The Lord Speaks to Moses and Aaron (Num. 2: 1).
2. Moses Chooses Spies (Num. 13: 16).
3. The Murmuring of the Israelites with Aaron (Num. 14: 6).

4–6. The Battle of Raphidim, with Moses Supported by Aaron and Hur (Exod. 17: 10–13).

7. Balaam before Barak (Num. 22: 37ff.).

8/9. Balaam Confronted by the Angel (Num. 22: 23).

Fol. 55r Decorated Initial: (N)*ostre sires parla a moysen . . .* (4.5 × 4.1 cm).
Fol. 68r Frontispiece to Deuteronomy (20.8 × 13.6 cm).

1. Moses Receives the Commandments from the Lord (Deut. 10: 4).
2. Moses with the Commandments adresses the Israelites (Deut. 17–27).
3. Moses Places Joshua in Charge (Deut. 31: 7).
4. Moses Ascends Mount Nebo (Deut. 34: 1).
5. and 6. The Burial of Moses (Deut. 34: 6).

Fol. 68v Decorated Initial: (M)*oyses comenca . . .* (5.0 × 6.5 cm).
Fol. 69v Frontispiece to Joshua (21.8 × 13.9 cm).

1. The Lord Orders Joshua to cross the Jordan (Josh. 1: 1–2).
2. Joshua and the Israelites carry the Ark across the Jordan (Josh. 3: 14–17).
3. The Angel of the Lord confronts Joshua near Jericho (Josh. 5: 13–14).
4. The Israelite spies come to the House of Rahab (Josh. 2: 1).
5. and 6. The Conquest of Jericho (Josh. 6: 20–4).

Fol. 70r Decorated Initial: (A)*pres la mort de moysen . . .* (6.0 × 5.0 cm).
Fol. 81r Frontispiece to Judges (22.0 × 14.3 cm).

1. Gideon's Prayer (Judg. 6:14).
2. and 3. The "Sword of Gideon" and the three hundred defeat Midian (Judg. 7).
4. The Sacrifice of Jephtah's Daughter (Judg. 11: 30–40).
5. Delilah Cutting the Hair of Samson (Judg. 16: 19).
6. Samson Felling the Columns of the Temple (Judg. 16: 29–30).

Fol. 81v Decorated Initial: (P)*uis la mort josue . . .* (11.7 × 4.1 cm).
Fol. 120r Frontispiece to 1 Kings (18.3 × 13.8 cm).

1. Hanna is questioned by Eli the priest (I Kings 1: 14).
2. God calls Samuel sleeping in the Temple; He goes to Eli (I Kings 3: 3–5).
3. Saul anointed by Samuel (I Kings 10: 1).
4. David slays Goliath (I Kings 17: 49).
5. Saul's death (I Kings 31: 4).
6. The Philistines cut off Saul's head (I Kings 31: 9).

Fol. 120v Historiated Initial: (U)*n ber fu ia . . .* (King David Standing; 5.0 × 3.0 cm).
Fol. 154v Frontispiece to II Kings (21.7 × 13.7 cm).

1. David is anointed king (II Kings 5: 3).

2. David slays the Philistines in battle (II Kings 5: 25).
3./4. The Ark is brought forth while David and the Israelites play music (II Kings 6: 3–5).
5. and 6. King David rebuked by Nathan (II Kings 12).

Fol. 155r Historiated Initial: (A)*pres la mort Saul* (David receives the news of Saul's death) (5.0 × 4.9 cm).
Fol. 183v Frontispiece to III Kings (21.6 × 14.3 cm).

1. David and Abishag (III Kings 1: 3).
2. David dying, with Nathan and Bathsheba (III Kings 1: 24–31).
3. Solomon rides on David's mule to Gihon (III Kings 1: 38).
4. Solomon is anointed king by Zadok and Nathan (III Kings 1: 39, 45).
5. David's last words to Solomon (III Kings 2: 1–4).
6. The burial of David (III Kings 2: 10).

Fol. 184r Decorated Initial: (D)*avid le rei...* (4.8 × 4.4 cm).
Fol. 220v Frontispiece to IV Kings (21.8 × 14.3 cm).

1. King Ahaziah send messengers to Baalzebub the God of Ekron (IV Kings 1: 2).
2. The messengers meet Elijah on their way (IV Kings 1: 3).
3. Elijah commanded by the captain of fifty to come down (IV Kings 1: 9–10).
4. (Center) A second group of fifty is consumed by fire as Elijah watches (IV Kings 1: 12).
5. Elijah comes and addresses the sick Ahaziah (IV Kings 1: 15–16).
6. Elijah's ascension (IV Kings 2: 11).
7. (Center) Elisha smites the river Jordan with Elijah's mantle (IV Kings 2:14).
8. Elisha mocked by the children of Beth-El and two bears kill forty-two children (IV Kings 2: 23–4).

Fol. 221r Historiated Initial: (C)*il de moab...* (Ahaziah falls from a window of his palace; 5.7 × 4.4 cm).
Fol. 252r Frontispiece to Judith (22.2 × 14.3 cm).

1. The army of Holofernes departs for the kingdoms of the West (Jud. 2).
2. The Israelites of Bethulia (Jud. 7)
3. Judith rebukes the elders, adorns herself, and sets out with her maid to find Holofernes (Jud. 8: 10ff., 10: 10).
4. Judith kneels before Holofernes (Jud. 10: 19–20; 11: 1).
5. Judith slays Holofernes (Jud. 13: 6–10).
6. Judith displays the head of Holofernes to the elders (Jud. 13: 19).

Fol. 252v Decorated Initial: (A)*rphaxat le rei...* (5.6 × 5.5 cm).
Fol. 261r Frontispiece to Esther (15.1 × 15.3 cm).

1. The feast of Ahasuerus: he sends a messenger to the queen (Est. 1: 10–11).
2. Queen Vashti refuses to come (Est. 1: 12).
3. Ahasuerus enthroned holds out his scepter to Esther (Est. 5: 2).
4. (Center) Mordecai's triumph (Est. 6: 11).
5. Haman is hanged (Est. 7: 10).

Fol. 261v Decorated Initial: (A)*utens le rei...* (5.8 × 5.2 cm).
Fol. 269r Frontispiece to Job (15.2 × 13.8 cm).

1. (Center) The Lord and Satan discuss Job (Job 1: 7–12).
2. The First Trial: Sabeans fall on Job's oxen (Job 1: 13ff.).
3. (Center left) The First Trial: Lightening strikes Job's sheep and shepherds (Job 1: 16).
4. (Center right) The First Trial: Chaldeans drive off Job's camels (Job 1: 17).
5. The First Trial: Job's sons and daughters are killed in their house while they were eating and drinking (Job 1: 18–19).
6. Job and his wife (Job 2: 9).
7. Job and his three friends (Job 2: 13).

Fol. 269v Decorated Initial: (U)*n home fu en un terre...* (6.3 × 5.8 cm).
Fol. 296v Frontispiece to Tobit (21.2 × 13.8 cm).

1. Tobit blinded (Tob. 2: 10–12).
2. Tobias instructed by Tobit before setting out on his journey (Tob. 5: 1ff.).
3. Tobias cutting open the fish (Tob. 6: 4–5).
4. The Angel Raphael destroys the evil spirit; Tobias marries (Tob. 7: 12–15, 8: 3).
5. Tobias heals Tobit (Tob. 11: 7–15).
6. The Angel Raphael reveals himself to Tobit and his family (Tob. 12: 11–15).

Fol. 297r Historiated Initial: (T)*obie fu...* (Tobit burying a Jew; 5.9 × 5.6 cm).
Fol. 307r Frontispiece to Proverbs [1] Wisdom (20.2 × 14.0 cm).

1. Solomon enthroned inspired by Holy Wisdom with seated amanuensis at right.

Fol. 307v Decorated Initial: (C)*i comencent...* (5.3 × 6.0 cm).
Fol. 332v Frontispiece to Proverbs [2] *Parabola*, (20.9 × 14.0 cm).

1. Solomon enthroned blesses his amanuensis standing at right.

Fol. 333r Historiated Initial: (C)*i comencent...* (4.6 × 5.7 cm).
Fol. 337r Frontispiece to Proverbs [3] *Ecclesiastes* (20.7 × 13.8 cm).

1. Solomon enthroned blesses his amanuensis seated with crossed legs at right.

Fol. 337v Decorated Initial: (C)*i comence...* (4.5 × 4.3 cm).
Fol. 339r Frontispiece to Maccabees (15.1 × 14.1 cm).

1. Antiochus despoils the Temple (1 Macc. 1: 21–5).
2. Mattathias slays the Jew performing a sacrifice (1 Macc. 2: 23–5).
3. The Maccabees in battle (1 Macc. 3, 4, 5ff.)

Fol. 339v Decorated Initial: (Q)*uant li forz...* (5.4 × 6.0 cm).
Fol. 364v Frontispiece to Ruth (21.7 × 14.1 cm).

1. Elimelech and Naomi, followed by Mallon and Chilion, departing outside the city gate of Bethlehem (Ruth 1: 1–2).
2. The two sons of Naomi (center) take wives, at table (Ruth 1: 3–4).
3. Ruth, one of her two daughters in law, follows Naomi back to Bethlehem (Ruth 1: 15–18).
4. Ruth gleans in the fields around Bethlehem (Ruth 2: 3–14).
5. Ruth sleeps at the feet of Boaz (Ruth 3: 7–9).
6. Ruth marries Boaz (Ruth 4: 10).

Fol. 365r Decorated Initial: (E)*s iors dun juge...* (5.7 × 6.2 cm).
Fol. 368v (end)... *ici fenie le livre de ruth la moabitiene.*

448. Robert Branner comments on the king's books and remarks on how few survive, but he did not refer to Arsenal 5211 in his discussion. See R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977, pp. 4–5.

449. Branner, ibid., p. 4.

450. Branner, ibid., cites the *Eruditio regum et principum* of Guibert de Tournai for this.

451. See nn. 120–2, this chapter.

452. See nn. 55–60, this chapter.

453. See nn. 199–201, this chapter.

454. See n. 196, this chapter.

455. The source of this story is Geoffrey de Beaulieu, "Vita Ludovici Noni...," *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, Paris, 1840, p. 15, as we mentioned in n. 175, this chapter. Weiss (*Art and Crusade*, pp. 208–9) discusses this idea as coming from the time of Louis's incarceration, whereas Riley-Smith ("The Politics of War...," pp. 79–80) emphasizes its linkage with the time just after the Nazareth pilgrimage, so probably in Acre. Riley-Smith thinks of this project as a kind of Library of Congress library that the king wished to have lodged in Sainte Chapelle. My thanks to Jonathan Riley-Smith for his interesting ideas on this issue.

456. Weiss (*Art and Crusade*, p. 209) draws our attention to the study of D. Kimpel and R. Suckale, *L'Architecture Gothique en France: 1130–1270*, Paris, 1990, which tells us what little is known about this building, now destroyed, and establishes the date of this library as *c.*1256.

457. R. Branner, "The Sainte-Chapelle and the *Capella Regis* in the Thirteenth Century," *Gesta*, 10 (1971), pp. 19–22.

458. Since Buchthal published his interpretation of the Arsenal Bible, no one has challenged his attribution outright, and notably various French scholars have accepted the attribution to King Louis IX in a series of exhibition catalogues dealing with the art of Saint Louis and French art. See n. 447, this chapter.

459. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 97.

460. Folda, *ACHL*, 1, pp. 137–59.

461. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 97.

462. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 203.

463. The text of Arsenal MS 5211 is discussed in the first instance by S. Berger, *La Bible Française au Moyen Age: Etude sur les plus anciennes versions de la bible écrites en prose de langue d'oïl*, Paris, 1884, (rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967), pp. 51 ff., 100–8. It is also discussed by Buchthal, *MPLKJ*,

pp. 54, 96–7; by C. A. Robson, "Vernacular Scriptures in France," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2, ed. G. W. H. Lampe, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 443–5; and Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 104.

464. Berger, *La Bible Française*, p. 100.

465. "Le texte de ce manuscrit est composé d'extraits de la Bible traduits en français et qui nous sont d'ailleurs inconnus, à l'exception des quatre Livres des Rois, qui y sont insérés avec leur commentaire." Berger, *La Bible Française*, p. 101.

466. This codex is Paris, B.N. MS n.acq.fr. 1404, produced in Acre in *c.*1280–1281. See Chapter 7 and J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at St. Jean d'Acre*, Princeton, 1976, pp. 60 ff., 179–80.

467. The longest books are (besides Judges) I–IV Kings, Job, and the first book of Proverbs, titled Wisdom. These books range from twenty-five to forty folios in length. The shortest books are (besides Deuteronomy) Leviticus, Judith, Esther, Tobit, Ruth, and the second and third books of Proverbs, titled Parables and Ecclesiastes. All of these books are ten folios or fewer; several are only three or four folios.

468. See, for example, G. A. Bertin and A. Foulet, "The Book of Judges in Old French Prose: The Gardner A. Sage Library Fragment," *Romania*, 90 (1969), pp. 121–8, as also cited by Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 107, n. 61.

469. L. Light, "French Bibles *c.*1200–30: a new look at the origin of the Paris Bible," *The Early Medieval Bible*, ed. R. Gameson, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 155–76; and see her earlier study, "Versions et révisions du texte biblique," in *Le Moyen Age et le Bible, Bible de tous les temps*, vol. 4, eds. P. Riché and G. Lobrichon, Paris, 1984, pp. 55–93. See also, Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, pp. 15–21, esp. 16–17.

470. C. A. Robson, "Vernacular Scriptures," pp. 443–4.

471. For a more detailed discussion of this Prologue to Judges and its connection to the Templars, see Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 110–11; and Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 60–6, the latter with the older literature and the references to earlier published editions of the Prologue by H. Prutz (1888) and the Marquis d'Albon (1913).

472. A question yet to be answered is to what extent the text of Arsenal MS 5211 provides evidence that it was compiled from a set of separate textual exemplars from different books or that its text was selected and copied from a larger preexisting Bible manuscript.

473. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 97.

474. Berger, *La Bible Française*, p. 101.

475. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 97, n. 2; S. Berger, *La Bible Française au Moyen-Âge*, Paris, 1884, pp. 51–3, 101, 151; F.-M. Abel, "Le Couvent des Frères Prêcheurs à Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Revue Biblique*, 43 (1934), pp. 265–7. C. R. Sneddon (*A Critical Edition of the Four Gospels in the Thirteenth-Century Old French Translation of the Bible*, D.Phil diss., Oxford University, vol. 1, 1978, pp. 35–41) discusses the activity of the Dominicans and their interest in Bible studies in Paris and in Bible translations in the years from 1235 to 1260, esp. pp. 37–40.

476. See Chapter 7.

477. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 96, called it "a compilation which is perhaps best described as a condensed form of biblical history," which I agree with, but he also thought the books were "quite arbitrarily selected and arranged," issues I discuss later.

478. B. Metzger and M. Coogan, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, Oxford, 1993, p. 726.

479. For Vienna, ÖNB, MS 2554, the earliest Moralized Bible, written in Old French in Paris in the early 1220s, see J. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, vol. 1, University Park, 2000, pp. 11–54; G. Guest, *Bible Moralisée*: Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliotek, London, 1995, pp. 1–144; and Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, pp. 1–49.

480. For Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1179, the next Moralized Bible in the series of four produced between *c.*1220 and *c.*1240, written in Latin in Paris, *c.*1225, see Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 1, pp. 55–94; Guest, *Bible Moralisée*, pp. 1–27; and Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, pp. 1–49.

481. For Morgan Library, MS 638, a picture book prepared without any text, to which captions were given by later owners, see D. Weiss, *Der Kreuzritter Bibel, The Morgan Crusader Bible, La Bible des Croisades*, New York, 1999, pp. 225–49; and S. C. Cockerell and J. Plummer, *Old Testament Miniatures*, New York, 1969.

482. For the program of the Sainte Chapelle windows, which of course was also without a written textual component, see Jordan, Alyce A., *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

L. Grodecki, *Les Vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, France, vol. 1, Paris, 1959, pp. 71–332; J.-M. Leniaud and F. Perrot, *La Sainte Chapelle*, Paris, 1991, pp. 120–237; and Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 44–52.

483. It is worth mentioning for the record that no Latin Vulgate Bible studied by S. Berger corresponds to the order found in MS 5211 either. See the tables in Appendix 1 of his book *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1893, pp. 331–9.

484. Light, "French Bibles: *c.*1200–30," pp. 159–63; and Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 107.

485. These are thematic sections that I am identifying for the purpose of analyzing this manuscript, not sections that are indicated in the original text or images.

486. Great emphasis is given to the books of Judges and I–IV Kings, which are abridged very little and account for almost half of the text of this codex. See Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 108.

487. For a convenient list of biblical books and prologues in "normal" Vulgate order, according to the Paris Bible, see Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, pp. 154–5 (Appendix I). Note that Judges and Ruth are omitted but are presumably included as one book with Joshua.

488. I have discussed the issue of the Prologue for the Old French edition of Judges on which the text in this codex is based in Chapter 7; see n. 449.

489. Arsenal MS 5211 is, of course, a sacred book, but the nature of these rubrics and their handling here is quite similar to what we find in the new secular books which will become a major feature of Acre production between 1260 and 1291. See my discussion of the chronicles of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*, and other secular, nonreligious books later in this chapter. In a certain sense, the Arsenal Bible is being treated like secular history books would be treated shortly thereafter in terms of its production.

490. One might speculate as to whether another volume might have been intended. A second volume to Arsenal 5211 could be conceived as containing the psalter, books of the Prophets, and certain New Testament books. However, in the absence of any clear indication in the extant codex to suggest another volume, in the presence of the coherent programmatic organization of its biblical contents, and in light of the program of its imagery to be seen later, I see no reason to think another volume was planned. It seems more likely that this was a special volume done for the king at a special point in his life. It was a book that could well have been added to his personal books, books such as a psalter and a New Testament that he may have had in his *capella regis*, books that indeed may have been sent to him from Paris to replace other ones he lost on the Crusade.

491. The royal sponsorship of Sainte Chapelle was discussed earlier in this chapter. The royal sponsorship of the two Vienna Moralized Bibles is discussed by Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 1, pp. 50–4, 88–94. The case for royal patronage for Morgan MS 638 as a work sponsored by Louis IX in Paris between 1244 and 1254 is made by Weiss, *The Morgan Crusader Bible*, pp. 229–38. See also the fundamental study by H. Stahl, "The Iconographic Sources of the Old Testament Miniatures, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 638." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974.

492. The nine are Genesis, fol. 3v; Exodus, fol. 30r; Leviticus, fol. 53r; I Kings, fol. 120r; III Kings, fol. 183v; IV Kings, fol. 220v; Esther, fol. 261r; Job, fol. 269r; and Tobit, fol. 296v.

493. The five are Deuteronomy, fol. 68r; II Kings, fol. 154v; Proverbs, fol. 307r; Parabola, fol. 332v; and Ecclesiastes, fol. 337r.

494. These six consist of Numbers, fol. 54v; Joshua, fol. 69v; Judges, fol. 81r; Judith, fol. 252r; Maccabees, fol. 339r; and Ruth, fol. 364v.

495. Weiss (*Art and Crusade*, pp. 154–86, chapter 7) discusses "Pictorial Language in Crusader Painting," which approaches this question usefully, but rather differently on the basis of the analysis of visual themes. He discusses, for example, "Creation," "The Covenant with the Jews," "Holy War," "Holy Women," "The Mysteries of Faith," "Kingship" (David), and "Kingship" (Solomon). My attempt here is to place the frontispiece imagery more specifically in the historical context of Louis's experience on the Crusade.

496. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 154–86, esp. pp. 180–6; and idem, "The Three Solomon Portraits in the Arsenal Old Testament and the Construction of Meaning in Crusader Painting," *Arte Medievali*, 6 (1992), pp. 15–38.

497. Specifically, Solomon wears red imperial robes with the loros, red-purple buskins on his feet, and the Byzantine lobed crown with pearl pendulia on each side. His bench-style backless

throne with a long rounded cushion is also Byzantine, one of several types commonly found.

498. It certainly does not represent Solomon's great gilded ivory throne with lions as described in III Kings 10, but rather evokes a generic royal throne.

499. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 182.

500. Ibid., pp. 183–5.

501. I say "Arab" here because it is somewhat misleading to say Islamic or Muslim exclusively. The fact is that most of Louis's diplomatic dealings were with Muslim princes, the Mamluks in Cairo and Damascus, for example, but he also was dealing with Christian Arabs in Acre and inside the Latin Kingdom, although we hear rather little about this. But we can nonetheless usefully make a distinction between the cultural world of the Arab Near East and the religious world of the Muslims.

502. This is the *Somme le roi*, a very famous example of which was illustrated by the Parisian painter, Honoré, in 1279. Although different from the Arsenal Bible in its content, its function as a moral and spiritual handbook for a prince seems entirely comparable to MS 5211. Weiss (*Art and Crusade*, pp. 179–80) also mentions some of Louis's Dominican advisors, men such as Vincent of Beauvais, William of Auvergne, and Gilbert of Tournai as writers who emphasized the virtue of kingly wisdom.

503. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 81–215.

504. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 55–6; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 118 and 106, fig. 52.

505. Only two other examples of this iconography are known in the thirteenth century, and both appear in *Histoire Universelle* manuscripts also produced in Acre, apparently copied from this source. See Dijon MS 562 (later in this chapter) and London MS 15268 (Chapter 7).

506. I express my thanks to my colleague Lila Yawn who discussed the Genesis frontispiece with me from the vantage point of her comprehensive work on the Italian giant Bibles. Her comments on the Creation and Adam and Eve–Cain and Abel images enabled me to see some of the points I am citing in the text.

507. The only comparable iconography in a related work is found in the St. Louis Psalter, Paris, B. N. MS lat. 10525, which was done in Paris and dates after Louis returned to France from this Crusade. See Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 56, n. 5; and Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 126.

508. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 58, Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 129–34.

509. Leviticus and Numbers have major scenes from Exodus, such as the Worship of the Golden Calf and Moses breaking the Tablets in Leviticus, from Exodus 32, or the Battle of Raphidim in Numbers, from Exodus 17.

510. Buchthal *MPLKJ*, p. 58, Weiss, (*Art and Crusade*, p. 119) calls it the head of an angel of the Lord in the burning bush.

511. Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 31; Weitzmann and Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, pp. 342–3.

512. See, for example, among *Histoire Universelle* mss., Dijon, MS 562; and London, B. L. MS 15268, this chapter and Chapter 7, respectively; the manuscripts of the *History of Outremer*, Paris. B. N. MS fr. 2628, this chapter; and Lyon, MS 828, Chapter 7.

513. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 60; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 160–4. Weiss goes into considerable detail in examining the influence of the Moralized Bible imagery on these scenes.

514. Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS gr. 333, second half of the eleventh century; see Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 60, n. 5, and Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 139.

515. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 60–3, Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 139–40, 169–78.

516. Cockerell and Plummer, *Old Testment Miniatures*, pp. 116–17, fol. 23v.

517. Guest, *Bible Moralisée*, fol. 38v; and Cockerell and Plummer, *Old Testament Miniatures*, pp. 136–7, fol. 28v.

518. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 146, 173–4.

519. See the articles in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, Washington, D.C. , 1980, on these instruments:

The predecessor of the lute, the al'Ud
The "cymbal," by J. Blades, vol. 5, pp. 112–16
The "cymbalum," by J. McKinnon, vol. 5, p. 16
The "psaltery," by J. McKinnon, vol. 15, pp. 383–7, esp. 385, 386
The "shawm," by A. C. Baines, vol. 17, pp. 237–43, esp. pp. 238, 239
The "tambourine," by J. Blades, vol. 18, pp. 553–5
The "ud," by H. G. Farmer, vol. 19, pp. 306–7

520. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 62; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 175–7, with depictions of the Paris Gregory, B. N. MS gr. 510, fol. 143v, fig. 89; and the Paris Psalter, B. N. MS gr. 139, fol. 136v, fig. 91.

521. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 178.

522. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 57, n. 2, and pl. 146b.

523. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 170; The Gumpert Bible, Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 121, fol. 130.

524. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 188.

525. Paris, B. N. MS lat. 11560, fol. 40, top left medallion, reproduced in Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 127, fig. 64.

526. Paris, B. N. MS gr. 139, fol. 1v, reproduced in Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 107, fig. 53.

527. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 189–90; and figs. 21, a thirteenth-century St. Nicholas icon, and 22, a twelfth-century St. Nicholas *Vita* icon, both from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai.

There is, in fact, a tradition of icons of St. Nicholas all through the thirteenth century, both East and West, that includes this same kind of imagery. In her important article, N. P. Ševčenko ("The *Vita* Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 53 [1999], pp. 152–3, 159–60, and figs. 3 and 20) refers not only to the Byzantine icon on Sinai mentioned earlier, but also the two panels with full-length images of St. Nicholas, one from Apulia, now in Bari from the later thirteenth century (fig. 3), with bust-length images of Christ and the Virgin apparently with an architectural setting that is now mostly lost through damage, and the famous icon of St. Nicholas from Kakopetria, from *c.*1290, now in Nikosia (fig. 20), which has diminutive full-length figures of Christ and the Virgin standing in effect on the arched framework of the title saint. See also my discussion of this latter icon, J. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, *c.*1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Question," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 216–21 and fig. 6.

528. Copenhagen, Royal Library, Gl. Kongl. Saml. MS 6, fol. 83v, reproduced in Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 142, fig. 78.

529. One might suggest that it could be a reference to the news of the death of Frederick II in December 1250, but that is an event that probably occurred too late to be reflected in this codex. Furthermore, Frederick II was not a person even someone so charitable as Louis would likely to be inclined to mourn personally, it must be admitted.

530. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 65. It is possible that the decorated initials may have been designed by the master but actually carried out by an assistant. For one thing there are so many painted small initials, one would think the main master would need assistance. Second, the initials, although purely French, are quite simplified in their ornament, very different from the striking ornamental repertory of the panels that seem derived in part from stained glass patterns. Third, a few of the small initials have the heads of figures in them, and they, too, are somewhat simplified versions of the painted figures in the main frontispieces; cf. fols. 73v and 74r.

531. For purposes of observation of the features mentioned in the following discussion, I suggest looking at a selection of six frontispieces chosen from the twenty that give a representative sample of the formal characteristics of this painters style. These frontispieces are Genesis, Deuteronomy, the three books of Proverbs, and Ruth.

532. White highlights can also be seen on trees and bushes, as well as on horses and other animals.

533. The two notable exceptions are the angels behind David in the II Kings frontispiece and the reclining figure of King Ahaziah in the IV Kings frontispiece.

534. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 66.

535. Ibid.

536. For the literature on Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 6, see the basic studies of G. Muzzioli, entry on the Perugia Missal, *Mostra Storica Nazionale della Miniatura*, 2nd edn., Florence, 1954, p. 114, no. 157; H. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. xxxii, 48–51, 97 n. 2, 108, 110–21, 144–5, pls. 57a, 58, 59a; and A. Caleca, "Il Messale di S. Giovanni d'Acri (ms. 6)," in *Miniature in Umbria*, I, *La Biblioteca Capitolare di Perugia* (Florence, 1969), pp. 79–82, 169–71, 301–3, pl. IX, and pp. 397 bis-404, with older bibliography. There are two reviews of Buchthal's book that discuss the Perugia Missal, by H. Bober, in the *Art Bulletin*, 43 (1961), p. 67; and L. M. J. Delaissé, in *Scriptorium*, 16 (1962), pp. 350–2.

Since 1957 see also E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, IV, Florence, 1960–2, pp. 214, 415; S. Bettini, "Le Miniature dell'Epistolario di Giovanni da Gaibana nella storia della pittura Veneziana del Duecento," *L'Epistolario Miniato di Giovanni da Gaibana*, eds. C. Bellinati and S. Bettini, vol. 2, Vicenza, 1968, p. 102; K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 180–1; T. S. R. Boase, "B. Mosaic, Painting and Minor Arts," *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, vol. 4, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard, Madison, 1977), pp. 130–2; J. Folda, "Crusader Painting in the 13th Century: The State of the Question," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'Arte del XIII Secolo*, ed. H. Belting, Bologna, 1982, pp. 109–10; the important article of V. Pace, "Italy and the Holy Land: Import-Export. I. The Case of Venice," *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, eds. V. Goss and C. V. Bornstein, Kalamazoo, 1986, pp. 334–6; T. Carratù, "Venise et la Langue Franque," in *Les Croisades: L'Orient et L'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*," ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, pp. 306–13; L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, III Colloquio Internazionale Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Rubbettino, 1999, p. 89. This manuscript has been studied most recently by Cristina Dondi in a 2000 doctoral dissertation at King's College, London, titled, *The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII–XVI Centuries): with special reference to the practice of the Orders of the Temple an St John of Jerusalem*, pp. 73–4, cat. No. 1.8.

The main content/decoration of this Missal, Perugia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 6, is as follows (figs. 149–51, CD nos. 72–9)

Missal in Latin.
467 folios, dimensions (with variations): 30.1/30.2 × 20.1/21.8 cm.
Written in two columns of 27 lines each, justification (with variations): 20.5/21 × 12.4/13.5 cm.
Two panel miniatures: one full-page panel, one half-page frontispiece.
Four historiated initials and a number of decorated initials.

Fol. 1r–6v: Calendar.

7r: *regulares ad lunam . . . ; epacti . . .*
8r-462v: Missal, Proprium de tempore, with:
176r, litany
180r, *Incipiunt prefationes totius anni.* Historiated initial: (V)*ere dignum* . . . (Nativity, 4.8 × 4.6 cm).
182v, Historiated initial: (P)*er omnia secula* . . . (Priest celebrating Mass, 6.6 × 6.5 cm, 16.2 cm maximum height). Decorated initial: (V)*ere dignum* . . . (4.5 × 5.6 cm). Canon:
183v, Full-page miniature: Crucifixion (19.9 × 12.8 cm).
184r, Panel headpiece with historiated initial, (T)*e igitur* . . . (Bust-length Christ Pantocrator in a medallion between two worshipping angels, 9.5 × 12.7 cm).
186r, Historiated initial: (P)*er omnia secula* . . . (Priest celebrating Mass, 5.6 × 6.0 cm, 16.7 maximum height).
188r, *In die sancto pasche*. Historiated initial: (R)*esurrexi* . . . (Christ raised up in his tomb (above), Three Holy Women visit the tomb finding only the angel, 6.9 × 5.7 cm). Decorated initial: (D)*eus* . . . (5.0 × 2.5 cm).
310r, *Proprium sanctorum.*
462v, End: *Fide(s) tua te salva(m) fecit vade i(n) pace.*
463 – 466v, later texts with prayers, and blank sheets on 464r, 465v and 466v.

537. F. Wormald, "The Calendars of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem," in Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 111. The earlier twelfth-century manuscripts from the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem refer to this feast as the "*Purificatio sancte marie.*"

538. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 48–51.

539. The Ryerson Diptych is now in Chicago, Art Institute, cat. E22630; each wing measures 38.0 × 29.5 cm. See Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 48f., 51; and the basic publication is by E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence, 1949, p. 97, no. 241, with the older bibliography.

540. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 51, 145.

541. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 180–1.

542. C. L. Striker, "Fresco Cycle of the Life of St. Francis of Assisi," *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, eds. C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, Mainz, 1997, pp. 128–42.

543. Compare the decorative design on the stem of the "T" to the ornament in the Judges frontispiece of the Arsenal Bible.

544. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 51.

545. This is problematic in the case of the Ryerson Diptych because its artist seems to have had an Italian background for his training, and there is nothing evidently Italian about the Perugia Missal panels, which were done by a Crusader artist of French Gothic background.

This is particularly puzzling in the latter case because on the one hand Buchthal calls the Arsenal Bible master "a superior artisan, a master of his craft doing work of great originality" (*MPLKJ*, p. 66), whereas the second Perugia Missal painter is of "mediocre artistic quality" even though his work is "individual and distinctive in style" (*MPLKJ*, p. 51).

546. Buchthal's interpretation of the first Perugia Missal painter as Italian led to claims that were consistently controversial. We can recognize this painter's true French background today as the result of the identification of additional Crusader works of painting, works Buchthal himself could not know in 1957. That is not to say that there is not a significant Venetian tradition in the painting of Acre. We examine this mainly in terms of panel painting, including the Ryerson Diptych, later. But neither the Perugia Missal nor the later missal in the British Museum, Egerton MS 3153, are part of that Venetian tradition as Buchthal claimed: idem, *MPLKJ*, pp. 48–51, 97.

547. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 180–1.

548. Icon in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai: 28.2 × 21.6 cm., published by G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones de Mont Sinaï*, vol. I, Athens, 1956, fig. 64, vol. II, Athens, 1958, pp. 78–9. See the color reproduction published by K. Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [8 (1978)], pp. 90–1, pl. 26. This feast icon from St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai reflects the refined and slightly mannered style of Constantinople in the late Comnenian period and should be dated no later than *c.*1200, according to Weitzmann.

549. Icon in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai: 37.2 × 26.6 cm. See K. Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 202, and the color reproduction on p. 211.

550. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 49 and n. 5.

551. The shape of the cross is only slightly different: In the Perugia Missal miniature the *titulus* forms the top of the cross, whereas in the other two the vertical member extends above it. The *suppedaneum* is however similarly shaped, and proportioned, blocky and thick, in all three cases.

552. The image of the dead Christ as "the King of Glory" is, of course, a standard Byzantine iconographic type, comparable to the "Man of Sorrows" in Western medieval art, but it is a title not usually given to a figure of the crucified Christ, and it is not usually positioned as an inscription between the letters of the name of Jesus, IC XC, as here. On the iconography of the "King of Glory" in Byzantine art, see the article of P. Hetherington, "Who Is This King of Glory? The Byzantine Enamels of an Icon Frame and Revetment in Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 53 (1990), pp. 25–38. This extraordinary work may have been done for Theodora, niece of Emperor Manuel Comnenus, who married Baldwin III, the Latin king of Jerusalem in 1158, before it later came into the hands of the Georgians at the Monastery of the Holy Cross.

553. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 180.

554. Ibid.

555. The Ryerson Diptych Crucifixion differs both iconographically and stylistically from the examples we have been discussing. The pose of the Virgin is obviously different from the two Crusader examples, although her maphorion does have a slight downward point from the head on the right side. John's pose is in fact more similar to the Crusader examples although the placement of the little finger is much less emphatic. The costumes of Mary and John are here, however, very dark blue. Above the angels are different in pose although sharing the expression of grief more than we see on the Byantine icon. The cross of Christ is totally dark, with no beveling, and it has an unusual brilliant red *titulus*. The figure of Christ, slender and attenuated, is painted with striking patterns of linear white highlights, not found on any of the earlier three paintings. Finally note that the haloes of all the figures on the Ryerson Diptych are done with raised gesso patterns, a favorite Crusader technique seen in panel painting in the second half of the century, but, as we have seen, not shared by the three examples discussed earlier. It is with these characteristics in mind, among others that the artist of the Ryerson Diptych can be considered a Venetian-trained Crusader painter who may have been working between 1260 and 1275 in Acre. I discuss this later in the context of other Crusader icon painting from Acre.

556. See Chapter 3, nn. 369–76.

557. One gesture of St. John is of special interest. His hand on the right side hangs down as it does in the later examples, but it firmly grasps his drapery. In the later Crusader Crucifixions,

this hand hangs limply open, seemingly having lost its original function.

558. See Chapter 5, nn. 625–9.

559. Icons from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai: Christ (App. no. 16/110, Fig. 128 [ch. 5]), the Virgin (App. no. 15/109, Fig. 129 [ch. 5]), and St. John the Baptist (App. no. 45/470, Fig. 131 [ch. 5]), all unpublished. It is not certain that these three panels went together to form a set, as it were, but their formal characteristics are quite similar.

560. For the final report on the architecture of this building and the St. Francis frescoes, see C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, eds., *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration*, Final Reports on the Archaeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii 1966–1978, Mainz, 1977, especially pp. 82–3 (Francis Chapel), and pp. 128–42 (Fresco Cycle of the Life of St. Francis of Assisi). Finally, I acknowledge my debt to Ellen Winsor, whose careful inquiry into these frescoes and the identification of their location in Constantinople has provided important new material for evaluating them and Crusader painting in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. See E. Winsor, "Preaching to Byzantium: Constantinople, the Friars Minor and the Latin Empire; Reconsidering the Frescos at Kalenderhane Camii," M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2002.

561. See the useful reconstruction sketch: *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, p. 129, fig. 70.

562. "O Lord, I love the habitation of thy house and the place where thy glory dwells."

563. The "*Lavabo*" prayer is quite old in the liturgy, attested in Carolingian times. See J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. F. A. Brunner, vol. 2, New York 1955, pp. 76–82. This particular ritual hand-washing was missing at this point in the Byzantine liturgy. I am quoting the prayer from a modern missal (*The Missal*, Westminster, MD, 1959) being the text of the Missale Romanum. The modern version includes verses 6–12 of Psalm 25, but in the thirteenth century, only verse 6, the verse on the arch, was recited from this Psalm.

564. K. Krüger, *Der frühe Bildkult des Franziskus in Italien*, Berlin, 1992, pp. 30–42, 195–8, cat. nos. 2 and 3.

565. Striker ("Fresco cycle," *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, pp. 130–8) contains detailed analyses of the extant fragments and the identifiable scenes, with a composite sketch and numbered scene locations in figs. 71 and 72 (p. 130). E. Winsor ("Preaching to Byzantium," pp. 17–34) argues that two additional scenes can be identified with reasonable probability. According to Winsor (p. 34) the identifications can be characterized as follows:

Scene 1 may have depicted a miracle scene, but we do not know which one.
Scene 2 was very likely the "Appearance at Arles" or a similar preaching episode.
Scene 3 probably represents the "Blind Woman at Narni."
Scene 4 depicts another miracle, unidentified.
Scene 5 is "St. Francis Preaching to the Birds."
Scene 6 could be the Ecstasy of St. Francis, but it is not clearly identifiable.
Scene 7 cannot be identified.
Scene 8 depicts another miracle scene most likely, again not identifiable.

566. Striker, "Fresco cycle," *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, p. 142.

567. Ibid.

568. C. L. Striker, "Crusader Paintings in Constantinople: The Findings at Kalenderhane Camii," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'Arte del XIII Secolo*, Bologna, 1982, p. 120.

569. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons" [1 (1963)], pp. 189–90. I have more to say about this important triptych later.

570. Striker, "Crusader Paintings in Constantinople," *Il Medio Oriente*, p. 120.

571. Striker, "Fresco cycle," *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, p. 142.

572. Ibid., pp. 132, fig. 75, pl. 157; 133, fig. 77, pl. 158; and 137, fig. 82D and 82E, pl. 170.

573. Ibid., pp. 132, fig. 75, pl. 157, and certain other uncontextualized hand fragments not published in the final report. I am indebted to Dr. Striker for sharing a liberal selection of slides of these fragments for my use in formulating this discussion.

574. Striker, "Fresco cycle," *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, p. 136, fig. 82F, and pl. 166.

575. Ibid., pp. 136–7, figs. 82G and 82H, pl. 167; and 82A (St. Francis), pl. 168.

576. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai: App. no. 5/44, Fig. 180. H. Belting published a detail of this icon in his "Introduction," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'Arte del XIII secolo*, Bologna, 1982, p. 2.

577. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 190. Another icon which exhibits formal parallels to this vigorous highlighted drapery style is a panel containing the Deësis with the Twelve Apostles. See Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai," [5 (1972)], pp. 279–86.

578. The literature on London, British Library, Egerton MS 3153, is found in Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 51, 137, and 145; *The British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts: 1936–1945*, London, 1970, pp. 341–3; and C. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (XII–XVI Centuries): With Special Reference to the Practice of the Orders of the Temple and St. John of Jerusalem*, Ph.D. diss., King's College, London, 2000, pp. 86–7, and cat. 1.15.

The main content/decoration of this missal, London, British Library Egerton MS 3153, is as follows:

Missal in Latin.
192 fols. 23.0 × 17.0 cm.
Gatherings of eight folios.
Thirty-six lines in two columns, except for the Preface and Canon, which have nineteen lines.

One full-page panel miniature, numerous decorated initials; most of the paintings are badly damaged.
Fol. 1–7v: Calendar.

8r: *Proprium de tempore.*
Ad te levavi (Two initials are cut out).
81v: Decorated Initial: (V)*espere autem sabbati.*
82v: Decorated Initial: (P)*er omnia secula.*
82v: Decorated Initial: (V)*ere dignum.*
83r: Full-page miniature panel: Crucifixion (15.7 × 10.7 cm.).
83v: Decorated Initial: (T)*e igitur.*
87r: *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum.* (Two initials are cut out).
192r: (end) . . . *casta prudens et fidelis imperare nobis velis gaudia perpetua.*

579. Wormald, "Palaeographical Note," *MPLKJ*, p. 137.

580. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem*, King's College, London, Ph.D. diss., pp. 86–7.

581. The literature on the Padua manuscript of Old Testament selections is found in A. Barzon, *Codici miniati della Biblioteca Capitolare di Padova*, Padua, 1950, no. 35, pp. 34–5, pl. xxxviii a and b; and Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 51–4, 57, 65–6, 78, 81, 95, 145–6. There is also a handwritten catalogue with an entry on this codex as follows: D. D. F. com. Maldura, *Index codicum manuscriptorum qui in bibliotheca Reverendissimi Capituli Cathedralis ecclesiae Patavinae asservantur*, Padua, 1830, pp. 111–12.

The main content/decoration of the Padua book of Old Testament selections is as follows (Fig. 154, CD nos. 81–105):

Old Testament selections in Latin.
363 fols., 39.7 × 27.7 cm, with the interior text block: 21.5 × 6.2 cm, and the full text area with rulings for the surrounding gloss: 28.0 × 17.2 cm, but these ruling dimensions can vary. The rulings are complex to accommodate the small script of the gloss that surrounds the main text and the main text in the center of each folio, the script of which is twice as large as the script of the gloss.
Gatherings of twelve folios mostly.
Main text in twenty-two lines in one column, the surrounding gloss is in fifty-seven lines, but the number of lines can vary.
Twenty-three historiated initials: at the start of the eight parts of the Psalter, and the beginning of the other books, and numerous decorated initials in the text, beginning the gloss for each psalm and book chapter (small painted initials are typically in the range of 2.0 × 2.0 to 3.2 × 3.2 cm in size).

Fol. 1r–v: blank
Psalter:

2r: Psalm 1: Historiated initial (B)*eatus vir* (David playing the psalter; David slaying Goliath; 6.9 × 6.5, with tail flourish 22.1 cm).

28r: Psalm 26: Historiated initial (D)*ominus illuminatio* (David praying to the Lord, with group of three men; 5.8 × 6.3 cm).

41r: Psalm 38: Historiated initial (D)*ixi custodiam* (Seated David with scepter addressing two standing men; 5.0 × 4.9 cm).

53r: Psalm 52: Historiated initial (D)*ixit insipiens* (Seated David, crowned and enthroned with scroll, addressed by standing male youth; 5.9 × 6.1 cm).

66v: Psalm 68: Historiated initial (S)*alvum me fac* (Kneeling David between two demons, all holding scrolls, with a bust of the Lord above; 6.5 × 5.1, with tail flourish 22.0 cm).

81v: Psalm 80: Historiated initial (E)*xultate deo* (Seated king David playing chimes, with two monks looking on; 5.2 × 4.7 cm).

95r: Psalm 97: Historiated initial (C)*antate domino* (King David seated, holding scepter, with leg crossed, with open book on lectern and two priests standing in front; 5.0 × 5.3 cm).

109r: Psalm 109: Historiated initial (D)*ixit dominus* (Christ with his wounds seated holding open book, with God the Father seated, blessing, holding cross; 6.0 × 6.2 cm).

Prophets:

150r: Book of Daniel: Historiated initial (A)*nno tertio* (Daniel in cave with his hands on the heads of two lions; 6.7 × 6.0 cm).

190r: Book of Hosea: Historiated initial (V)*erbum domini* (Hosea and the courtesan; 4.9 × 4.6 cm).

209v: Book of Joel: Historiated initial (V)*erbum domini* (Joel addresses three young men standing before him; 4.95 × 4.6 cm).

216v: Book of Amos: Historiated initial (V)*erba amos* (Amos addresses three men standing before him wearing pointed caps; 3.9 × 4.4 cm).

230r: Book of Obadiah: Historiated initial (V)*isio abdie* (Sleeping Obadiah is addressed by Christ standing by his bed; 5.6 × 5.4 cm).

232v: Book of Jonah: Historiated initial (E)*t factum est* (Jonah is spewed out of the mouth of the fish; 5.2 × 4.7 cm).

236v: Book of Micah: Historiated initial (V)*erbum domini* (Micah seated is addressing a group of five standing men; 5.9 × 5.4 cm).

246r: Book of Nahum: Historiated initial (O)*nus ninive* (Nahum stands in front of the crumbling walls of the city; 4.4 × 4.4 cm).

252r: Book of Habakkuk: Historiated initial (O)*nus quod* (Habakkuk, beardless and standing holding a scroll, addresses a group of four young men; 4.5 × 4.5 cm).

257v: Book of Zephaniah: Historiated initial (V)*erbum domini* (Zephaniah as a shepherd in the hills with his flock addressed by Christ; 5.1 × 4.9 cm).

263r: Book of Haggai: Historiated initial (I)*n anno secundo* (Haggai below addresses the seated King Zerubbabel above; 11.1 × 2.6 cm).

267r: Book of Zachariah: Historiated initial (I)*n mense octavo* (Zachariah below addressing a king above; 9.7 × 2.3 cm).

287r: Book of Malachi: Historiated initial (O)*nus verbi* (Malachi standing at right is addressed by an angel; 5.0 × 4.8 cm).

Maccabees:

295r: First Book of Maccabees: Historiated initial (E)*t factum est* (Mattathias slaying the renegade Jew who is making an offering to two idols; 6.0 × 5.5 cm).

338v: Second Book of Maccabees: Historiated initial (F)*ratribus qui sunt* (A kneeling messenger delivers the letter from Jerusalem to the Jews of Egypt; 7.0 × 6.0, with a tail flourish 22.1 cm).

363r: "*expliciunt libri machabeorum.*"

582. G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich and den Niederlanden*, Kiel, 1938, especially pp. 21–58 and 104–109, with a generous selection of plates. There is also the basic review of this book by C. Nordenfalk, "Insulare und Kontinentale Psalterillustrationen aus dem XIII Jahrhundert," *Acta Archaeologia*, 10 (1939), pp. 107–20.

583. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 52.

584. Ibid., pp. 52–3.

585. This image along with some of the Psalm images may have been attempts by the artist to improvise on his own. Certainly there is no consistent model or groups of models that account for the particularly unusual iconographic details.

586. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 53.

587. Ibid., p. 54.

588. Ibid., p. 97, n. 2.

589. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 263–7.

590. Ibid., pp. 267–70.

591. The prominence of the Dominicans in Acre is well-known, from the time of Louis IX on. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre*, pp. 18–19. Ciggaar points out that "the Dominicans are thought to have had their own scriptorium in Acre in order to meet religious and theological needs." See K. Ciggaar, "Manuscripts as Intermediaries: The Crusader States and Literary Cross-fertilization," *East and West in the Crusader States*, eds. K. Ciggaar, A. Davids, and H. Teule, Louvain, 1996, p. 144 and n. 34.

592. Striker, "Crusader Painting in Constantinople," *Il Medio Oriente*, p. 120, with the following material cited in n. 8: R.-J. Loenertz, "Les Etablissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople," *Echos d'Orient*, 34 (1935), pp. 334–5, reprinted in idem, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, Storia e letteratura, Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 118, Rome, 1970, pp. 211–12.

593. A. Berger, "Kalenderhane in the Latin Period," trans. C. L. Striker, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul*, pp. 16–17. Berger notes that "The Franciscan and Dominican orders were founded shortly after one another, their founders were friends, and they were supported by the same popes. Moreover their members worked with one another, for example, in the embassy to the court of Nicaea sent by Gregory IX [in 1234]. Although unlikely at a later date or in the West, a Franciscan decoration in a Dominican establishment for this time and place cannot be excluded from consideration." On the Dominicans and Franciscans in the Latin East, see B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermission des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Habelschwerdt, 1924; F.-M. Abel, "Le Couvent des Frères Prêcheurs à Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Revue Biblique*, 43 (1934), pp. 265–84; G. Matteucci, *La Missione Francescana di Constantinopoli*, 2 vols., Rome, 1971, 1975, especially vol. 1, pp. 1–108; and G. Governanti, *I Francescani in Acri*, Jerusalem, 1958, pp. 18–43. For the argument proposing a Franciscan identification of this church during the Latin Empire, see now Winsor, "Preaching to Byzantium," pp. 8–16.

594. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 97.

595. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 180–90; and idem, "Icon Painting" [3 (1966)], pp. 56–61.

596. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 56.

597. Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 203.

598. K. Weitzmann, "Annotation," *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, [12 (1982)], 434, annotating p. 57, paragraph 1, in the 1966 *DOP* article.

599. Weitzmann, "Introduction," *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, [12 (1982)], p. ix.

600. Consider the corpus of Western-influenced icons now in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai as presented in the handlist contained in the Appendix.

601. In cataloguing the icons at Sinai, Weitzmann identified this group of "more than one hundred and twenty icons" in the collection as "the product of Latin artists" (Weitzmann, "Introduction," *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, [12 (1982)], p. ix), but he has also identified another significant group of icons in different styles with Arabic inscriptions, most of which have yet to be published and which may also have important relationships with the icons and the icon painters who painted the "Crusader" panels with Latin and/or Greek inscriptions.

602. Weitzmann discusses the uses of icons for the Church of St. Catherine and its chapels. See K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], pp. 63–116.

603. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, pp. 94–5, 456–8.

604. Ibid., pp. 406–7, and see our earlier discussion of icon painting in Chapter 5 of this volume.

605. On the introduction of the altarpiece in Italy and its function in the Latin West, see K. van der Ploeg, "How Liturgical Is a Medieval Altarpiece?" *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61 (2002), pp. 103–21, esp. 108–9.

606. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, Collegeville, MN, 1973, p. 26.

607. Ibid., pp. 24–5.

608. Ibid., pp. 25–6.

609. Without having examined this manuscript and this image firsthand, I must say that from the published photo, the "rolling-eye" convention in MS 1216 seems rather different from the pop-eyed effect achieved in the Arsenal Bible (cf. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, p. 25).

610. See V. N. Beneševitch, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum, qui in monasterio Sanctae Catherinae in monte Sina asservantur*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 171.

611. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Le Monastère du Sinaï, Creuset de Culture Chrétienne (Xe–XIIIe siècle)," *East and West in the Crusader States*, ed. K. Ciggaar et al., *Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta*, 75, Louvain, 1996, p. 117; Weitzmann, "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], p. 81; idem, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 200–1, and L. Eckenstein, *A History of Sinai*, London, 1921, pp. 167–9.

612. See nn. 401–2.

613. J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, Princeton, 1976, pp. 159–61.

614. A. Grabois has discussed the variety of texts produced in Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century ("La Bibliothèque du noble d'Outremer à Acre dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle," *Le Moyen Age*, 103 [1997], pp. 56–61), and he also discusses works of interest to the aristocracy in Acre for which no example survives in the East (ibid., pp. 61–6).

No archaeological evidence has surfaced as yet to help locate where the painters and parchmenters may have worked in Acre. Cf. A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, London and New York, 1999, pp. 214–15. Clearly some other scholars have also contemplated multiple workshops in Acre, especially L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale il Viaggio dei Testi*, III Colloquio Internazionale, Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Rubbettino, 1999, pp. 88–96. Clearly the idea of a single resident workshop must be revised and a more complex paradigm developed (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre*, pp. 21–6). Surely the interest that notably K. Ciggaar is giving daily life in the Crusader States is one approach that holds the promise of interesting new information on manuscript production, painting, and commerce ("Glimpses of Life in Outremer in *Exempla* and *Miracula*," *East and West in the Crusader States*, eds. K. Ciggaar and H. Teule, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 92, Louvain, 1999, pp. 131–52).

615. M. and R. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. 1, London, 2000, pp. 17–49.

616. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 181.

617. Ibid., p. 182.

618. We must allow for the possibility that a Western artist could come to the Holy Land to live and work, where his style could change and develop over time. This might be possible in a younger artist, but in an artist whose Western style was already formulated and established, it appears to be unlikely. The main example we have for this phenomenon is in the person of the artist I have called the Hospitaller Master. See my discussion of the Hospitaller Master, who came from Paris in the late 1270s and worked in Acre for twelve years (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 42–116). I discuss this painter again in Chapter 7 and revise both the name we use to identify him and our estimate of his work and reputation in Paris before he comes to Acre.

619. See my discussion in Chapter 3 (nn. 397 ff.) for the Freiburg Leaf. For the Wolfenbüttel Sketchbook, it is Weitzmann who suggests the idea of a Crusader artist, one who traveled to Constantinople during the Latin occupation, but this idea is one which Buchthal in his monograph does not follow, identifying the artist as Venetian and finding his sources from a much more complex array of models. See Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," 3 (1966), pp. 76–7, and Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and Its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century*, Vienna, 1979. For the Halberstadt Cabinet, see Weitzmann, "Die Malerei des Halberstädter Schrankes und ihre Beziehung zum Osten," 9 (1978), pp. 258–82.

620. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 42–116. This artist was formerly known as the "Hospitaller Master" who we are now proposing to call the "Paris–Acre Master." See discussion in Chapter 7.

621. Pace, "Italy and the Holy Land: Import–Export, 1. The Case of Venice," *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, p. 334.

622. H. Belting, "Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 41 (1978), pp. 246 ff.

623. M. Chatzidakis and G. Babic, "The Icons of the Balkan Peninsula and the Greek Islands," *The Icon*, 11 (1982), pp. 133, 155; Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and *Maniera Greca*," [14 (1984)], pp. 157–8; and Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [8 (1978)], pp. 108–9.

624. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], p. 115.

625. The Acre Triptych in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai measures 56.8 × 47.5 cm for the central panel. This triptych is published by Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 185–90; idem, "Icon Painting" [3 (1966)], pp. 56–61, reprinted in idem, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* [12 (1982)], pp. 291–386, with "Annotation," pp. 432–6; and idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 202–3, 206, 215–16, 233.

626. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 186–7.

627. See, for example, the Bargello Madonna and Child with Passion Scenes, *c.*1260s, or the panels of the Magdalen Master now in Paris, *c.*1260s, or in Florence, illustrated by A. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 3, 4. No French panels survive this early to give us an indication of whether there were French Gothic altarpieces of relevance here.

628. In Duccio's version of this scene in the much later Maestà, 1308–11, the composition is completely different but the strong psychological link between Jesus and his mother, Mary, is clearly the same. Careful study indicates that examples like this seem to accumulate and tend to bear out V. Pace's contention that in terms of import–export issues, Italy imported certain artistic ideas from the Crusader East as well as Byzantium and possibly the Latin Empire, thus complicating the whole phenomenon referred to generally as the *maniera graeca*. On the phenomenon of the *maniera graeca*, see, for example, J. Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence in Thirteenth Century Italian Panel Painting," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), pp. 87–101; and K. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and *Maniera Greca* [14 (1984)], pp. 143–70.

629. Again this scene has slightly later Italian parallels with the tender embrace and the demonstrative grieving, leading to the dramatic, and famous, scene of the Lamentation by Giotto in the Arena Chapel, *c.*1306.

630. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons" [1 (1963)], p. 188.

631. Ibid. cites the famous apse mosaic in the church of St. Maria in Trastevere, in Rome from *c.*1140.

632. P. Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge: Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique*, Montréal and Paris, 1980, pp. 17–47.

633. See, for example, the gable fragment by Guido da Siena, now in London, cited by Weitzmann and published by G. Coor-Achenbach, "The Earliest Italian Representation of the Coronation of the Virgin," *Burlington Magazine*, 99 (1957), p. 328. See also the stained-glass oculus window in the wall of the apse of the Siena cathedral, attributed to Duccio between 1285 and 1308. These examples are all discussed by Verdier, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge*, pp. 153–8.

634. H. Belting, "The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: *Historia* and Allegory," *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, eds. H. Kessler and M. S. Simpson, *Studies in the History of Art*, 16 (1985), p. 152.

635. A. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy*, p. 2.

636. The linear conventions of dealing with the eyes are widespread and start to be found in Italy as well as the Holy Land as we move to the late 1250s and the early 1260s. Compare, for example, the version of this convention in the Gaibana Epistolary, dated 1259 (cf. Bellinati and Bettini, *L'Epistolario Miniato di Giovanni da Gaibana*, vol. 1, fols. 2v, 19v, etc.) or the Madonna and Child from the Church of Santa Sofia in Padua, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century (ibid., vol. 2, fig. 9).

637. I refer here to the Perugia Missal, the Arsenal Bible, and the Crucifixion icon, all dating *c.*1250.

638. Weitzmann drew this comparison when he first published the central panel ("Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons" [1 (1963)], p. 186), but he qualifies this in his "Annotation" (*Studies in the Arts in Sinai*, [12 (1982)], p. 433) to say this was probably the very icon on which the Crusader artist was modeling his work.

639. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)] p. 186.

640. The angels' drapery seems problematic because of its lack of precision as to what garments they are wearing and to what extent they may have been repainted. The problem of repainting on this central panel is a major issue that must be resolved with careful examination of the original.

641. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 185–6.

642. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 69–71.

643. V. Pace, "Italy and the Holy Land: Import-Export, 2, The Case of Apulia," *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda, Oxford, 1982, p. 247.

644. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 61.

645. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 185–6.

646. A. Derbes, "Siena and the Levant in the Later Dugento," *Gesta*, 28 (1989), p. 198. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Derbes for discussing this issue with me and sharing her views generously and at some length.

647. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 66; and E. Carli, *Pittura medievale Pisano*, Milan, 1958, pls. 11, 13–14.

648. The outpouring of images of the Virgin and Child in Dugento central Italy is impressive, and this Crusader example seems to reflect many aspects of these works, but there are no precise parallels to the throne. Useful works among the older bibliography include E. Sandberg Vavalà, *L'Iconografia della Madonna col Bambino nella Pittura Italiana del Dugento*, Siena, 1934; R. Jaques, "Die Ikonographie der Madonna in Trono in der Malerei des Dugento," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 5 (1937), pp. 2–57;

C. H. Weigelt, Über die "Mütterliche" Madonna in der Italienischen Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Art Studies*, 6 (1928), pp. 195–221; and E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*, Florence, 1949, rpt. New York, 1976, esp. pp. 40–9, 75, 79–84, 87–101, 111–44, 150–60.

649. The tile "floor" is clearly somewhat problematic. Weitzmann noted that the Arezzo comparison he cited might be a later repaint ("Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," (1) 1963, p. 186, n. 39). This view is shared by J. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, Princeton, 1964, pp. 64–5, catalogue VI. M. Frinta ("Raised Gilded Adornment of the Cypriot Icons, and the Occurrence of the Technique in the West," *Gesta*, 20 (1981), p. 336) says that he finds the tile floor "to be a motif too late to be used still in Acre." Careful analysis of the Acre Triptych in the Monastery of St. Catherine's is necessary to evaluate the possibility of repainting.

650. At this point it is appropriate to note that the condition of this central panel is a major issue, and the question of repainting must be carefully examined not only with regard to the tiled floor, but also the gold decoration on the throne itself. Possibly also the garments of the two standing angels may have been repainted at a later time as well. For Weitzmann's claim that this triptych was done as intended with two separate styles combined in one work, we must verify the integrity of the condition of the central panel, including, of course, the way the hinges are set for both wings.

I am greatly indebted to Joanna Cannon for her enlightening comments on this panel using the published photographs. From her comprehensive knowledge of Sienese painting and Tuscan painting more broadly, I am grateful to have her incisive observations on the problems of condition with regard to this triptych and the relationship of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Tuscan painting of the second half of the thirteenth century.

651. By "this time," I mean the third quarter of the thirteenth century. See the various examples in Carli, *Pittura medievale Pisana*, pls. 45–7 (the Pisa St. Francis panel); or Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, figs. 32, 33 (works known as the Arezzo Madonna, and a polyptych by the Master of the Madonna del Voto).

652. This is not to say that the Crusaders necessarily invented this technique. It is difficult to say where it was invented, but as M. Frinta has remarked about these developments in other discussions, often Byzantine artists may have experimented with these ideas early on. In this case, the earliest Byzantine example known to me is the icon of the Virgin and Child Enthroned between two Archangels, dated about 1200, now in the Church of St. Nicholas in Veroia. This icon is doubly interesting because of its red background, a feature that D. Mouriki has discussed in relation to Cypriot icons. See E. Tsigaridas, "Icon of the Virgin and Child Between Archangels," *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. Vassilaki, Athens, 2000, pp. 342–3.

653. M. Frinta has discussed these developments in a series of studies leading up to his newly published encyclopedia of *Punched Decoration on Late Medieval Panel and Miniature Painting*, vol. 1, Prague, 1998. See idem, "Raised Gilded Adornment of the Cypriot Icons," pp. 333–43; idem, "Relief Decoration in Gilded Pastiglia on the Cypriot Icons and Its Propagation in the West," *Acta of the Second International Congress of Cypriot Studies*, 1982, Nicosia, 1986, pp. 539–44; idem, "Relief Imitation of Metallic Sheathing of Byzantine Icons as an Indicator of East–West Influences," *The High Middle Ages*, Binghamton, 1983, pp. 147–67; idem, "The Decoration of the Gilded Surfaces in Panel Painting around 1300," *Europäische Kunst um 1300*, Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, 1983, ed. E. Liskar, Vienna, Cologne, Graz, 1986, pp. 69–75. None of the Crusader examples uses punched decoration, a technique that emerges in Italy somewhat later, around 1300.

654. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 70. Despite this claim, questions have been raised about these wings: whether they were originally done for this triptych or were a later addition, whether an additional strip of wood was added to the wings to adjust their height to that of the central panel, whether the hinges are original or not, and so on. These questions all need to be decided on the basis of careful physical examination of the Acre Triptych in detail.

655. Doula Mouriki, ("Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," pp. 24–26) notes the special use of red backgrounds in three circumstances related to its appearance in thirteenth-century icons on Cyprus: first, Comnenian painting in the twelfth-century; second, Syriac thirteenth-century manuscript painting; and third, Romanesque painting in western Europe.

656. Derbes, "Siena and the Levant in the Later Dugento," p. 198. The implications of Derbes's discussion are to suggest that this Triptych may date in the 1260s or even a bit later. Although I agree that the Tuscan connection and the circle of Guido da Siena is the correct evaluation, I propose a somewhat earlier dating later.

657. For the Madonna del Voto master's painting, see Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, fig. 33; for a color reproduction, see P. Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena, I Dipinti dal XII al XIV Secolo*, Genoa, 1980, pp. 32–3, which is dated to *c.*1260. See now the discussion about the work of the Madonna del Voto Master and Guido da Siena, among others, by H. B. J. Maginnis, "Everything in a Name? or The Classification of Sienese Duecento Painting," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and the Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61 (2002), pp. 471–85, esp. 471, 482.

658. The icon of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria is reproduced in color by H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, Chicago and London, 1994, colorplate pl. VI between pp. 264 and 265. See also n. 32 on p. 591.

659. I am indebted to Joanna Cannon for her terminology here. I cannot find an exact parallel for this artist's work, but it is in the circle of "Guido-style" painting that the closest comparisons are found.

660. We have already seen how Pisa represented Tuscan commercial interests in Acre during this period and that therefore merchants from other Tuscan cities, such as Siena or San Gimignano, would fly the Pisan flag when operating here. We can expect a similar Tuscan artistic presence in Crusader Acre, in which Tuscan style was represented by a variety of artists, not all of which would necessarily be Pisan. On Pisa as the Tuscan representative in Acre, see D. Abulafia, "Crocuses and Crusaders: San Gimignano, Pisa and the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Outremer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C.Smail, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 227–43.

661. See, P. Hills, *Venetian Colour*, New Haven and London, 1999, pp. 32, 35.

662. Pace discussed the style in his 1982 article, see n. 643, this chapter. He discusses problems of stylistic method in relation to these Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style works in idem, "L'analisi 'stilistica' come metodologia storica: possibilità e limiti: con particolare riferimento alle icone 'crociate'," *Artistes, Artisans et Production Artistique au Moyen Age*, ed. X. Barral I Altet, vol. III, *Fabrication et Consommation de l'Oeuvre*, Paris, 1990, pp. 513–23. His important methodological discussion is further commented on by T. Carratù, "Venise et la Langue Franque," in *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, pp. 308–13, in her careful review of the state of the question.

663. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 69–74. I discuss this attribution later when addressing the group of icons and the artist to which Weitzmann assigned this name.

664. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 70. The other icons that he attributes to this group include three standing soldier saints (no. 1118), St. Sergius mounted with a kneeling donor (no. 80), Sts. Sergius and Bacchus mounted (no. 23), Sts. Catherine and Marina (no. 1418), among others to be discussed later.

665. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 65–6.

666. Ibid., pp. 73–4.

667. Pace recognized this possibility in his discussion of the limits of stylistic analysis; see "L'analisi 'stilistica' come metodologia storica: possibilità e limiti," p. 514.

668. Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 67.

669. Carli, *Pittura medievale Pisana*, pl. 52. Weitzmann himself noticed this comparison ("Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14] 1984, pp. 156–7, figs. 17–18), but he proposes that the Verano panel done by a Pisan artist was done in the 1270s under the influence of a model like the St. Nicholas found on the Acre Triptych. He continues to maintain in 1984 his view that the artist of the Acre Triptych St. Nicholas was south Italian.

670. D. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis, Athens, 1990, p. 178, fig. 52.

671. In the mosaics of S. Vitale, the *Agnus Dei* appears as a eucharistic symbol of Christ in the apex of the choir vault mosaics before the main apse. The *Agnus Dei* on the disc also appears as an attribute of St. John the Baptist in the carved ivory frontal of the *cathedra* of Maximianus, also at Ravenna. See O. G. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, Chicago and London, 1948, rpt. 1976, pls. 8 and 28.

672. E. Dewald, *Italian Painting: 1200–1600*, New York, 1961, p. 62, fig. 3.13.

673. For the French examples, see W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France: 1140–1270*, London, 1972, pls. 83, 86 (Chartres, north transept, central door, right side jambs, *c.*1210), pls. 219, 220 (Reims, west portal, right doorway, right side jambs, *c.*1220).

674. P. Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant with the *Christus Vincit* Legend," *American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes*, 6 (1954), pp. 172–8. There is much discussion about this coin as to where and when it may have been minted. A. A. Gordus and D. M. Metcalf ("Gold Coinages of the Crusader States," *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 105) prefer to consider Tripoli after 1268 for this coin, but I think it predates the use of such a motif on the French gros tournois.

675. We can note that the pose of the lamb differs slightly in each case – the lamb looks forward in the medallion whereas on the coin it looks back toward the banner; the lamb has ram's horns on the medallion but none on the coin, and the banner carries a differently shaped cross in each case. On the coin it is the cross of St. Andrew, and on the medallion it is the usual red, equal-armed cross on the white banner.

676. See E. J. King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, London, 1932, p. 12, and pl. III, no. 2, "unique bulla used in 1221." King cannot account for why this seal was used instead of that of the Master, who in this case was Garin de Montagu. The image of the lamb in this case has the animal in the same position, but with his head turned back to see the banner, which has a regular equal-armed cross. He has no horns, but his halo seems to have four rays behind his head. This drawing of the seal was published by S. Pauli, *Codice Diplomatico*, vol. 1, p. 113. The document is found in Delaville Le Roulx, Cartulaire, vol. II, p. 297, no. 1739.

677. P. de Saint-Hilaire, *Les Sceaux Templiers et leurs Symboles*, Puisseaux, 1999, pp. 34–5, 165–7.

678. See ibid., pp. 82–5, 94, among others. See also H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, pp. 177, 180, 202, 211, for color illustrations of certain seals of the masters in England, including that of Richard of Hastings.

See discussion of Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS n.a.fr. 1404, with the prologue to Judges mentioning the Master Richard of Hastings in Chapter 7 and in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 60–7.

679. See J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, London, 1967, pp. 447–50; and Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, vol. III, pp. 318–19, no. 3565.

680. J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. F. Brunner, vol. 2, New York, 1955, pp. 332–40.

681. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, vol. 2, Chicago and London, 1984, pp. 69, 253, n. 178.

682. Here again we see this detail appearing in Italian painting as well, for example, in the Gaibana Epistolario dated 1259, among others. See Bellinati and Bettini, *L'Epistolario Miniato di Giovanni da Gaibana*, vol. 1, fol. 19v (Adoration of the Magi). It is interesting that this convention for the haloes appears primarily in the Crusader icons and not in the Perugia Missal, whereas in Italy it apparently appears in manuscripts and panel paintings.

683. Among possible events, there are a series of examples ranging in date from 1258 to 1261. There is, for example, the vote of the High Court to recognize Plaisance as regent and King Hugh of Cyprus as the rightful heir in the absence of the Hohenstaufen, Conradin, in February 1258. In May 1259, Queen Plaisance appointed Geoffrey de Sergines as the new *bailli* in the wake of the death of John of Arsuf. In January 1261, an armistice was reached by which Venice and Pisa were established in their quarters in Acre, Genoa withdrew its merchants to Tyre, and, as Runciman characterized it, "the warring nobles and Military Orders were officially reconciled" (Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 286). The problem is, there is no way as yet to link the Acre Triptych to any of these or other contemporary developments in the Crusader capital.

684. We await the publication of R. D. Pringle's third volume of his corpus of Crusader churches, with information on the churches of Acre, to assist us here.

685. See the important discussion of confraternities in Acre by J. Riley-Smith, "A Note Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), pp. 301–8. The mendicant orders such as the Franciscans or the Dominicans, founded in the West, or the Carmelites, founded in the East, would be possible patrons.

686. J. White, *Duccio*, 1979, pp. 32–3, who discusses the Laudesi, or the Compagnia delle Laudi di S. Maria Novella in Florence as patrons of this work. See also L. Bellosi, "The Function of the *Rucellai Madonna* in the Church of Santa Maria Novella," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61 (2002), pp. 147–59.

687. J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250–1400*, Baltimore, 1966, pp. 108–9.

688. One of the significant differences between the Acre Triptych and these two later examples is the fact that only the former features full-length standing angels, as we saw in the Byzantine icon from Sinai that Weitzmann claims may have been its model. In fact most later thirteenth-century enthroned images of the Virgin have kneeling, bust-length, or partial images of some kind. It is therefore quite interesting to note that the newly discovered panel with the Virgin and Child Enthroned, recently acquired by the National Gallery in London and attributed to Cimabue by Dillian Gordon, has two standing full-length angels holding the throne as well. It remains to be seen what date will be proposed for the Cimabue panel, but it is likely that the Acre Triptych is slightly earlier. I am grateful to Joanna Cannon for drawing my attention to this panel by Cimabue. For the Cimabue panel, see the report by N. F. Weber, "Found in a Country House, A 'Curator's Dream'," *New York Times*, Sunday, March 4, 2001, "Art and Architecture" section, p. 23 (with color reproduction).

689. These dates correspond to the period when, in the aftermath of the War of St. Sabas, we find the new political and commercial arrangements being worked out in Acre under which Venice and Pisa would operate in the Crusader capital. See nn. 242 ff.

690. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai," [15 (1986)], pp. 64–94; idem, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14 (1984)], p. 158.

691. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 181. Weitzmann notes that even though the size of the beams suggests they were done for a chapel at Sinai, "the great diversity of styles precludes the possibility that they were all painted at Sinai itself." As noted earlier, he changes his mind on this point later. When it comes to this beam specifically, however, he says, "if for the later 13th century we have been able to establish a Venetian workshop, it must be seen in the light of many workshops at Sinai, those organized by Crusader artists being rather an exception than the rule" (idem, "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], p. 115). I discuss the special case of this beam later. I think he is correct here in what he says.

692. Iconostasis beam now in the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. It consists of three wooden boards, the first with four scenes, the second with five scenes, and the third with four scenes. The total length of the beam is 2.25 meters. See Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 181–3; idem, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 62–4; idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 204, 222–4; idem, "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], pp. 82–6. See also J. Folda, "The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187–1291: Some New Realities," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 58 (2005), forthcoming.

693. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 182.

694. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], pp. 82–6; idem, *The St. Peter Icon of Dumbarton Oaks*, [13 (1983)], p. 26, fig. 28 (Pentecost); idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 222–4; idem, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 62–4; and idem, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 181–3.

695. The width of this scene is 28.9 cm.

696. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 62; and Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 204.

697. As Pace points out these inscriptions did not necessarily have to be executed by the artists themselves (idem, "Italy and the Holy Land: Import–Export. 1. The Case of Venice," pp. 332–3).

698. Weitzmann, "Annotation," *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, [12 (1982)], p. 433, n. to p. 182, points out that the square format is not exclusively Western and does occasionally appear in Byzantine examples. For a typical Byzantine example with the arched format, see Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. Manafis, Athens, 1990, pp. 106–7, 162–3, figs. 31–3.

699. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 182.

700. It is worth recalling that a Crusader painter dealt with the Twelve Feasts iconography in the late twelfth century in Jerusalem, in a single icon panel, discussed in volume 1 (Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 406–8, and pl. 9.38). In this earlier

instance, it is striking how closely the artist followed his Byzantine model compared with the imagery we find in this iconostasis beam, however. It will be evident from a comparison of these two works, however, that the Venetian Crusader painter was not using this earlier Crusader panel for his model, but must have been looking at some purely Byzantine example.

701. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 62–3.

702. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 182–3; idem, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 63–3; and K. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), p. 21.

703. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 64. See also our earlier discussion concerning the Coronation of the Virgin on the outer wing of the Acre Triptych.

704. Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 204.

705. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], p. 84.

706. The interesting example of the Three Magi in the Gaiabana Epistolary, dated 1259, is a Western version that shows touches of Byzantine and possibly Crusader influence (Bellinati and Bettini, *L'Epistolario Miniato di Giovanni da Gaibana*, vol. 1, fol. 19v).

707. See the variety of caps of which this is one example, in J. Kubiski, "Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (*Cité des Dames* Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master)," *Gesta*, 40 (2001), p. 167.

708. This is not the only representation of a Mongol in Christian painting. There is also the more or less contemporary image of Hulagu and his wife depicted as Constantine and Helena with the Holy Cross, in the Syriac lectionary, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, MS Syr. 559, fol. 223v (third quarter of the thirteenth century). See G. Lenzi, "Lezionario dei Vangeli. Siriaco," in *I Vangeli dei Popoli*: La Parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia, Città del Vaticano: Palazzo della Cancelleria, 2000, pp. 307–9, fig. 75, in color, showing the beautiful oriental designs of Hulagu's and Doquz Khatun's robes, set against a red background, and the older reproduction in black and white, J. Leroy, *Les Manuscrits Syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, Paris, 1964, pl. 99, fig. 2. In this image the identification of Hulagu is largely dependent on his physiognomy, and therefore questions have been raised about this identification, but in the iconostasis beam image, Kitbogha is given not only a distinctive physiognomy rendered in three-quarter view, but also distinctive Mongol garments, including especially his cap.

Mongols also appear in Baghdad School painting toward the end of the thirteenth century. It is interesting to compare these images with the examples from Christian manuscripts. See M. S. Simpson, "The Role of Baghdad in the Formation of Persian Painting," *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, Paris, 1982, esp. pp. 109–14. My thanks to Shreve Simpson for drawing my attention to this important article.

709. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 63. Weitzmann restates this view in "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], p. 84.

710. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, Cambridge, 1954, p. 307.

711. This is not the only appearance of a Mongol in Christian scenes of the three magi. In an Armenian manuscript illuminated by T'oros Roslin dated 1260, we find the bodyguard of the Magi, who are mentioned in apocryphal gospel accounts as soldiers who accompanied the Magi, to be represented as Mongols. S. der Nersessian explains this as the artist "bearing in mind that the Magi came from the East, . . . he has represented the bodyguard with the facial type and costume of the Oriental peoples best known to him, namely the Mongols, the allies of the king of Cilicia [Hethoum I]" (S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia*, 1, Washington, D.C., 1993, p. 60, and nn. 45 and 46, and II, fig. 212).

Der Nersessian expresses her doubts that the Mongol in the Nativity Scene on the iconostasis beam represents Kitbogha, as Weitzmann proposed and we are seconding here. But her objection, that Kitbogha was a Nestorian, and therefore in the eyes of the Latins a heretic, is apparently not taking into consideration the complexity of the situation. She does not seem to be taking full account of the widely differing views inside the Latin community, Latin involvement with Armenian politics and their alliance with the Mongols, and papal attempts to bring Nestorians – other than Mongols who were Nestorians – back to the fold. Whereas the barons of Acre were deeply offended by the pro-Mongol, pro-Kitbogha views of Bohemond VI and his overtures to the Greeks, Bohemond himself had good reasons for his Mongol sympathies and for his attempts at harmonious relations with the Greek Orthodox Church in regard to Antioch. As Mayer points out, during this period (1252–75), "Antioch was swept completely into the orbit of Armenian politics" (Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 276). The pope meanwhile had, in the 1240s and 1250s, attempted to make friendly overtures to the Nestorians, and some Nestorians living in the Crusader States had recognized the papal primacy (Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 357). Richard ("The Mongols and the Franks," *Journal of Asian History*, 3 [1969], pp. 45–57) discusses some of the most important of the complex developments in his basic article, updated in his recent book, *The Crusades, c.1071–1291*, pp. 408–41.

712. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, Cambridge, 1954, p. 300.

713. Images of exotic foreigners becomes a feature of painting in the International Gothic style around 1400 in Europe. Despite the advent of "Gothic realism" in the thirteenth century, detailed "portraiture" in terms of dress and ethnic characteristics is still relatively rare in the thirteenth century. But Crusader painters do occasionally produce interesting examples in panel painting, as here, and in manuscript illumination, as Chapter 7 discusses, in the manuscript now in London (British Library, Add. MS 15268). For the depiction of foreigners in works of the International Gothic style, see J. Kubiski, "Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (*Cité des Dames Master*, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master)," *Gesta*, 40 (2001), pp. 161–80.

714. See T. T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 11–98.

715. For the portrait of the royal family in the Gospels of Queen Keran (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2563, fol. 380) and the portrait of Prince Vasak in the Gospels of Vasak (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2568, fol. 320), see S. der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, trans. S. Bourne and A. O'Shea, Paris, 1978, p. 145, fig. 107, and p. 147, fig. 109, respectively.

It is not unknown for one of the three magi to wear a red garment in Byzantine imagery, and we see the eldest magus wearing a red tunic in the image of the Adoration of the Magi in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, but here a red cloak is specified that compares favorably with the Armenian royal iconography of the Hetoumid family. For the Melisende Psalter image, see Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 138, pl. 6.8d.

Hetoum I does not wear a crown in this image, presumably because the artist was following a very individual interpretation of who the magi were meant to be within the context of a Nativity image otherwise Byzantine in its character. Each figure is individually characterized to be recognizeable. It is in any case not consistent that all Armenian royal figures wear crowns, as seen in the two images cited earlier.

716. S. Merian, "Un feuillet appartenant à la Collection Feron-Stoclet acquis par la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York," *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, 27 (1998–2000), 417–21.

717. S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, Washington, D.C., 1993, vol. 1, pp. 156–9, vol. 2, figs. 641 (black and white and color), 646, 647 (black and white and color).

718. See, e.g., E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam, Art of the Mamluks*, Washington, D.C., 1981, pp. 58–9, no. 11, a pierced globe dated *c.*1270; and R. Ward, S. La Niece, D. Hook, and R. White, "'Veneto-Saracenic' Metalwork: An Analysis of the Bowls and Incense Burners in the British Museum," *Trade and Discovery, the Scientific Study of Artefacts from Post-medieval Europe and Beyond*, eds. D. Hook and D. Gaimster, British Museum Occasional Papers, 109, London, 1995, pp. 235–58.

719. See, for example, the bearded image of Hulagu, in a Syriac Lectionary book dating *c.*1260 now in the Vatican Library: Vatican Syriac MS 559, fol. 223v. A reproduction is published in *I Vangeli dei Popoli*, eds. F. D'Aiuto, G. Morello, and A. M. Piazzoni, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, 2000, p. 309.

720. See the enlightening remarks by Giles Constable in his long introduction on "Beards in History," in *Apologiae Duae: Gozechini Epistola ad Walcherum and Burchardi, ut videtur, Abbatis Bellevallis, Apologia de Barbis*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, LXII, Turnholt, 1985, especially pp. 85–130.

721. Weitzmann comments on this iconostasis beam as having been done for the Latin

chapel at Sinai in "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], pp. 82–6.

722. Templar of Tyre: new edition by L. Minervini, ed., Cronaca del Templare di Tiro: (1243–1314), Naples, 2000, p. 82, sect. 67 (303), old edition, part III of *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, for the Société de l'Orient Latin, Geneva, 1887, pp. 161–2, ch. 303. On the Templar of Tyre, identified as the secretary to William of Beaujeu, Grand Master of the Temple, see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 482. On this report, see now the discussion of D. Sourdel, "Bohémond et les chrétiens à Damas sous l'occupation mongole," *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. M. Balard et al., Aldershot, 2001, pp. 295–9. She does not believe that the mosque in question was the great mosque of Damascus.

723. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 325. Hamilton also comments that "the intrusion of an Orthodox prelate in a Latin see through the intervention of a Mongol warlord was predictably viewed with abhorrence by the Latin hierarchy in the kingdom of Acre," but it was shortlived, just as the Christian control of Damascus was fated to be.

724. Until the wood used for these beams and the relevant icons can be scientifically examined in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, we will not know what possible information can be learned about the origin and the nature of the wood.

725. The hypothesis that this iconostasis beam was painted at Sinai rests partly on the fact that a number of such beams, both Byzantine and Crusader, were known to have been painted at Sinai in this period, and second, the fact that the beam is preserved at St. Catherine's Monastery today, where it has probably always been. Although it cannot be proved as yet that it was not painted in Acre, it would be more difficult to account for how it was produced there and then taken to Sinai later in the absence of any clear evidence to support this possibility.

726. Pace of course argues that the paintings on this beam should be dated much later, at the end of the thirteenth century ("Italy and the Holy Land: Import – Export. 1. The Case of Venice," p. 333). His stylistic points are important, but the relationship of this imagery with these historical developments forces me to overcome my doubts and offer the 1260 date. If, however, when all is said and done, in fact this beam must be dated later on technical grounds, I could only see it as a copy of an earlier beam that had been done in 1260. But for the present, why could the stylistic ideas Pace observes in these paintings not have come from the Crusader East? Interest in three-dimensional space is also what we see in the central panel of the Acre Triptych, to be dated *c.*1260, not to mention several other Crusader icons.

727. There will be frequent reference to Kurt Weitzmann's various studies on the Crusader icons, which I discuss subsequently. Suitable abbreviations for the corpus of these fifteen studies appear at the start of this volume in the list of abbreviations for the text, notes, and Appendix to this volume.

728. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14 (1984)], pp. 168–9.

729. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: 66.0 × 45.6 cm, with a thickness of 3.6 cm. See Weitzmann, "Four Icons," [5 (1972)], pp. 279–84.

730. Besides the throne of the Virgin in the Annunciation icon (no. 44), see also those in another multilevel Deësis icon (no. 293), or an icon with the Virgin Enthroned and three other scenes (no. 574). There is also the related if somewhat different versions on a triptych with a Deësis and standing saints below, with its wings containing the Annunciation (no. 1177). These thrones are all bench thrones in effect, with or without any backs, and they show similar design characteristics of decorated rectangular bodies with large triangular feet below, and an associated decorated footstool. None of these panels is necessarily the product of the same artist, but the throne design suggests a workshop type they were all familiar with. These artists are also using the typical Crusader haloes. They are mostly not drawn with a compass, and consist of either an incised linear rim or have a painted red or black rim decorated with white "pearls." There is also variable ornament for the icon borders visible in this group, which also seem to be part of the repertory of this workshop. The repertory contains plain gold frames outlined in red or golden lozenges with pairs of "pearls" set on a black background.

731. Weitzmann discusses another Sinai icon with the more usual Twelve Apostles, the outer wing of a triptych fragment. The wing of this icon (no. 886) measures 20.5 × 14.0 cm with Twelve Apostles all standing frontally in two registers on lower panel, and with Elijah and Moses in the lunette above. See Weitzmann, "Four Icons," [5 (1972)], pp. 286–9.

732. Weitzmann, "Four Icons," [5 (1972)], pp. 281–3.

733. Ibid., pp. 285–6.

734. Ibid., p. 290.

735. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. See H. Belting, "Introduction," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'Arte del XIII secolo*, Bologna, 1982, p. 2.

736. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 195.

737. Other Sinai icons include elaborate raised gesso decoration and indeed may not be by this same painter, but in most cases their condition is poor and the painted surface is seriously degraded. See, for example, the icons of St. George on Horseback (no. 357), Three Standing Male Saints with Scrolls (no. 589), three Virgin and Child Hodegetria icons (no. 671, no. 681, no. 715) all three with damage to the faces and with massive repainting, a panel of St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness (no. 844), and a Transfiguration panel (no. 1012). These icons all have raised gesso that seem to share similar patterns on the frames, in the background, and in the haloes. There are a few other "Western-influenced" icons at Sinai that have the raised gesso but do not belong to this group, because of certain differences. In some cases the type of raised gesso and the patterns are different, for example, a very damaged double-decker icon wing (?) with the Flight into Egypt in the upper register (no. 909), or a very decorative icon of the Virgin and Child standing between two male saints (no. 1482). In other cases the icon only includes the raised gesso in differing patterns inside the haloes, as, for example, yet another Virgin and Child Hodegetria (no. 1518), or a Virgin and Child Blacherniotissa (no. 427); on the frame, for example, another image of St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness (no. 1803); or on the background, for example, another Transfiguration (no. 154).

738. Cormack and Mihalarias, "A Crusader painting of St. George," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 132–41.

739. I discuss this icon later, when we take up the issue of Crusader icons with mounted soldier saints, of which we have a variety of examples, some icons with one and some with more than one mounted soldier saint depicted.

740. Frinta, "Relief Imitation of Metallic Sheathing," *The High Middle Ages*, pp. 147–9.

741. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 24.4 × 17.5, cited by Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 196, n. 90, but variously reported also as 32.0 × 25.6 cm in Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 219.

742. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 32.2 × 25.7 cm. See V. Beneševic, ed., *Monumenta Sinaitica Archaeologica et Palaeographica*, fasc. 1, Leningrad/Petropoli, 1925, cols. 39–43, pl. 21 (N.B. plate 21 shows this icon to be somewhat more heavily damaged than we see it today, although part of the effect may be explained by the mode of photography.); Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 199–200; idem, "An Encaustic Icon," [4 (1966)], pp. 720–2; idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 217.

743. Weitzmann, "An Encaustic Icon," [4 (1966)], pp. 720, 722.

744. Ibid., p. 720.

745. Ibid.

746. Weitzmann identifies this figure either as St. Gregory Nazianzus (Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 199; and idem, "An Encaustic Icon," [4 (1966)], p. 720), or as St. Nicholas, the popular bishop of Myra, whose relics were later transferred to Bari (Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 203). Weitzmann's argument for identifying the figure as St. Gregory is much more convincing than the suggestion that he could be St. Nicholas, based on his own detailed analysis of the iconography and on the fact that the costume he wears here is not typical of images of St. Nicholas in Byzantine art at this time.

747. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 31.0 × 24.8 cm. See Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 192–3; and idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 203–4, 211.

748. Icon from the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai: 27.2 × 19.1 cm. See Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 194.

749. Cormack and Mihalarias, "A Crusader painting of St. George," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 132–41.

750. Icon from the Collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai:

41.9 × 30.9 cm. See Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 190–2.

751. J. Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon," *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, pp. 106–33.

752. Icon now in the collection of the British Museum, M&LA 1984, 6–1, 1 (National Icon Collection, no. 13): 26.8 × 18.8 cm. See, Cormack and Mihalarias, "A Crusader painting of St. George," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 132–41; and Cormack, "Icon of St George and the youth of Mytilene," *Byzantium*, ed. D. Buckton, London, 1994, pp. 176–7. See also the discussion of related material in D. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, n.s. 1–2 (1985–6), pp. 9–112.

753. I discuss the icons as examples of mounted soldier images in the later discussion of a group of Crusader icons in Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style.

754. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. See Cormack and Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St George," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), p. 137; and Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon," *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, pp. 109 and 128, n. 24.

755. Folda, "Crusader Frescoes at Crac des Chevaliers," *DOP*, 36 (1982), pp. 194–5, fig. 22.

756. The iconography of these mounted saints icons is a special category among the Crusader paintings, to which I return later, when we consider the icons painted by Crusader artists of Italo-Byzantine and possibly Syrian background.

757. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 41.9 × 30.9 cm. See Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 190–2.

758. See the St. John the Baptist in the wilderness icons in the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai (App. nos. 71/884 and 112/1803).

759. St. John was arrested by order of Herod Antipas, and by tradition he was kept in prison at Macherus, south of Mount Nebo. When he was executed, his head was brought to the banquet, and eventually it was buried at Sebaste, northwest of Nablus (Matthew 14: 1–12, Mark 6: 14–29, and Luke 3: 19–20. See M. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*, Jerusalem, 1968, map 227, p. 143.

760. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 192.

761. Icon in the Collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 27.2 × 19.1 cm. See Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 194,

762. Folda, *ACHL* 1, p. 366, pl. 9.26d.

763. We can connect this style with icons of the Nativity (no. 1831) and the Baptism of Christ (no. 1836), to be discussed later.

764. Icon from the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai: 33.7 × 24.9 cm; width of border, 1.7 cm; thickness of the board, 2.7 cm. See Weitzmann, "Four Icons," [5 (1972)], pp. 289–91, Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai*, p. 119, and n. 94.

765. Icon from the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai: 33.5 × 23.2 cm, width of border, 1.8 cm, thickness of the board, 2.9 cm. See Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai*, p. 119 and n. 94.

766. Icon fragment from the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai: 33.5 × 10.5 cm (fragmentary width); width of border, 1.6 cm; thickness of the board, 2.1 cm. See Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai*, p. 119, and n. 95. This fragment was also published by G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2, pp. 163–4, 1, fig. 176.

767. On this issue and its origins in the Holy Land, see, K. Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP*, 28 (1974), pp. 35–48.

768. Icon from the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai: 31.3 × 24.8 cm, with inscriptions in Greek. See Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 192–4; idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 203–4, 221.

769. H. Maguire refers to a "speaking icon" where the image in the icon actually talks. See, idem, *The Icons of their Bodies*, Princeton, 1996, p. 15. H. Belting refers to another example; see *Likeness and Presence*, Chicago, 1994, p. 316

770. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 194.

771. Elijah was actually fed by the ravens at Cherith Brook, near Jericho, so this image conflates that event with the time he lived in the south in a cave. See I Kings 17 and 19.

772. Icon in the Menil Collection, Houston, Acq. No. 85-57.04 DJ: 20.4 × 15.8 cm; width of border, 2.1 cm; and thickness of the board, 1.45 cm, in the central surface area, with a Greek inscription. See Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon," *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, pp. 106–33.

773. See Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, pp. 33–7, including references to an icon of St. Marina, Pedoulas, of Christ Pantocrator, Moutoullas, and of the Virgin Hodegetria, now in Athens. For the images, see Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon," *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, pp. 116–17, figs. 112–14.

774. Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon," *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, pp. 118–23. See now the recently published works by L. Nordiguian and J.-C. Voisin, *Châteaux et Eglises du Moyen Age au Liban*, Paris-Beirut, 1999; and Y. Sader, *Painted Churches and Rock-Cut Chapels of Lebanon*, trans. D. Baker, Beirut, 1997, as well as the older book by Y. Sader, *Peintures Murales dans des Eglises Maronites Médiévales*, Beirut, 1987.

775. See E. C. Dodd, "The 'Syrian' Style in Lebanon," *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria*, Toronto, 2001, pp. 110–17.

776. The recent book by Y. Sader, *Painted Churches and Rock-Cut Chapels of Lebanon*, trans. D. Baker, Beirut, 1997, pp. 146–64, contains four color plates of the grotto at Qalamon to show what is left of the frescoes. The author notes that so much had fallen away that he was forced to resort to the older study of Ch. Brossé for his descriptive analysis, which is translated here into English. For the old study, see Ch. Brossé, "Les Peinturess de la Grotte de Marina près de Tripoli," *Syria*, 7 (1926), pp. 30–45.

777. Folda, "The Saint Marina Icon," *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, p. 123.

778. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs," [15 (1986)], pp. 115–16.

779. I refer here to the monumental icons of the Bilateral Crucifixion and Anastasis, the Diptych with the Virgin Kykkotissa and St. Procopios, and the iconostasis beam in the form of a dossal with arched niches for individual images of saints including the Deësis in the center. Selections from these icons are published by Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 225–7, 229–31.

780. Pace agrees with this analysis. See, idem, "L'analisi 'stilistica' come metodologia storica: possibilità e limiti," p. 515.

781. Pace also accepts the attribution of this icon to the larger group of icons done in the Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, but he relates it more closely to the later members of the linear group, such as the diptych of the Virgin Kykkotissa and St. Procopios. See, idem, "L'analisi 'stilistica' come metodologia storica: possibilità e limiti," pp. 515–16.

782. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai: 33.0 × 25.0 cm, with Greek inscriptions. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sina*, 2, pp. 169–70, 1, fig. 184; Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 70–1.

783. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 70.

784. Ibid.

785. See Pace, "L'analisi 'stilistica' come metodologia storica: possibilità e limiti," pp. 514–15.

786. Maguire, *The Icons of their Bodies*, p. 65.

787. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: 34.6 × 24.0 cm, with Greek inscriptions. This icon has later, repainted inscriptions in Greek, in which the name of the saint at the left, Catherine, is misidentified as St. Euphemia, as Weitzmann explained. St. Marina is correctly identified. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2, p. 169, 1, fig. 183; Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 72–3; idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 206–7, 235.

788. Byzantine icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 28.0 × 21.7 cm, with Greek inscriptions. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2, p. 68 dated to the eleventh-century, 1, fig. 50; and a color image in Weitzmann, *Ikonen aus dem Katherinenkloster*, [10 (1980)], p. 3, no. 7 and pl. 7.

789. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 73.

790. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 34.4 × 25.5 cm, with Greek inscriptions. See Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 71; and idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 206, 234.

791. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2, pp. 83–4, 1, fig. 69, and 2, p. 64, 1, fig. 47, respectively. Weitzmann also publishes the eleventh-century icon: "The Icons of Constantinople," *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 17, 51.

792. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th century," *Sinai*, pp. 111–12, 169, fig. 40.

793. See Chapter 4, nn. 345–9.

794. Icon from the collection of St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai: 95.0 × 62.0 cm. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2,

pp. 170–1, 1, figs. 185–6; Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14 (1984)], pp. 148–9; and Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai*, pp. 119, 192, fig. 66.

795. Icon from the collection of St. Catherine Monastery at Mount Sinai: 28.7 × 23.2 cm. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2, p. 171, 1, fig. 187, Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons," [3 (1966)], pp. 71–3; Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 206, 232; Cormack, "A Crusader Painting of St George," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), p. 133; L.-A. Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), pp. 96–124; and L.-A. Hunt, "Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt: A Triptych of the Ascension with Military Saints Reattributed," *Al-Masaq*, 12 (2000), p. 18.

796. H. Maguire has discussed early Byzantine amulets and a fresco of St. Sisinnios in the sixth-century monastery of Bawit; see *The Icons of Their Bodies*, pp. 120–3, 126–30.

797. One Byzantine work, dated by Weitzmann to the ninth or tenth century, is a triptych at Sinai, with the Ascension of Christ in the center and Sts. Theodore and George as equestrian saints on the wings. See K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, vol. I, *From the 6th to the 10th Century*, Princeton, 1976, pp. 68–73, pls. XXVIII, XXIX, XCVI, XCVII. This work has now been reattributed by L.-A. Hunt, "Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt: A Triptych of the Ascension with Military Saints Reattributed," *Al-Masaq*, 12 (2000), pp. 1–36. She reattributes it to the 1230s done by a painter in Egypt.

Another Middle Byzantine example is a tenth-century image of St. Mercurius at Sinai, identified as a Coptic icon. See G. Galavaris, "Early Icons at Sinai," *Sinai*, eds. K. A. Manafis, Athens, 1994, p. 97, and p. 143, fig. 11. Hunt ("Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt," *Al-Masaq*, 12 (2000), pp. 22–5) also dates this icon to the first half of the thirteenth century.

There is also the strong tradition of imagery pertaining to the mounted St. George in Georgian icons of the tenth and eleventh centuries. See G. Alibegasvili and A. Volskaja, "The Icons of Georgia," *The Icon*, eds. K. Weitzmann et al., New York, 1982, pp. 96, 100–1.

798. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 79.

799. Cormack, "A Crusader Painting of St George," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), p. 134.

800. Erica Dodd has prepared a corpus of fresco painting from Syria, in what is now Lebanon, which includes a number of important examples. See her title, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, Wiesbaden, 2004, with photographs by Raif Nassif, a study of the Syriac inscriptions by Amir Harrak, and architectural plans by George Michell and Jean Yasmine, which includes this material. Some of these Lebanese examples have of course already been published. E. Dodd has (2001) published the impressive program of six eleventh-century equestrian figures in the nave of Mar Musa in Syria: *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria*, Toronto, 2001, pp. 50–4. L.-A. Hunt has recently published the Syrian examples from Qara, St. Sergios and St. Theodore: "A Woman's Prayer to St. Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), pp. 107–10, figs. 4 and 5. There are also images of equestrian figures elsewhere, in Lebanon, at Mar Marina, that have been published. See C.-L. Brossé, "Les Peintures de la Grotte de Marina près Tripoli, *Syria*, 7 (1926), pp. 34–5, 37–8, pl. X.

For Cyprus, see the examples at Asinou and Moutoullas. See A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art*, London, 1985, pp. 137–8 (Asinou) and pp. 328–9 (Moutoullas). See also A. Stylianou, "A Cross Inside a Crescent on the Shield of St. George: A Wall Painting in the Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, Cyprus," *Kypriakai Spoudai*, 2 (1983), pp. 133–4.

Sharon Gerstel is working on the examples in Orthodox and Frankish Greek territory. See her important article, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea," The *Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington, D.C., 2001, pp. 263–85. Here she argues that whereas there exists a tradition of Eastern images going back to early Byzantium based on late antique types, the imagery of warrior saints on horseback becomes a major new and flourishing development during the time of the Crusades.

801. Erica Dodd has pointed out that besides the mounted warrior saint in medieval Christian religious art, there was also the secular imagery of the riding horseman found in church and palace decoration, including the remarkable Fatimid painted ceiling in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (mid-twelfth century), and a long tradition of elaborate palace decoration in Islam. She refers to the eleventh-century palace in Cairo, and says that this is not an isolated example, "but rather reflect[s] a well-established tradition. There is every indication that the rulers in Damascus and Aleppo were equally fortunate in their decoration of palaces, and it is established that the Crusaders in the Levant copied the Arabs in the decoration of their own establishments." See E. Dodd, *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi*, pp. 54–5, for this quote; and her review of W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, Princeton, 1997, in *Al-Masaq*, 12 (2000), pp. 188–91, for additional comments, referring to the Ibelin palace in Beirut, and the famous description of Wilbrand von Oldenburg. See also my discussion of this description of the palace in Chapter 4.

802. Pace, "L'analisi 'stilistica' come metodologia storica: possibilità e limiti," pp. 515–16.

803. It is unusual to find the arrows placed in the quiver with their tips up as seen here. However, it is not unknown elsewhere. One interesting slightly later parallel is found on the Baptistère de St. Louis, the famous basin now in the Louvre, where numerous bowmen are depicted, some with arrows placed tip-up in their quivers. See D. S. Rice, *Le Baptistère de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1951. The tips of the arrows are conspicuous because they are inlaid with gold. In some of the quivers the arrows are placed both tips down and tips up.

804. For details of the bow, quiver, and arrows, see also the line drawing of St. Sergios from this icon (no. 80) published by D. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350*, White Plains, NY, 1988, vol. 1, 333, no. 843; vol. 2, 810, fig. 843. On the Turkish composite bow, see P. E. Klopsteg, *Turkish Archery and the Composite Bow*, Evanston, IL, 1927, 2nd edn.

805. It is interesting that an icon at Sinai with St. Mercurius on horseback, clearly represents the saint with a diminutive strung composite bow on his saddle. This icon, recognized to be a Coptic icon, formerly dated to the ninth or tenth century, has recently been dated to the 1230s by L.-A. Hunt, by comparison to the frescoes dated 1232–3 at the Monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt, near the Red Sea. See L.-A. Hunt, "Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt: A Triptych of the Ascension with Military Saints Reattributed," *Al-Masaq*, 12 (2000), pp. 22–5. Dated in this period, it is clearly in the era of widespread Crusader interest in the imagery of mounted soldier saints, and these examples at Sinai and the Egyptian monastery of St. Anthony may have been stimulated by Crusader examples.

806. In the narrative images of illustrated manuscripts the iconography is somewhat different. Besides lances we find also swords and shields on a regular basis. When a mounted soldier carries a lance and a shield, then he rarely also has a sword, and vice versa. See Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pls. 130–5.

807. It is interesting that in the handsome Byzantine steatite icons with mounted soldier saints that appear a bit later, in the fourteenth century for the most part, the figures brandish a sword in their free hand. See I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1985. These examples seem to suggest that the iconography of these soldier saints can vary by medium, but that icons and fresco paintings have the most in common.

808. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], pp. 71–2; and Cormack, "A Crusader Painting of St. George," *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 133–4.

809. See the informative discussion of Mamluk and Mongol horse archery in the second half of the thirteenth century by J. M. Smith, Jr., "Ayn Jalut: Mamluk Success or Mongol Failure?" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 44 (1984), pp. 307–45, esp. 314–19 (Mongols), and 322–4 (Mamluks).

810. Sotiriou (*Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2, p. 171, no. 187, 1, fig. 187) identified this mounted saint as St. George, but Weitzmann ("Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 71) corrected this on the basis of the Greek inscription on both this icon and the Sts. Sergios and Bacchus icon.

811. Weitzmann, ("Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 72) points out that it was "Sotiriou who refers to a discussion in Talbot-Rice's book on the icons of Cyprus (D. Talbot-Rice, *Icons of Cyprus*, London, 1937, p. 103), where a passage is quoted from Jacopo di Verona. This traveller, who had visited Cyprus in 1335, tells of the habit of the Cypriote women of wearing black cloaks over their heads as a sign of sorrow for the loss of the city of Acre." Weitzmann demurs at this interpretation in the case of this icon and says it

is more likely the fall of Jerusalem in 1244 that inspired it. I offer a different interpretation later.

812. Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), pp. 99–106. Hunt also discusses other more or less contemporary representations of mourning women in Syria here. This was, unfortunately, an all-too-common theme in these times of constant military action.

813. Willelmi Tyriensis Archiepiscopi, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis*, LXIXII A, Turnholt, 1986, Bk. 19, ch. 25, p. 898; see also Bk. 22, ch. 18, 1034.

814. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, vol. 1, p. 325.

815. C. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, Cambridge, 1992), pp. 58–60, 148–9, 262; A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Toronto and Buffalo, 1992, p. 57; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1988, pp. 154, 169; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus: 1050–1310*, London, 1967, pp. 230, 280, 324, 325, 328, 427; I. Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," *HC*, 2, vol. V, eds. N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard, pp. 338–9.

Although there are references to *turcopoles* in Crusader military service during the thirteenth century, as indicated earlier, none of these discussions has referred to images of *turcopoles*. The only published identification of a *turcopole* known to me is by D. Nicolle, *Knight of Outremer: 1187–1344*, London, 1996, p. 24, where he identifies the icon of St. Sergios and the kneeling woman (no. 80 as follows: "While the Saint is portrayed as a light cavalry *turcopole*, the donor is a Latin woman wearing the long black veil adopted by the ladies of Outremer"). So far I have been unable to find other clearly identifiable contemporary images.

816. R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare: 1097–1193*, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 111–12, 179–80, 184, for the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century *turcopoles* appear in various Crusades and even on Cyprus: K. M. Setton, ed., *HC*, 2, pp. 388, 424, 603, 620. See also the comments of D. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour*, 1, p. 319.

817. "Sergiopolis-Rusafah," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan, New York and Oxford, 1991, vol. 3, pp. 1877–8, and see also the entry on "Sergios and Bakchos," p. 1879.

818. Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria," pp. 113–23.

819. In the unlikely event that the loss of a city could have had anything to do with the image of the woman and St. Sergios on this icon, we might consider the city of Resafa. Resafa had been in Muslim hands for some time by 1260, but in that year it was occupied by the Mongols and abandoned by its population. This serious loss to what had been formerly a very important Christian city must have been the source of sorrow among Syrian Christians born there, but there is no way to know whether this had anything to do with the imagery on our icon. See R. Amitai-Preiss, "Northern Syria between the Mongols and Mamluks: Political Boundary, Military Frontier, and Ethnic Affinities," *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, ed. D. Power and N. Standen, New York, 1999, p. 142.

820. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 72.

821. See, for example, the Sinai icon (no. 1463) from the first half of the thirteenth century, which has both St. George and St. Theodore carrying a white banner with a red cross. In manuscripts, there is, for example, a *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre illustrated in Northern France in the third quarter of the thirteenth century that has such banners carried by the Crusaders at Nicaea on the First Crusade (fol. 22v) and later at the siege of Tyre (fol. 177). See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, figs. 175 and 177. It should be noted, of course, that the soldiers represented in this codex carry many banners of which this is only one and that the heraldry is a matter of fantasy.

822. See, for example, Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 25 (Dorylaeum), 28 (Antioch), and 32 (Jerusalem).

823. O. Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, London, 1970, pp. 413, 414, 432. This chapel with its frescoes is one possible source of confusion; another is the nineteenth-century perception and artistic representation of the military orders. See E. Siberry, "Victorian Perceptions of the Military Orders," *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber, London, 1994, pp. 365–72.

824. Demus, *Romanesque* p. 414, fig. 191.

825. Ibid., p. 414, fig. 190. Other variations are also possible. See, for example, the depictions of Templars in the mid-thirteenth-century frescoes of the Church of San Bevignate in Perugia: H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Phoenix Mill, England, 2001, pp. 78, pl. 2.19, and 125, pls. 4.7 and 4.8.

826. See M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 179–80, 188, 193, 219. Barber also comments on the frescoes in the Cressac chapel on p. 202.

827. S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1987, p. 91 (London, Brit. Lib. MS Royal C.VII, fol. 42v).

828. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 90 (Cambridge, CCC MS 26, p. 220).

829. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 239 and 289 (Cambridge, CCC MS 16, fols. 141 and 170v).

830. For some color reproductions of the illustrations by Matthew Paris, see, H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Phoenix Mill, England, 2001, pp. 30, pl. 1.7, and p. 166, pl. 6.5. A reference book for these insignia is by I. Heath, *Armies and Enemies of the Crusades, 1096–1291*, Lancing, West Sussex, 1978, pp. 74–8.

831. Weitzmann, "Annotations, 1980," *Studies in the Arts of Sinai*, [12 (1982], p. 435, "p. 72." Weitzmann proposed to rename the workshop that of the "Apulian Painters" or the "South Italian Painters." This seems problematic because the style these painters are working in appears to be a Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style, not a south Italian style.

832. Mouriki, "Thirteenth Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," p. 71.

833. Pace ("L'analisi 'stilistica' come metodologia storica: possibilità e limiti," pp. 515–17) calls attention to these differences.

834. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, 2, p. 171, 1, fig. 187.

835. J. Leroy, "Decouvertes de peintures chrétiennes en Syrie," *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 25 (1975), pp. 97–9, 104.

836. Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria," pp. 106–10.

837. Mouriki, "Thirteenth Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," p. 71.

838. Mouriki, "Thirteenth Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," p. 69; J. Leroy, *Les Manuscrits Syriaques à Peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, II, Paris, 1964, pls. 104.2, 105.4.

839. If, however, we could somehow determine that the reason these icons are presently in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine is that each was done explicitly to serve as a pilgrim's donation to the monastery, then we would have to reconsider this attribution.

840. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons," [3 (1966)], p. 81. Byzantine Icon (from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 117.3 × 79.5 cm).

841. Mouriki ("Thirteenth Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," p. 67) is a notable example of a slightly different grouping. My analysis essentially differs with hers only in terms of separating out a later phase of the icons in this group and enlarging somewhat the number of icons included.

842. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (unpublished).

843. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 41.6 × 33.0 cm, with Greek inscriptions. See Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 66; and idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 205, 228.

844. Byzantine icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 23.0 × 18.5 cm, with Greek inscriptions. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, 2, p. 143, and 1, fig. 163; Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 66; and idem, *The Icon*, [8 (1978)], pp. 36, 98–9, pl. 30.

845. Byzantine icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 23.1 × 18.6 cm, with Greek inscriptions. See Weitzmann, *Ikonen aus dem Katherinenkloster*, [10 (1980)], pp. 4–5, no. 11 and pl. 11; and idem, "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP*, 28 (1974), p. 53, and fig. 48 (N. B. he also illustrates another example of this type, with Joachim and the Virgin and Child *H THS BATOU*, as fig. 49).

846. Weitzmann cites the names of Abraham, Isaiah, Moses, Joachim, Symeon, George, Theodore, and Sabas, from those ten examples, but no St. John the Baptist. See, for example, Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [8 (1978)], p. 98.

847. These works include the bilateral icon of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis (no. 1568), the diptych of the Virgin Kykkotissa with St. Procopius (no. 1783), and the iconostasis dossal with Christ and seven bust-length saints (no. 1003).

848. E. Maurer, "Das Kloster Königsfelden," *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Aargau*, III, Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz, 32 (Basel, 1954), p. 256; and Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," [3 (1966)], p. 62.

849. O. Demus, "Zum Werk eines Venezianischen Malers auf dem Sinai," *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. Hutter, Vienna, 1984, pp. 131–42, pls. XLVI, XLVII.

850. O. Demus, "The Development of Mosaic Art in Venice between 1200 and 1300," *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, part 2, *The Thirteenth Century*, vol. 1, Chicago and London, 1984 p. 210.

851. For the cassa sepolcrale of Giuliana, died 1262, see R. Pallucchini, *La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento*, Venice and Rome, 1964, p. 11 and figure 8; and the catalogue entry with detailed discussion in *Venezia e bisanzio*, eds. I. Furlan, M. Muraro, R. Pallucchini, et al., Venice, Palazzo Ducale, 1974, entry no. 74. I am indebted to my colleague Dott.ssa A. Dorigato, for drawing my attention to this important catalogue entry. See also the recent introductory guidebooks of G. Romanelli, *Museo Correr*, Milan, 1984, pp. 40–1; and E. Bianchi, N. Righi, and M. C. Terzaghi, *Il Museo Correr di Venezia*, Milan, 1997, p. 30 with a color plate.

852. See the Sinai icons nos. 260, cat. 29; 273, cat. 31; 460, cat. 44; 544, cat. 48; 1118, cat. 77; 1144, cat. 79; 1418, cat. 88; 1426, cat. 89; 1454, cat. 91; 1783, cat. 104 (St. Procopios); 1802, cat. 105; and 1966, cat. 113, in the Appendix.

853. A. Neff, "Byzantium Westernized, Byzantium Marginalized: Two Icons in the *Supplicationes variae*," *Gesta*, 38 (1999), p. 81.

854. G. Cattin and G. Mariani Canova, "Un prezioso Antifonario veneziano del Duecento: miniature, liturgia e musica," *Arte Veneta*, 35 (1981), pp. 9–26.

855. See P. Huber, *Bild und Botschaft. Byzantinische Miniaturen zum Alten and Neuen Testament*, Zurich, 1973, pls. 6a–c; and Venice, Palazzo Ducale, *Omaggio a San Marco: Tesori dall'Europa*, eds. H. Fillitz and G. Morello, Milan, 1994, pp. 186–7, no. 73.

856. It should be noted that I retain the use of this title to avoid confusion in relation to the illustrated manuscripts first published by Buchthal in MPLKJ, pp. 68–87, and my discussion in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 77–116. Recent editions of this text have used other titles and discussed the existence of multiple titles for this work. See M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, vol. 2, Orléans, 1999, pp. 225–6, sect. III, d.

857. P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 23–31.

858. The date of William's death is still uncertain, with the possibilities being 29 September 1184, 1185, or 1186. For a summary of these options, see Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 22 and n. 33. I am inclined to think that William would have carried his history further had he lived beyond 1184.

859. See the discussion of these continuations and the manuscript traditions in Chapter 2 and subsequent chapters, with regard to the historical sources.

860. M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre*, Oxford, 1973.

861. See J. Pryor, "The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An Interim Report," *Outremer*, pp. 270–93.

862. Besides the old study by F. Ost, *Die altfranzösische Übersetzung der Geschichte der Kreuzzuge Wilhelms von Tyrus*, Halle, 1899, based on the *RHC* edition, a dissertation in progress in the 1960s on the translation of the Latin text based on Paris, B.N. MS fr. 2630, has never seen the light of day. Further study on this problem remains a desideratum.

863. See earlier discussion in the first part of this chapter on the *History of Outremer* now in Paris, B. N. MS fr. 9081, done in Paris in the 1240s.

864. We follow here the argument of Marijke de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, vol. 2, pp. 223–4, instead of later dates argued by Guy Raynaud de Lage, who believes the text remained unfinished in 1213, and the original proposal for the dating of this text to 1223–30 by P. Meyer, "Les Premières Compilations françaises d'Histoire ancienne," *Romania*, 14 (1885), pp. 1–81.

865. See Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, 68–9, D. Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen zur "Histoire ancienne jusqua'à César," (1250–1400)*, Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, and Paris, 1989, pp. 9–12; and M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, 2, pp. 232–40.

866. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 38, 175, and for details on its workshop characteristics, see J. Folda, "The Illustrations in Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer*, by William of Tyre," Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 42–3. See now, L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, III Colloquio Internzionale Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, 1999, p. 90.

The main content/decoration of Paris, B.N. MS fr. 9086 is as follows: Old French translation of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* (Books 1–22), with continuation to 1232, 431 fols., with 56 gatherings of 8 folios each.

Text in two columns of 36 lines each, justification of 24.1 × 14.9 cm, interval 1.45 cm.
No miniatures, large calligraphic red and blue initials at the start of each book, small calligraphic red and blue initials for each chapter.
Acre, *c.*1250–75.

867. See M. and R. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. 1, pp. 17–89.

868. For the literature on MS fr. 2628, see Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 87–9, 151, with the older studies, Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 22, 27–32, 36, 48, 49, 54, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 112, 113, 115, 134–6, 159, 216. See now also, Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," p. 90.

The main content and decoration of Paris, B.N. MS fr. 2628 is as follows: Old French translation of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* (Books 1–22) with continuation to 1264 (Books 23 ff.);

331 folios, with 27 gatherings of 12 folios each, the final gathering of 7 folios.
Hand 1 ends on fol. 327 with events of 1247. Hand 2 includes fols. 328v–331v.
Text in two columns of 40 lines each, justification of 25.5 × 16.4 cm.
27 historiated initials, of which 22 belong to Books 1–22, and the remaining 5 belong to the continuation.
Acre, *c.*1260, except for the final miniature: Acre, *c.*1280.

Fol. 1r, Book 1, (L)es ancienes estoires . . . (initial: 9.9 × 9.3 cm):

1. Emperor Heraclius and Modestus bishop of Jerusalem worship at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Emperor Heraclius and Modestus ride to the city of Jerusalem with their entourage.

Fol. 14r, Book 2, (V)enus estoit li mois . . . (initial: 7.8 × 7.0 cm):

1. Godefroy de Bouillon and his Crusaders set out for the Holy Land.
2. The Crusaders arrive at Constantinople.

Fol. 22r, Book 3, (D)e la cite de Nique . . . (initial: 8.0 × 7.3 cm):

1. The Crusaders attack Nicaea.
2. The Crusaders capture the wife of Qilij Arslan.

Fol. 29v, Book 4, (O)r aves oi comment . . . (initial: 7.5 × 7.8 cm):

1. The campaign of Count Baldwin in northern Syria.
2. The Crusaders attack Antioch.

Fol. 37v, Book 5, (V)eant le seignor de antioche . . . (initial: 7.7 × 8.0 cm):

1. The Crusaders enter Antioch: Bohemond climbs the ladder assisted by Firuz.
2. The Crusaders ride up to the gates of Antioch.

Fol. 45v, Book 6, (I)a estoient bien . . . (initial: 9.0 × 7.5 cm):

1. The Citadel of Antioch.
2. The Turkish camp outside Antioch with the commander, Korbugha.

Fol. 53v, Book 7, (C)es choses . . . (initial: 7.5 × 7.3 cm):

1. The Crusader envoys are received by Emperor Alexius of Byzantium.
2. Discussion and dissension among the Crusders who want to resume the march to Jerusalem.

Fol. 62v, Book 8, (V)eritez est . . . (initial: 7.9 × 7.3 cm):

1. The Crusader arrives at the city of Jerusalem.
2. The Crusader camp before Jerusalem; one soldier helps another remove his chain mail.

Fol. 71r, Book 9, (S)i come vos avez... (initial: 7.1 × 7.1 cm):

1. The Crusaders pray at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Discussion among the Crusaders concerning the choice of a leader.

Fol. 79r, Book 10, (R)ois fu li dus godefroi... (initial: 7.75 × 7.4 cm):

1. The death of Godefroy de Bouillon.
2. The coronation of King Baldwin I by Patriarch Daimbert.

Fol. 89v, Book 11, (E)stez ert ia passez... (initial: 7.2 × 7.2 cm):

1. Bohemond of Antioch sails from the Holy Land.
2. Bohemond arrives in Apulia.

Fol. 103r, Book 12, (X)erces fu un puissanz rois... (initial: 7.7 × 7.1 cm): (clockwise)

1. The death of King Baldwin I in Egypt.
2. The city of Bethlehem.
3. The coronation of King Baldwin II.
4. A mourner.

Fol. 114r, Book 13, (F)ors estoit a grant merveille... (initial: 7.1 × 7.45 cm):

1. The siege of Tyre: a siege engine.
2. The siege of Tyre: Knights on horseback attack.

Fol. 124r, Book 14, (R)ois fu de ierusalem... (initial: 7.2 × 6.95 cm):

1. The funeral of King Baldwin II.
2. The coronation of King Fulk I.

Fol. 134v, Book 15, (A)pres le mois... (initial: 7.2 × 7.3 cm):

1. The death of the Byzantine Emperor John.
2. The coronation of Emperor Manuel.

Fol. 146v, Book 16, (N)e demora gaires... (initial: 7.5 × 7. 8 cm):

1. Fulk and Melisende ride out with an attendant.
2. Fulk is fatally injured when his horse throws him while chasing a hare.

Fol. 160r, Book 17, (C)onraz lemperes dalemaigne... (initial: 7.0 × 7.4 cm):

1. Conrad, emperor of Germany, Louis VII of France, and King Baldwin III at the council of Acre on the Second Crusade.
2. The Crusaders led by Louis VII attack Damascus.

Fol. 175r, Book 18, (O)r parlerons... (initial: 7.9 × 8.0 cm):

1. The patriarch of Antioch is abused by Raynauld de Chatillon by being exposed on a tower of the citadel.
2. Raynauld and his followers look up to see the patriarch enduring his ordeal.

Fol. 192r, Book 19, (R)emes estoit... (initial: 7.5 × 7.4 cm):

1. The funeral of King Baldwin III.
2. The coronation of King Amaury I by the patriarch of Jerusalem.

Fol. 205v, Book 20, (U)ne chose... (initial: 7.2 × 7.75 cm):

1. King Amaury receives envoys from the Byzantine Emperor at Tyre.
2. King Amaury invades Egypt: the attack on Balbis.

Fol. 218v, Book 21 (Mout fu granz li duels... (initial: 7.7 × 7.8 cm):

1. The funeral and mourning of King Amaury in Jerusalem.
2. A man and a woman sorrowfully discuss the death of the king.
3. The coronation of King Baldwin IV.

Fol. 230v, Book 22, (B)eymons li princes dantioche... (initial: 7.6 × 7.9 cm):

1. Baldwin IV gives his sister, Sibylle, to Guy de Lusignan to marry.
2. The patriarch of Jerusalem officiates at the ceremony of their marriage.

Fol. 246r, Book 23, ch 2, (E)n ce que li rois... (initial: 8.0 × 7.8 cm):

1. The death of the leper King, Baldwin IV.
2. The coronation of King Baldwin V.

Fol. 293v [Book 24], (I)e vos dirai... (initial: 7.0 × 6.7 cm):

1. The Crusaders camped before Constantinople.
2. The Crusader assault on the sea walls of Constantinople by ship.

Fol. 300v [Book 25], (S)i tost come... (initial: 7.2 × 7.1 cm):

1. John of Brienne arrives in the Holy Land at Acre and is met by Patriarch Albert.
2. John of Brienne is crowned king at Tyre.

Fol. 313r [Book 26], (I)sabel lemperis fille do roi... (initial: 8.1 × 7.2 cm):

1. Isabella the empress dies in childbirth.
2. Emperor Frederick II arrives in Cyprus.

Fol. 331v [Book 27], (L)oeis le roi... (initial: 7.6 × 6.9 cm):

1. Louis IX sails for the Holy Land.
2. Louis IX leads the attack on Damietta.

Fol. 331v (end):... contre le roi manfroi et le desconfist et le tua en champ et gaigna...

869. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 89.

870. See n. 44 to this chapter.

871. See, for example, the large pink marginal dragon on a vivid blue ground biting the "I" of the initial for Book 6.

872. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 90.

873. Ibid.

874. Ibid., p. 89.

875. For the literature on Dijon, Bibl. Mun. MS 562, see Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 69–79, 148–9, with older bibliography; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 67–8, 98–101, 129, 215; D. Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen zur "Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César" (1250–1400)*, Frankfurt am Main, 1989, pp. 35–6, 75–83 (picture themes for group D), 246–50; and M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, Orléans, 1999, vol. 1, passim with variants "D" cited as a "manuscrit de contrôle," vol. 2, pp. 11, 13, and passim. See also *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan, 1997, pp. 100–20, for a selection of color plates of the miniatures in this manuscript.

The main content and decoration of Dijon, Bibl. Mun. MS 562 is as follows: "Histoire Universelle" = "Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César," in Old French.

275 fols., 37.0 × 23.5 cm.
Text in two columns of 42 lines each, justification 25.3 × 17.6 cm, interval 1.5 cm.
50 miniature panels.
Acre, *c.*1260s.

Fol. 1r, rubrics: Ce est li livres dou commencement dou monde. (panel: 14.7 × 7.4 cm).

1. The Creation.

Fol. 3v, rubrics: Coment nost sires parla a caym. (panel: 10.0 × 7.5 cm).

1. The offerings of Cain and Abel to the Lord.
2. Cain kills Abel, and the Lord calls Cain to account.

Fol. 6r, rubrics: Coment noe entra en larche. (panel: 7.5 × 9.8 cm).

1. Noah guides the animal pairs into the ark.

Fol. 9r, rubrics: Coment nemhrot le iahan se porpensa a faire la grant tor de babel. (panel: 13.4 × 7.5 cm).

1. The tower of Babel.

Fol. 14r, rubrics: Coment le roi ninus ot premerainement sa seignorie (panel: 8.0 × 7.6 cm).

1. King Ninus on the march.

Fol. 21v, rubrics: Coment Abraham herberia nostre seignor qui li dist quil auroit fiz de sa feme (panel: 7.4 × 7.5 cm).

1. Abraham and the three heavenly visitors.

Fol. 23r, rubrics: Coment li angles maudirent les cites et coment elles fondirent apres la maleyson des angles (panel: 7.6 × 8.4 cm).

1. Lot and his wife flee the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha.

Fol. 26r, rubrics: Coment li angles rescost ysahac que son pere ne li toli la vie (panel: 8.3 × 8.5 cm).

1. The sacrifice of Isaac.

Fol. 32r, rubrics: Coment iacob dessur ysaac son pere (panel: 7.7 × 7.6 cm).

1. Jacob deceives his father Isaac as Esau enters the house.

Fol. 40v, rubrics: Coment esau et iacob partirent et decevrerent les terres puis la mort lor pere (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm).

1. The death of Isaac.

Fol. 42r, rubrics: Si comence lestoire de ioseph (panel: 8.0 × 7.5 cm).

1. Joseph comes into his father Jacob.

Fol. 47v, rubrics: Coment la dame se complainst a son baron de ioseph a tort (panel: 7.7 × 7.6 cm).

1. Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

Fol. 49v, rubrics: De la vision pharaon. et coment il manda toz les sages de sa terre (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm).

1. Pharaoh's dream.

Fol. 51r, rubrics: Coment le roi fist aler ioseph sur son riche char par tote sa cite (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm).

1. Joseph tours Pharaoh's lands.

Fol. 52r, rubrics: Coment les fiz Jacob pristrent conseill a leur pere daler en egypte au forment (panel: 7.4 × 8.4 cm).

1. Jacob's sons consult with their father about seeking food in Egypt.

Fol. 56r, rubrics: Coment ioseph fist a sa maisnee voidier la sale et ce fist conoistre a ces freres (panel: 7.6 × 7.6 cm).

1. Joseph's brothers seek aid from Joseph in Egypt.

Fol. 57r, rubrics: Coment iacob ot grant ioie quant il oy novelles de ioseph son fiz. et si dist quil liroit veoir en egypte (panel: 7.8 × 7.5 cm).

1. Jacob journeys to Egypt to see Joseph.

Fol. 59v, rubrics: Coment pharaon demanda a iacob de son aage (panel: 7.5 × 7.4 cm).

1. Jacob appears before Pharaoh.

Fol. 60v, rubrics: Coment ioseph porta le cors iacob son pere en ebron per avoir sepulture (panel: 6.8 × 7.5 cm).

1. The body of Jacob is taken to Hebron for burial.

Fol. 62r, rubrics: Quant anz le roi ninus regna (panel: 6.4 × 7.4 cm).

1. King Ninus enthroned.

Fol. 65v, rubrics: Si comence lestoire de thebes (panel: 13.7 × 7.4 cm).

1. Laius and Jocasta.
2. The finding of Oedipus.

Fol. 67v, rubrics: De la devinaille que Spins dist a edippus (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm).

1. Oedippus and the sphinx.

Fol. 70v, rubrics: Coment polinices et thideus se combatirent por la place (panel: 7.4 × 7.5 cm).

1. Polynices and Tydeus.

Fol. 81v, rubrics: De la tygre de thebes par quoi comensa la bataille et la grant destorbance (panel: 7.5 × 7.6 cm).

1. The tiger of Thebes.

Fol. 86v, rubrics: Coment les dames de scite alerent vengier leur fiz et leur amis as espees esmolues (panel: 8.1 × 8.8 cm).

1. Merpesia and Lampetho avenge the deaths of their men.

Fol. 87r, rubrics: Coment les amazonienes fonderent ephese (panel: 7.1 × 8.1 cm).

1. Amazons on the march.

Fol. 88r, rubrics: Coment les .II. serors la royne antiope iosterent a II. Chevaliers le meillors qui estoient adonc el monde: Hercules et theseus (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm).

1. and 2. Hercules and Theseus battle two sisters of Antiope.

Fol. 88v, rubrics: Coment Hercules ocist lorible iahan qui ne doutoit nulle criature (panel: 7.7 × 7.5 cm).

1. Hercules and Antaeus.

Fol. 89v, rubrics: Si comence la voire estoire de troies (panel: 12.5 × 8.5 cm).

1. Pelias and Jason.
2. The sailing of the Argo.

Fol. 96v, rubrics: Coment hector fist merveilles quant il fu venus al estor, et come achille locist. Et come grant doulor fu demenee (panel: 8.1 × 7.3 cm).

1. Achilles kills Hector on the battlefield.

Fol. 102v, rubrics: Coment la royne panticelee de femenie vint au secors de cels de troies (panel: 7.6 × 7.6 cm).

1. Queen Penthesilea marches to the aid of the Trojans.

Fol. 103r, rubrics: Coment pirus le fiz Achilles vint en lost por vengier son pere (panel: 7.0 × 7.4 cm).

1. The battle between Queen Penthesilea and Pyrrhus, son of Achilles.

Fol. 114r, rubrics: Coment eneas revint en cesile (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm).

1. Dido commits suicide as Aeneas sails away.

Fol. 115r, rubrics: Coment cil dathenes estoient sugiet a cil de crete (panel: 7.7 × 7.6 cm).

1. The Minotaur.

Fol. 125v, rubrics: Coment la royne Camilla demanda a turnus la premiere bataille contre eneas (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm).

1. Queen Camilla battles Aeneas.

Fol. 130v, rubrics: Si comence lestorement de la cite de rome (panel: 7.6 × 7.4 cm).

1. The building of the city of Rome.

Fol. 135r, rubrics: Si comence des concelles le grant afere (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm).

1. Brutus as consul.

Fol. 150v, rubrics: Coment nabugodenosor comanda a holofernes qui alast sur ciaus qui contre lui estoient (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm).

1. Holofernes marches to Jerusalem.

Fol. 151v, rubrics: Coment iudith fu menee devant le duc holofernes (panel: 7.4 × 7.6 cm).

1. Judith is brought before Holofernes in his tent.

Fol. 166r, rubrics: Si comence lestoire de alixandre le grant roi de macedoine qui conquest tot le monde (panel: 7.5 × 7.5 cm).

1. Alexander on horseback.

Fol. 170v, rubrics: Coment alixandre sagenoilla contre le nom de dieu (panel: 8.0 × 8.7 cm).

1. Alexander kneels before the high priest in Jerusalem.

Fol. 171v, rubrics: Coment la royne damazone vint a alixandre (panel: 7.8 × 7.4 cm).

1. Alexander on the wheel of fortune.

Fol. 172v, rubrics: Que cil qui estoient sur les olifanz greverent mult la gent alixandre (panel: 7.8 × 8.5 cm).

1. Alexander and his army battle the Indians on elephants.

Fol. 176r, rubrics: Coment la gent alixandre envairent celle beste (panel: 8.0 × 7.5 cm).

1. The beast of India with three horns.

Fol. 178r, rubrics: Coment la beste qui avoit II. testes corut sus as genz le roi alixandre (panel: 7.9 × 7.4 cm).

1. The beast of India with two heads.

Fol. 181v, rubrics: Coment la voiz del arbre dist au roi alixandre que iames nentreroit en sa terre (panel: 8.4 × 8.0 cm).

1. Alexander listens to the magic speaking tree in India.

Fol. 190r, rubrics: Que le roi pirus vint en laye de ciaus de tarente et si amena ces olifanz (panel: 7.6 × 7.5 cm).

1. Pyrrhus comes to the aid of the people of Tarentum.

Fol. 204v, rubrics: Que adonques ot pais a rome et que nulles gens ne les agrevoient (panel: 7.5 × 7.4 cm).

1. The temple of Janus.

Fol. 249r, rubrics: Coment le roi iugurta fu pris et mene a rome ou grant ioie fu demenee (panel: 8.9 × 8.5 cm).

1. The triumph of Marius.

Fol. 270r, rubrics: Coment pompeius repaira a rome (panel: 7.4 × 8.1 cm).

1. The triumph of Pompey.

Fol. 274v, . . . que totes ces genz furent tornes a desconfiture . . . ne fucent les forest granz et ramees. [end]

876. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 69.

877. See, J. Folda, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Rendiconti*, 42 (1969–1970), pp. 283–98; and Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 101–3, both with older bibliography. See now also, Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," pp. 87–8.

The main content and decoration of Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 1963 is as follows: *History of Outremer*, in Old French.

258 fols., 35.5 × 27.1 cm.
Text in two columns of 41 lines each.
Justification: 22.2 × 15.3 cm, interval: 1.6 cm.

31 gatherings of 8 folios each, and one gathering at the end of 10 folios.

One miniature panel, 20 historiated initials (one historiated initial missing).

Antioch, c. 1260s.

Fol. 1r, book 1, (L)es ancienes... (small panel miniature), author portrait: William of Tyre in his study.

Fol. 15r, book 2, (V)enuz estoit... (historiated initial), Godefroy de Bouillon leads his army to the Holy Land.

Fol. 23v, book 3, (D)e la cite de nique... (historiated initial is cut out).

Fol. 31v, book 4, (O)r avez... (historiated initial), the army of the First Crusade marches toward the Holy Land.

Fol. 40r, book 5, (V)oiant le seignor... (historiated initial), the Crusaders attack Antioch.

Fol. 49r, book 6, (L)a estoient... (historiated initial), the Crusaders fighting inside Antioch.

Fol. 59r, book 7, (C)es choses... (historiated initial), a Crusader envoy to the emperor of Byzantium.

Fol. 69r, book 8, (V)eritez est que..., (historiated initial), the city of Jerusalem.

Fol. 78v, book 9, (S)i com... (historiated initial), discussions about the choice of a Crusader ruler; a Crusader baron and his wife pay hommage to Godefroy de Bouillon.

Fol. 88r, book 10, (R)ois fu... (historiated initial), King Baldwin I enthroned.

Fol. 100r, book 11, (E)stez estoit... (historiated initial), Bohemond gives Tancred responsibility for Antioch; Bohemond and Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, sail to the West.

Fol. 115r, book 12, (X)erses fu... (historiated initial), Xerxes, king of Persia, and his court.

Fol. 126v, book 13, (F)orz estoit... (historiated initial), the Crusaders camped before the city of Tyre.

Fol. 137v, book 14, (R)ois fu... (historiated initial), King Fulk enthroned.

Fol. 148r, book 15, (A)pres le tens... (historiated initial), the Byzantine Emperor leads his army into Syria.

Fol. 160r, book 16, (N)e demora... (historiated initial), the coronation of Baldwin III watched by Queen Melisende.

Fol. 173v, book 17, (C)onrtz li emperes... (historiated initial), The Second Crusade: the Council of Acre.

Fol. 188r, book 18, (O)r vos parlerons... (historiated initial), The patriarch of Antioch is abused by Raynaud de Chatillon; Raynaud de Chatillon orders his men to take the patriarch to the citadel.

Fol. 205r, book 19, (V)emes estoit... (historiated initial), The coronation of Amaury I.

Fol. 218v, book 20, (U)ne chose... (historiated initial), The marriage of Amaury to Princess Maria of Byzantium.

Fol. 232r, book 21, (M)lt fu granz... (historiated initial), The funeral of Amaury I.

Fol. 243v, book 22, (B)uymons... (historiated initial), Marriage of Sibylle, sister of Baldwin IV, to Guy de Lusignan; Patriarch Heraclius rides to Antioch.

878. Folda, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," p. 286 and nn. 13 and 14.

879. The color of Bohemond's banner is known, for example, from Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana 1095–1127*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidleberg, 1913, ch. XVII, p. 234. The artist could have known it from word of mouth or from the banner used by Bohemond's successors in Antioch.

880. See, for example, the *Hortus Conclusus* in "Canticles" from the Toledo *Bible Moralisée* (A. Delaborde, *La Bible Moralisée*, vol. IV, Paris, 1921, pl. 633 (Toledo, Biblia de San Luis, vol. II, fol. 79v).

881. J. Folda, "Problems in the Iconography of the Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: 1098–1291/1917–1997," *Image and Belief*, ed. C. Hourihane, Princeton, 1999, p. 14.

882. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd rev. edn., London, 1995, p. 125–39.

883. Folda, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," p. 296.

884. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 102.

885. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 304.

886. We note the heavily bearded faces, the strongly outlined and shaded eyes, and the sense for the organic structure of the body even when it is quite elongated or covered with flat patterned drapery. As a general comparison we can look at the initials in an early Exultet Roll from Bari with regard to, for example, the Book 19 initial in MS Pal. Lat. 1963. See M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, II, Princeton, 1936, pl. VI and pp. 11 ff. (Bari roll no. 1). No equally relevant comparison can be found in Syriac illumination that is the other tradition this artist's work might suggest.

887. We note the motifs of arched and domed architecture, the imperial imagery of the red buskins worn by rulers, and the frontal or hieratic compositions as seen in the initial of Book 20, the most byzantinizing of all the illustrations in MS Pal. Lat. 1963.

888. In addition to this, we observe the basic formulae for cities, men on horseback, and battles in cities which are found in the Moralized Bibles and adapted for use in MS Pal. Lat. 1963. See Folda, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," pp. 287–8.

889. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 278.

890. It is a mystery how this codex was taken from Antioch to Norway to become part of the library of Queen Isabella between 1293 and 1358. Count Paul Riant speculated that the manuscript may have been bought in the Latin East by a certain Brother Maurice who was the negotiator of the marriage of Isabella Bruce and Erik II Magnusson. See P. Riant, *Expéditions et Pélerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des Croisades*, Paris, 1865, p. 440, n. 4.

891. The only other Crusader manuscript known to come from Antioch is a copy of the *De Arte Rhetorica* now in the Ambrosiana in Milan (MS E.7), dated 1154. It is unillustrated. See F. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929, 2nd edn., pl. 83.

892. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 97–8. Buchthal's elitest criteria for taste and style emerges vividly here. Yet even he must have realized in light of some of the notable artistic commissions and legal contributions made by resident Frankish Crusaders that not all of the "military caste" could be characterized in this way.

893. On this point I differ from Buchthal, who believed that the earliest surviving cycle from metropolitan France when compared with a William of Tyre codex now in Lyons, Bibl. Mun. MS 828, *c.*1280, provides evidence to suggest that a Western *History of Outremer* of comparatively early date and outstanding artistic merit was available in Acre for use by Crusader artists. See Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 98–9.

894. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 98.

895. Ibid., p. 73.

896. Ibid., p. 69.

897. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 43.0 × 30.0 cm. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2, pp. 178–9, no. 196, 1, fig. 196.

898. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: 45.0 × 31.0 cm. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, 2, p. 181, no. 199, 1, fig. 199.

899. Unpublished icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine.

900. Unpublished icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine.

901. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai*, ed. K. Manafis, pp. 114, 176, nos. 49 and 50.

The icon of St. John the Baptist is not published.

The icon of Christ Pantokrator measures 98.0 by 65.6 cm. It is published by Weitzmann, *Ikonen*, [10 (1980)], no. 18 (here dated to the 15th century!); M. Chatzidakis, "L'Evolution de l'Icone aux 11e–13e siècles et la Transformation du Templon," *Actes du Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes*, 1976, I, Art et Archéologie, Athens 1979, pp. 360–1, pl. XLVIII; J. Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine*, Garden City, 1980, fig. 94; and H. Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1990, fig. 51 (here published as an icon from Nicaea and dated in the twelfth century!).

902. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai*, ed. K. Manafis, p. 114.

903. Unpublished icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

904. Unpublished icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

905. Unpublished icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

906. Unpublished icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

907. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14 (1984)], pp. 152–3.

908. C. Baltoyanni, "The Mother of God in Portable Icons," *Mother of God*, ed. M. Vassilaki, Athens, 2000, pp. 141–4. In the West, this iconography is known as the "Maria lactans." For Byzantine thirteenth-century examples, see D. Mouriki, "Variants of the Hodegetria

on two Thirteenth-Century Sinai Icons," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 39 (1991), pp. 153–82. This iconography also appears in Armenian painting around 1300, see S. der Nersessian, "Western Iconographic Themes in Armenian Manuscripts," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 26 (1944), pp. 76–9.

909. For Armenian painting, see S. der Nersessian and S. Agemian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia*, Washington, D.C., 1993, pp. 22–3, 27–8, 83–4, 135, 158–61. For Syriac painting, see L.-A. Hunt, "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," *ARAM*, 9–10 (1997–1998), pp. 289–336, for example, p. 299; and J. Leroy, *Les Manuscrits Syriaques à Peintures conservées dans les Bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, 2 vols., Paris, 1964.

It is interesting that we have five portraits of King Levon, successor to the Armenian king, Hethoum I, in manuscript illumination, but none of Hethoum I himself, except his "portrait" in the Nativity scene on the Sinai iconostasis beam (no. 1744). See der Nersessian and Agemian, *Miniature Painting*, 1, pp. 154–8.

910. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: measurements, 43.0 × 31.0 cm, see G. Sotiriou and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, I, fig. 171, and II, pp. 157–8; and Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 198–9.

911. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 94–6, 316–17, 457, 462.

912. We seem to find diverse images of the throne for the Virgin as *sedes sapientiae* in the second half of the thirteenth century. See on the Kahn Madonna, J. Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61 (2002), pp. 123–39.

913. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 199.

914. Ibid.

915. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai: measurements, 29.0 × 42.0 cm with the wings open. Damaged with large round hole cut in the middle of the central panel and serious splitting down the central axis of this panel as well. See G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, II, pp. 175–6, I, fig. 193, Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], pp. 197–8, and idem, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14 (1984)], pp. 152–3.

916. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 197.

917. See Aaron in the upper left corner of the Byzantine icon from St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, in G. Sotiriou and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, I, fig. 56, II, pp. 73–5.

918. Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [8 (1978)], pp. 110–11, pl. 36.

919. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons," [1 (1963)], p. 198.

920. Unpublished, see Chapter 7.

921. H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1988, p. 229.

922. A. M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, Comte de Nevers (Acre 1266)," *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 32 (1871), pp. 164–206.

923. Folda, "Saint-Jean d'Acre as a Cultural Center of the Latin Kingdom in the Thirteenth Century," *Crusader Manuscript Illumnation*, p. 16.

924. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, eds. D. Weiss and L. Mahoney, pp. 45–62, comments on the importance of this document. He makes the important observation that it is often overlooked by historians because it was a document overlooked by R. Röhricht when he organized his *Regesta* of materials for the study of the Latin East (n. 71).

925. Paris, Archives Nationales, carton J., 821, no. 1.

> Roll A: The first roll is in two parts, originally sewn together:
>
> Part 1 is $16\frac{11}{16}$ inches long and $7\frac{9}{16}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is very thin.
>
> Part 2 is $34\frac{13}{16}$ inches long and $7\frac{13}{16}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is thick.
>
> Roll B: The parchment is $19\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $7\frac{9}{16}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is softer and of a more standard thickness than we find in roll A.
>
> Roll C: The parchment is $16\frac{7}{16}$ inches long and $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is more standard thickness, but stiffer and much whiter than in rolls A and B.
>
> Roll D: The parchment is $23\frac{11}{16}$ inches long and $6\frac{15}{16}$ inches wide at its maximum point; parchment is also very stiff, as with roll C.
>
> Overall these different-sized pieces of parchement appear utilitarian and unexceptional in terms of their parchment, preparation, ink, lack of rulings, and the hands of the scribes. They look comparable to similar western European documents, and except for the content of the text there is nothing that would indicate they were done in Acre with regard to their codicological characteristics.
>
> Chazaud explains that in general the rough draft of these accounts is found on the verso of these rolls, and the fair copy or final version is found on the recto. In the case of roll A, however, the recto is too damaged to read, so we have to rely on the verso. Otherwise the organization of the text on recto and verso is irregular and more complicated than Chazaud leads us to believe.

926. We have verified the transcriptions of Chazaud compared with the originals. In principle his transcriptions are accurate; only the arrangement of the text and the locations of the texts on the various parchment sheets are sometimes difficult to follow.

927. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes," pp. 176–9.

928. Ibid., pp. 179–81.

929. Ibid., pp. 181–3.

930. "I chapel d'or à pierres et perles" is difficult to translate; it could be a very lavish golden hat, or a portable chapel made of gold cloth. Given the extraordinary expense, eighty livres tournois, it seems more likely to be a chapel in the context of other objects listed in this section of the inventory.

At this point in my discussion I would like to express my thanks to my colleague, Dr. Elizabeth Jane Burns of the University of North Carolina, who read through the text of these inventories with me, and put her expertise in Old French language and literature at my disposal in my attempt to understand the details of the text in this important document.

931. Ibid., p. 187.

932. Ibid., p. 189. See the discussion by D. Jacoby of these texts listed in the accounts of Eudes de Nevers: idem, "La littérature française dans les états latin de la Méditerranée à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création," *Essor et Fortune de la Chanson de Geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient Latin*, Modena, 1984, pp. 620–3.

933. See, for example, K. Ciggaar, "Manuscripts as Intermediaries: The Crusader States and Literary Cross-fertilization," *East and West in the Crusader States*, eds. K. Ciggaar, A. Davies, and H. Teule, Louvain, 1996, p. 147; and D. Jacoby, "La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée à l'epoque des croisades: diffusion et création," *Essor et Fortune de la Chanson de Geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient Latin*, Modena, 1984, pp. 623–4. On Edward and the arthurian manuscript, see R. S. Loomis, "Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast," *Speculum*, 28 (1953), pp. 114–27.

934. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes," Ibid., p. 190.

935. Ibid., p. 191.

936. Ibid.

937. Ibid., p. 192.

938. Ibid., p. 193.

939. No illustrated Sanctorale or Breviary can be identified as yet as having been executed in Acre, but the Perugia Missal is an important example of such a liturgical work done there. We certainly can imagine that books such as the Sanctorale and the Breviary were also done in Acre, but no example can as yet be identified as having been done there and these books which the count owned most likely came from France.

940. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes," p. 195.

941. Ibid., pp. 195–6.

942. Ibid., pp. 198–200.

943. Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, p. 45.

944. Ibid., pp. 46–7.

945. Ibid., pp. 106–8.

946. Ibid., pp. 103–5.

947. It is unclear what organization this is.

948. Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, p. 94.

949. Ibid., pp. 90–1.

950. Ibid., pp. 117–19.

951. Ibid., pp. 110–11.

952. It is unclear who is referred to here.

953. Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, pp. 91–3.

954. Ibid., pp. 35–8.

955. Ibid., pp. 99–100.

956. Ibid., pp. 94–7.

957. Ibid., p. 114; this is a house for lepers about which we know virtually nothing.

958. Ibid., pp. 108–10.

959. Ibid., p. 105.

960. Ibid., pp. 101–3.

961. Ibid., p. 78.

962. Ibid., pp. 77–8.

963. Ibid., pp. 44–5.

964. This church is not listed by Dichter. It is presumably the Church of St. Samuel relocated to Acre from the environs just north of Jerusalem after 1187.

965. It is unclear who is referred to here.

966. Dichter, *The Orders*, pp. 16–17.

967. Ibid., pp. 79–83.

968. Ibid., pp. 47–57.

969. Ibid., pp. 200–5.

970. Ibid., p. 206.

971. See the comments of B. Z. Kedar, "Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099–1291," *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land*, eds. A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa, Jerusalem, 1998, p. 220.

972. The will of Saliba is recorded by J. Delaville Le Roulx, ed., *Cartulaire Générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St.-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, 2, Paris, 1897, no. 3105. Besides his gift to the Church of St. Lawrence, Saliba's bequests include the following:

> "To the hospital of the Holy Spirit, three besants
> To the abbess Agnes and her sisters, fifty besants
> To the friars preacher, five besants
> To the friars minor, five besants
> To St Mary Magdalen, two besants
> To the Convertite sisters, two besants
> To the brethren of Carmel, five besants
> To the lepers of St Lazarus, six besants
> To the Hospital of St Anthony, three besants
> To Holy Trinity, three besants
> To St Bridget, two besants
> To the hospital of St Catherine, two besants
> To the church of St Mary of the Provençaux, two besants."

See, Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, p. 304. Clearly this is a much more modest will than that of Eudes, count of Nevers.

973. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd edn, London, 1995, p. 50; A. G. Malloy, I. F. Preston, and A. J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States*, New York, 1994, pp. 129–33; and J. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC*, 6, pp. 385–6.

974. Malloy et al. (*Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 18) note the complete set of obverse inscriptions and those on the reverse. These coins appeared throughout the 1250s with different dates as the years went on.

975. First illustrated in G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de L'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1878, rpt. Graz, 1954, pl. 19, no. 9; see P. Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant with the *Christus vincit* Legend," *American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes*, 6 (1954), pp. 169–78. This coin is commented on also by J. Yvon, "Monnaies et sceaux de l'Orient Latin," *Revue numismatique*, 6e sér., 8 (1966), pp. 89–91; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 50; Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 20; and Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," *HC*, 6, pp. 385, 416, pl. VII, no. 57. An example was recently sold in the Slocum sale (6–7 March 1997): [J. Porteous], *The John J. Slocum Collection of Coins of the Crusades*, Sotheby's, London, 1997, cat. no. 289. Note that the obverse of this coin, much enlarged, appears on the front cover of this catalogue.

976. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 20; and Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant," pp. 175–8.

977. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, p. 50.

978. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," *HC*, 6, p. 385.

979. We can make these interpretations based on the hoard evidence. See Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant," pp. 172–5.

980. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 38–9.

981. The issue of Western coins circulating and being used in the Crusader East is complicated. See the discussions by Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 169–76; and A. M. Stahl, "The Circulation of European Coinage in the Crusader States," *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, eds. V. P. Goss and C. V. Bornstein, Kalamazoo, 1986, pp. 85–102.

982. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," *HC*, 6, p. 382. On John of Ibelin and the *Livre des Assises*, see P. Edbury, "The *Livre des Assises* by John of Jaffa: The Development and Transmission of the Text," "*The Crusades and Their Sources*," eds. J. France and W. G. Zajac, Aldershot/Brookfield, 1998, pp. 169–79; and general comments by H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1988, pp. 161–2.

983. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 151.

984. Ibid., pp. 143–4.

985. Ibid., pp. 156–7.

986. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," *HC*, 6, p. 384, pl. XI, fig. 99. It was coins of this type with which, Porteous suggests, Louis IX made his offering at the tomb of Walter of Brienne in Sidon in 1252.

987. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 143. Malloy interprets this façade as that of the Cathedral of St. Mary of the Sepulcher of Our Lady of Tyre, whereas Porteous (p. 383) prefers to see this imagery as a reference to the aedicule of the Holy Sepulcher.

988. Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," *HC*, 2, p. 578.

989. For an image of the gros tournois, see the exhibition catalogue of *La France de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1971, pp. 79–80, no. 137.

990. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 152–3; Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 164–5; and Porteous, "Crusader Coinage," *HC*, 6, pp. 386–7.

991. Grierson, "A Rare Crusader Bezant," p. 177.

992. J. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," *HC*, 2, p. 509.

993. The Rothelin Continuation, trans. J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, Aldershot/Brookfield, 1999, p. 103.

994. The two versions of Louis's royal seal are identical in iconography and presentation, but differ subtly in style according to their date. They are illustrated by M. W. Labarge, *Saint Louis*, Boston and Toronto, 1968, opposite p. 241. The later version has the same inscription, but the figure is more trim, the drapery is less voluminous, the face of the king is older, his proper right hand is positioned more naturalistically, and the fleur-de-lis he holds in it is simpler. Opinions vary as to whether the later version dates after his illness of 1244 or after his return from Palestine in 1254. See *La France de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1971, p. 29, no. 21.

995. A beautiful example of this seal is illustrated on a letter from Louis IX written in Caesarea in 1252, now in the Archives Nationales in Paris, inv. J422. See M. Benveniste, "The Crusades, An Historical Introduction," *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. S. Rozenberg, Jerusalem, 1999, p. 25, fig. 3. The same document also appears with a similarly excellent reproduction in M. Rey-Delqué, *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis: 1096–1270, Milan, 1997, p. 139.

996. It is striking that so few seals are extant from these years, perhaps caused by the destruction suffered at the hands of the Mamluks, as Baybars started his campaigns against the Crusaders. An example of this hiatus is documented by H. Hazard, "The Sigillography of Crusader Caesarea," *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, ed. D. K. Kouymijian, Beirut, 1974, pp. 359–68.

997. G. Schlumberger et al., *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1943, pp. 66–7.

998. On the seal of John II Ibelin, see H. E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Munich, 1978, pp. 84 ff., esp. pp. 93–9, and pl. 4, fig. 35. See also Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 40, no. 97, p. 154, no. 28, also illustrated in J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London, 1973, opp. p. 216.

999. The cloth housing of the horse was probably in several layers, or it may have been quilted. The Crusaders started using such caparisons in the twelfth century, probably imitating the Muslims on this point. The surcoat of the knight and housing of the horse rapidly came to be used for heraldic arms, whereas the Muslims usually reserved their heraldic arms for shields and banners. See, for example, I. Heath, *Armies and Enemies of the Crusades, 1096–1291*, a Lancing, West Sussex, 1978, pp. 68–70, 91–3, 95–8, 108–10.

1000. Ibid., p. 38. The inscription spelled out reads: "+ Boamondus princeps antiochenus et comes Tripolitanus filius Buamundi principis et comitis."

1001. This seal was formerly kept in the Archives of the Hospitaller Order on Malta and is now known only by the drawing published by S. Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gersolimitano oggi di Malta . . .*, vol. 1, Lucca, 1733, pl. VI, no. 62.

1002. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 236–7, 248–9. See also E. J. King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, London, 1932, pp. 1–19; and Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, pp. 40–4, 47–57.

1003. The Old French text is published by J. Delaville le Roulx, "Note sur les Sceaux de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem, *Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, sér. 5, 1 (1880), and translated by King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, pp. 127–8, in Appendix A. The range of imagery is interesting, including, besides the usual Hospitaller master's type, seals for other offices with knights, a ship, an oriflamme, and a castle from the east, and from the west, among others, the *Agnus Dei* for the prior of St. Gilles.

1004. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 251–2; and Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, pp. 79–83.

1005. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, pp. 79–80.

1006. Ibid., pp. 80–1.

1007. Ibid., pp. 104–5; and Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine*, pl. VI, no. 59.

1008. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 122; and Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, p. 77.

1009. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 125; and Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, p. 102.

1010. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, p. 121; and Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, p. 117. It is more likely to be a leper, but final determination will necessitate inspection of the actual seal, which I as yet have been unable to do.

1011. Possible examples of *ampullae* found in excavations at Acre and Caesarea are illustrated by D. Syon, "Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A Crusader Workshop of Lead Ampullae from Acre," *Knights of the Holy Land*, pp. 110, fig. 1; 114, fig. 3; p. 319, nos. 112, 114. These *ampullae* are mostly small, and few carry explicit religious decoration. See other comments by Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, pp. 159–60.

1012. A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le Développement d'un Culte*, Paris, 1961, pp. 431–41, nos. 535–63.

1013. See the important article of M. Georgopoulou, "Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon," *Medieval Encounters*, 5 (1999), pp. 289–321. See also her forthcoming book, *Multiculturalism, in the Middle Ages: Ethnicity, Identity, Style*.

1014. I am substantially basing my discussion here on Maria Georgopoulou's article cited in the previous note.

1015. These examples of metalwork belong to a larger group of eighteen objects said to come from several different places. See, for example, Georgopoulou, "Orientalism and Crusader Art," p. 292, who proposes to view these objects as "indicative of a far wider production than previously thought, [which] ought to be studied within a larger framework that incorporates the artistic production and the market mechanisms of the crusader and the neighboring Muslim states." See, for example, E. Baer, *Ayyubid Metalwork with Christian Images*, Leiden, 1989; R. A. Katzenstein and G. D. Lowry, "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork," *Muqarnas*, 1 (1983), pp. 53–68; E. Atil, W. T. Chase, and P. Jett, *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington, D.C., 1985, pp. 137–47; and L. T. Schneider, The Freer Canteen," *Ars Orientalis*, 9 (1973), pp. 137–56.

1016. These examples of enameled glass belong to a group of at least some twenty-five objects. See, for example, Georgopoulou, "Orientalism and Crusader Art," pp. 291–320; J. Carswell, "The Baltimore Beakers," *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. Ward, London, 1998, pp. 61–3; N. Brosh, "Between East and West: Glass and Minor Arts in the Crusader Kingdom," *Knights of the Holy Land*, p. 266, fig. 2 (Montfort beaker); B. Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine (Montfort)," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 22, pt. 2 (1927), pp. 5–46, rpt. Jerusalem, 1982, ed. M. Benveniste; W. Pfeiffer, "Acrische Gläser," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 12 (1970), pp. 67–9, H. Tait, "Beaker," *Masterpieces of Glass*, London, 1968, pp. 151–2, no. 205; W. Pfeiffer, "Magister Aldrevandin me fecit," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, 106 (1966), pp. 205–9; and Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, pp. 152–3. The great basic study of this glass is by C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1929–1930, with later critique and discussion by G. T. Scanlon, "Lamm's Classification and Archaeology," pp. 27–9, and S. S. Kenesson, "Islamic Enamelled Beakers: A New Chronology," pp. 45–9, both in *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. Ward, London, 1998.

With regard to Lamm's study, his classification, and his idea that the Aldrevandin Beaker was "Syro-Frankish," see now the recent scholarship arguing that in fact this work and some of the other painted glass in the group related to it was painted in Venice, imitating Islamic technique. See D. Whitehouse, "Imitations of Islamic Glass," in S. Carboni and D. Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, New York, 2001, pp. 297–8; and S. Carboni, "The Aldrevandin Beaker," ibid., pp. 302–3, no. 151.

Some other handsome examples are illustrated in M. Rey-Delqué, ed., "La Syrie et l'Egypte au XIIe et XIIIe siècles, Quelques aspects de la production artistique," *Les Croisades: L'Orient et L'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis: 1096–1270*, Milan, 1997, pp. 336–7, enameled glass beakers from Kassel and the Hague, and a goblet from Chartres. See also S. Carboni and D. Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, New York, 2001, pp. 242–5, no. 121, a painted bottle from Syria in the mid-thirteenth century.

1017. S. Schein, "Rulers and Ruled: Women in the Crusader Period," *Knights of the Holy Land*, p. 60, fig. 1, p. 323, no. 234.

1018. A. Grabois, "Nobility and Knighthood," *Knights of the Holy Land*, p. 129, fig. 5, p. 323, no. 235. A detail of this soldier also appears opposite the title page of this catalogue.

1019. Schein, "Rulers and Ruled," p. 66, fig. 4; p. 323, no. 237.

1020. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, pp. 149–50; E. J. Stern, "Excavation of the Courthouse Site at 'Akko: The Pottery of the Crusader and Ottoman Periods," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), pp. 35 ff., esp. 58–62; R. D. Pringle, "Some More Proto-Maiolica from 'Athlit (Pilgrims' Castle) and a Discussion of its Distribution in the Levant," *Levant*, 14 (1982), pp. 107–15.

1021. My discussion of these beakers is based on the articles by Georgopoulou ("Orientalism and Crusader Art," pp. 301–21) and Carswell ("The Baltimore Beakers," pp. 61–3), which are in substantial agreement about the decoration but differ in their interpretation of the imagery and the character of these beakers as works of art. For color plates, see R. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza, Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2002, p. 114, fig. 118.

1022. I have taken the catalogue information, including these inscriptions from Carswell, "The Baltimore Beakers," p. 61.

1023. Kenesson, "Islamic Enamelled Beakers: A New Chronology," p. 45. She refers to an illustrated *Maqamat* of al-Hariri, *c.*1334, now in Vienna, where the emir holds a beaker in his hand. See R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Geneva, 1977, p. 148.

1024. H. A. R. Gibb, "The Aiyubids," *HC*, 2, p. 714.

1025. Georgopoulou, "Orientalism and Crusader Art," p. 315, proposes, "I would argue that indeed these two beakers were made in the market of a Muslim city for Christian patrons."

1026. Georgopoulou, "Orientalism and Crusader Art," p. 308, thinks of it as a trademark and an indication of authenticity. She cites the work of S. Redford, "Ayyubid Glass from Samsat, Turkey," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 36 (1994), p. 84. Carswell, "The Baltimore Beakers," p. 61, calls the inscriptions "reverent statements," but does not think that the fact they are in Arabic and refer to the sultan necessarily limits the market for these beakers.

1027. Carswell, "The Baltimore Beakers," p. 62, comments also that these beakers must be some kind of souvenirs for pilgrims to Jerusalem, but "who were the pilgrims is less clear," pointing out that both Christian and Muslim pilgrims wanted souvenirs. He points out these beakers stayed in the East until modern times and that the mixture of Christian and Muslim imagery on the same object, combined with Arabic inscriptions, fits well within the tradition of Mamluk – and Ayyubid – decorative art. He leaves open who the pilgrim might have been but leans toward a local Orthodox Christian in the end.

1028. Kenesson, "Islamic Enamelled Beakers: A New Chronology," pp. 45–9. Redford ("Ayyubid Glass from Samsat, Turkey," p. 85) has raised the question of whether some of this type glass could have come from non-Muslim sources at this time.

1029. C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh, 1999, pp. 388–91.

1030. Ibid., p. 397.

1031. K. L. Reyerson, "Commerce and Communications," *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, V, ed. D. Abulafia, Cambridge, 1999, p. 60.

1032. See D. Jacoby, "Silk Crosses the Mediterranean," *Le vie del Mediterraneo: Idee, uomini, ogetti (secoli XI–XVI)*, ed. G. Airaldi, Genova, 1997, pp. 55–79; idem, "Genoa, Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean Region (ca. 1100–1300), *Tessuti, Oreficerie, miniature in Liguria, XIII–XV secolo*, eds. A. R. Calderoni Masetti, C. Di Fabio, and M. Marcenaro, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri: Atti dei Convegni, III, Bordighera, 1999, pp. 11–40; idem, "Dalla Materia Prima ai Drappi tra Bisanzio, Il Levante e Venezia: La Prima fase dell'Industria Serica Veneziana," *La Seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento*, eds. L. Molà, R. C. Mueller, and C. Zanier, Venice, 2000, pp. 265–304.

See a further selection of his earlier articles on commerce and the silk trade in his selected studies volume, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Aldershot, 1997.

On additional trade issues of relevance here, see D. Jacoby, "The Trade of Crusader Acre in the Levantine Context: An Overview," *Archivio Storico del Sannio*, 98 (2001), pp. 103–120; idem, "The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 25 (2001), pp. 102–32; idem, "Diplomacy, Trade, Shipping and Espionage between Byzantium and Egypt in the Twelfth Century," *Festschrift für Peter Schreiner, Byzantinisches Archiv*, 19 (2000), pp. 83–102; idem, "The Venetian Privileges in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Interpretations and Implementations," *Montjoie*, eds. B. Z. Kedar et al., Aldershot, 1997, pp. 155–75; and idem, "L'Expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle," *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977) pp. 225–64.

On Frankish Greece, see D. Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington, D.C., 2001, pp. 197–233, with substantial bibliography.

1033. Runciman's comment was that the "old balanced dyarchy between Byzantium and the Caliphate" which ruled the Near East for so long was over. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 304.

1034. According to one view, "the Byzantine recovery of Constantinople and the collapse of the Latin Empire were thus the outcome of a war started round an ancient monastery in Acre. It was a tremendous blow to Latin and to Papal prestige, and a triumph for the Greeks. But Byzantium, . . . was now only one state amongst many." Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 287.

1035. One or two entries refer to St. Catherine's, or St. Demetrios, in Acre, but otherwise the repertory of scenes or saints found on the icons does not obviously link these panels to the religious establishments of the Crusaders in Acre.

1036. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 290.

CHAPTER 7. ACRE AND THE ART OF THE CRUSADERS: THE FINAL YEARS, 1268–1289

The Final Crusades and the Mamluk Assault on the Latin Kingdom to the Fall of Tripoli

1. P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt, London and New York, 1992 from the 1987 edition, pp. 193–5. The relevant passages of Ibn 'abd al-Zahir's account of the embassy to Acre are translated by P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers*, Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1995, pp. 69–71.

2. For the text of the truce with Lady Isabel dated 6 May 1269, see now Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 42–7, published earlier in P. M. Holt, "Baybars's Treaty with the Lady of Beirut in 667/1269," *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. Edbury, Cardiff, 1985, pp. 242–5.

The *hajj* to Mecca was both religious and political, part of Baybars's remarkable program of travel for diplomacy, inspection, and military readiness in the administration of his sultanate. See Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382*, London and Sydney, 1986, pp. 55–6.

3. See the discussion of the competing claims by J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1274*, London and Basingstoke, 1973, pp. 220–5.

4. R. D. Pringle, "The Crusader Cathedral of Tyre," *Levant*, 33 (2001), pp. 165–88. Besides serving as the coronation church of the Latin Kingdom, during this period the cathedral was also the burial place of the lords of Tyre, and a year later, in 1270, Philip of Montfort was buried here.

5. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 90–3; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, pp. 222–5; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 327–30.

6. Holt, *Early Mamluke Diplomacy*, pp. 32–41. We will discuss later the Hospitaller dealings with Baybars over Crak des Chevaliers in 1271.

7. It is uncertain whether Baybars ordered the assassination of Philip of Montfort or was only blamed for it by the Templar of Tyre. See Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 204 and n. 88.

8. On Charles of Anjou, see the recent studies by Jean Dunbabin, *Charles of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe*, London and New York, 1998, and David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200–1500: The Struggle for Dominion*, London and New York, 1997, as well as the basic work by S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Latin Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1958.

9. For Louis's Second Crusade, see J. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 428–34; W. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, Princeton, 1979, pp. 214–17; J. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," *HC*, 2, pp. 508–18; and M. Labarge, *Saint Louis: Louis IX, Most Christian King of France*, Boston and Toronto, 1968, pp. 226–44.

10. "En ce tans se croisa Lois roi de France et cil de Navare, et li enfant et moult d'autres contes et barons de France et d'Engleterre et d'Alemaigne por le secors de la Sainte Terre." Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 456, for the year 1267. My nomenclature for the continuations into the later years of the thirteenth century has been explained in Chapter 6, n. 6, along with comments on the main sources. Some of the sources do not extend into the period after 1268, but some do. Two new sources become centrally important for the period up to 1291. First there is the eyewitness account of events in the Latin Kingdom written by the Templar of Tyre, published in the old edition by G. Raynaud (ed.), *Gestes des Chiprois*, Geneva, 1887, and the new edition is by L. Minervini (ed.), *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, Naples, 2000. A new translation has just appeared by P. Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre: The Deeds of the Cypriots*, Crusade Texts in Translation, 6, Aldershot and Burlington, 2003. Second, P. M. Holt has published eleven Mamluk treaties dating from 1267 to 1290, in *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers*, Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1995.

Among other relevant sources in Arabic in translation, there is Ibn al Furat, *The History of the Dynasties and the Kings*, trans. U. and M. C. Lyons, in *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1971, and a collection of passages from the works of Ibn abd' al-Zahir and Abu l-Fida, who were both eyewitnesses to the events of the late thirteenth century, along with the historical compendium of Abu l-Mahasin, who wrote in the fifteenth century, by F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, London, 1969, pp. 305–50.

11. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly, Paris, 1868, pp. 261–2, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *The Life of Saint Louis*, in Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, Baltimore, 1963, 345–6.

12. The account of the Spanish squadron in the Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 457–8, more or less corresponds to what appears in Ibn al-Furat, *The History of the Dynasty of the Kings*, trans. U. and M. C. Lyons, 2, pp. 137–8.

13. Labarge, *Saint Louis*, p. 233.

14. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*, p. 216, and J. deLaborde, A. Teulet et al. (eds.) *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, 4, Paris, 1900, nos. 5662–4.

15. On these manuscripts, see R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1977, pp. 132–7, 238–9. For the St. Louis Psalter, see "Psautier de Saint Louis," in *La France de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1971, pp. 103, 105, cat. no. 207, both with older bibliography, comments by F. Avril, *L'Enluminure à l'Epoque Gothique*, [Paris], 1979/95, pp. 21, 24, 25; M. Thomas (ed.), *Le Psautier de St. Louis*, en facsimilé, Graz, 1970; and W. Jordan, "The Psalter of Saint Louis (BN MS lat. 10525): The Program of the Seventy-Eight Full Page Illustrations," *Acta: The High Middle Ages*, 7 (Binghamton, NY, 1983, pp. 65–91. Most recently, D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 47, 73, comments on its links to Crusader-inspired imagery and clearly more work needs to be done on the relationship between this famous prayerbook for Louis IX and his royal ideology for the Crusade. Branner dates the Psalter of St. Louis after 1255; Weiss suggests *c.*1260. Harvey Stahl worked on this important manuscript for many years before his untimely death. It remains to be seen whether his widow and his former students can successfully publish the work he had already done.

The equally impressive Isabella Psalter remains effectively unstudied, except for Branner's comments. A doctoral dissertation on this manuscript by K. Showalter at the Johns Hopkins University is said to be underway.

16. It is well-known how widely estimates of troop strengths in medieval armies vary, and this is a case in point. Strayer proposes 10,000 men; Labarge says it was a force of less than 10,000 men. By contrast, Edward Gibbon arbitrarily states there were "six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot," which corresponds to the estimate of Ibn-Khaldun. However, most Muslim sources inflate the numbers enormously; for example, Ibn-abi-Zar says there were 40,000 knights, 100,000 archers, and a million foot soldiers! See Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," p. 515; Labarge, *Saint Louis*, p. 241; E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, New York: Modern Library edition, [n.d.], III, p. 501; and for Ibn Khaldun and Ibn-abi-Zar, see Hazard, "Moslem North Africa, 1049–1394," *HC*, 3, pp. 475–6.

17. The Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 458–9, offers no comment on this and basically summarizes the story of the Louis's Crusade in one terse paragraph.

18. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," p. 515.

19. There is considerable speculation on why Tunis was chosen. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, pp. 428–31, says there was a change of plans between 1269 and 1270, and he offers several interesting reasons for the change. However, he notes that the loss of French chancery records and records of royal accounts for this expedition limits our ability to confirm the various suggestions that have been proposed. See also Dunbabin, *Charles of Anjou*, pp. 195–6; Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," pp. 511–15; Labarge, *Saint Louis*, pp. 238–41; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 291–2.

20. H. W. Hazard, "Moslem North Africa, 1049–1394," *HC*, III, pp. 473–4. See also Hazard's comments on Ibn Khaldun and the history of North Africa during the medieval period, with other sources documented, on pp. 457–60.

21. Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 429, and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, a Short History*, New Haven and London, 1987, p. 175.

22. The idea that Louis harbored the hope of converting the emir of Tunis has long been identified as a factor here. Edward Gibbon, who published his famous *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* between 1776 and 1788, comments, "a wild hope of baptising the king of Tunis tempted him to steer for the African coast" (idem, III, p. 501).

23. William of St. Pathus, *Vie de St. Louis*, ed. H. F. Delaborde, Paris, 1899, p. 155, quoted by Labarge, *St. Louis*, p. 243.

24. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 292.

25. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, III, p. 501.

26. Guillaume de Nangis, *Life of Saint Louis, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, ed. Daunou and Naudet, Paris, 1840, pp. 466, 468, reported by Labarge, *Saint Louis*, p. 243. Louis's heart was left with the army in Africa, and lost!

27. Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly, p. 267, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, *The Life of Saint Louis*, p. 350.

28. Strayer, "The Crusades of Louis IX," p. 517.

29. See Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* pp. 138–41; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 81–3; and W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter*, Munich/Berlin, 1966, pp. 53–4.

30. On Thomas Bérard (1256–73), see M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri*, Göttingen, 1974, pp. 232–58.

31. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 148–50; D. J. Cathcart King, "The Taking of Crac des Chevaliers in 1271," *Antiquity*, 23 (1949), pp. 83–92, revising the account of P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, I, *Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Paris, 1934, pp. 132–5. See now the comments of Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 265–6, revising the dating of Cathcart King.

32. Quoted from Ibn al-Furat by Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 148.

33. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 204–5, with detailed discussion of the start of the siege in Appendix 5, pp. 265–6.

34. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, London, 1967, p. 193, n. 1, wonders whether the Muslim sources might have confused the events at Safita with what happened here. That is possible, but Baybars is known to have used forged letters elsewhere, for example, at Beaufort and Safed, as well as at Safita, to generate dissension inside the Crusader garrison, as part of his strategy of attack. Using such a letter here would seem to be an entirely normal part of his operations.

35. Ibn al-Furat, *The History*, 2, p. 145. M. C. Lyons suggests the superior in Tripoli would have been Renaud de Nanteuil, cf n. 9, p. 239.

36. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 205. For the full list of sources pertaining to the siege and this letter, see ibid., pp. 216–17, n. 95.

37. Ibn al-Furat, *The History*, 2, p. 146.

38. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, p. 193.

39. The text of this treaty is published by Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 48–57.

40. Ibid., p. 55, article 12.

41. Ibid., and Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 205.

42. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 205.

43. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 129–31; M. Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 331–7; and Indrikis Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," *HC*, 5, pp. 354–5.

44. M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "The Teutonic Knights in Acre after the Fall of Montfort (1271): Some Reflections," in *Outremer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 272–84, discusses the activity of the Teutonic Order in Acre on the basis of documents dated 1273 and 1274 that "throw a clearer light on the financial power of the Teutonic Order and on its ambitions to enlarge its property in Acre" (p. 282).

45. Ibn al-Furat, *The History*, 2, pp. 151–2.

46. Al-'Aini, *The Necklace of Pearls, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, pp. 319–22.

47. "Et brisierent .XIIII. galies de Sarrazins en Chipre a Lymecon, et furent que pris que mors bien .IIII. .M. Sarrazins. . ." . Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 460; Templar of Tyre, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 199; Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 206–7; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 334.

48. Al-Maqrizi, *The Book of Proceeding to the Knowledge of the History of the Kings*, trans. F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 303–4.

49. On Edward's Crusade, see the Templar of Tyre, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, eds. G. Raynaud, pp. 199–201; the Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 461–2; the excellent chapter in F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1947, rpt. 1966, pp. 597–610; and the old work by Reinhold Röhricht, "La Croisade du Prince Édouard d'Angleterre (1270–1274)," *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 1, Paris, 1881, rpt. Brussels, 1964, pp. 617–32. More recent discussions include C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, Chicago, 1988, pp. 124–32; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 335–7; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, pp. 175–6; Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c.1291*, pp. 432–4, and Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 208–10.

50. On the dates of the Polo family visits to Acre, see Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, eds. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, London, 1938, pp. 22–5, and n. 209.

51. Templar of Tyre, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 200, and Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 221–2. Again here the Muslim sources differ on the date of an event, in this case the attack on the castle of Caco (Qaqun), which the Templar of Tyre dates to November but the Muslim sources date to December 1271.

52. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 337–8.

53. The Muslim and Christian sources differ on the date. See Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 209, and 219 n. 123. In this case there may be some confusion over when the treaty was signed, 21/22 April, and when it was scheduled to go into force, 22 May.

54. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 210.

55. Ibn al-Furat, *The History*, 2, p. 158. This makes a good story, but we have to exercise caution because Ibn al-Furat was collecting his sources and writing much later, in the later fourteenth century.

56. As part of the evidence it appears that Edward apparently commissioned a manuscript of the *De re militari* by Vegetius in Old French while he was in Acre, a copy of which survives in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. I have proposed that at least one of the illustrations in the Cambridge codex (Marlay Add. MS 1), possibly painted in Acre, was cut out of the original manuscript done for Edward and pasted in this codex. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at St. Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, pp. 129–30.

57. S. Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," *HC*, 2, p. 583, n. 60, gives the full documentation.

58. Ibn al-Furat, *The History*, 2, p. 159.

59. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 221–2, 244 n. 13. Thorau, citing the Muslim sources, says Edward was only slightly wounded and recovered quickly.

60. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, 275.

61. K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, 1, Philadelphia, 1976, p. 109.

62. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, p. 434.

63. For a discussion of the views of Humbert, see J. A. Brundage, "Humbert of Romans and the Legitimacy of Crusader Conquests," *Outremer*, pp. 302–13.

64. On the criticism of the Crusade, see Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 22–36; E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274*, Oxford, 1985; and Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda*, Amsterdam, 1940. Summaries and comments of the various reports are discussed by Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–1291*, pp. 435–7; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 1, p. 109; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 338–41.

65. Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship: To the King of Cyprus*, ed. G. B. Phelan, Toronto, 1949/82, with comments on the date of the treatise in the introduction, pp. xxvi–xxx.

66. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 1, p. 112.

67. Ibid., p. 117. For the Byzantine viewpoint, see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, transl. J. Hussey, New Brunswick, 1957, pp. 409–12, and A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. 2, Madison, 1958, pp. 658–9. Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford, 1997, p. 741, says that the envoys "brought a letter from Michael VIII accepting union and all western doctrines and recognizing western church practices, but requesting that eastern church practices be allowed to continue as before. The union was ratified on Michael's terms."

68. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 1, p. 115.

69. For a discussion of the *Constitutiones*, see Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 36–42.

70. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 177.

71. For a discussion of these terms, see Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 15–19.

72. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 462; Ibn al-Furat, *The History*, 2, p. 164; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 342–3; and Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 234–5.

73. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 466–7; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 343–4; and Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 234.

74. On the hostility between William of Beaujeu and King Hugh III, see Pierre-Vincent Claverie, "L'Ordre du Temple au coeur d'une crise politique majeure: la *Querela Cypri* des années 1279–1285," *Le Moyen Age*, 104 (1998), pp. 495–511.

75. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 474–5; Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, p. 188; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 344–5; Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, pp. 447–9.

76. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, pp. 148–50; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 206; Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 475–6; J. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1291*, Cambridge, MA, 1932, rpt. New York, 1970, pp. 77–9; Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, pp. 449–50; and Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, pp. 96–7.

77. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 45–62, has noted that the present consensus that sees Charles of Anjou's eyes to be riveted on the campaign against Constantinople needs to be reevaluated. Riley-Smith observes that even a cursory glance at the reconstituted Angevin archives reveals there is much more to his government in Palestine than simply maintaining his *bailli* and a contingent of men.

78. For a discussion of Roger's arrival, see Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, pp. 226–7.

79. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 150; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 206–7; Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 478–9.

80. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 478.

81. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 224–5.

82. Ibid., pp. 202–3.

83. Ibid., pp. 225–32.

84. Ibid., pp. 232–3.

85. Ibid., pp. 220–1.

86. Ibid., p. 227.

87. Ibid., pp. 225–9. The attacks by Sheikh Khadir on Christians were extreme, but they can be seen in the larger perspective as part of the anti-Crusader policy and activity of the Mamluk sultan. See L. S. Northrup, "Muslim-Christian Relations during the Reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun, A. D. 1278–1290," *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, eds. Michael Gervers and Ramzi J. Bikhazi, Toronto, 1990, pp. 253–61. It should also be noted that Sheik Khadir was not the only Muslim holy man competing for the sultan's favors. There was also Sheikh 'Ali al'Majnun, who "was present at the sieges of Arsuf and Caesarea and was observed to enter into a trance state so as to employ a form of spiritual warfare against the Crusader fortifications." See Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 54.

88. Thorau, *The Lion*, pp. 232–4.

89. Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 168–78.

90. Ibid., pp. 72–4, for a description of the battle.

91. Mustafa M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, p. 750.

92. The extent to which Baybars was influenced by Mongol culture and institutions is a matter of some differences of opinion among historians. See Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, pp. 52–3.

93. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 58.

94. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 348, and Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, pp. 242–3. See also the special Appendix 7 by Thorau on "The Cause of Baybars's Death," p. 268.

95. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 243.

96. For photos of the tombs of both Saladin and Baybars, see H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Sparkford, 2001, p. 70, Pl. 2.15 (Saladin), p. 86, Pl. 2.22 (Baybars).

97. Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, pp. 467, and 479–80. Note that shortly after the second report of Baybars's death, the Noailles Continuation ends with events of 1277. After this, the account by the Templar of Tyre becomes the main source from the Crusader East.

98. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 348.

99. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 254.

100. J. M. Rogers, *Empire of the Sultans: Ottoman Art from the Khalili Collection*, 4th edn., London, 2000, pp. 154–6, no. 96, "Sword with the Name and Blazon of Sultan Baybars." See also U. Yücel, *Al-Suyuf al-islamiyyah wa sunna'uha*, Kuwait, 1988, pp. 38–9, 57–9.

101. Rogers, *Empire of the Sultans: Ottoman Art from the Khalili Collection*, p. 154.

102. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 53.

103. See Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 51–73.

104. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, p. 200.

105. Ibid., pp. 200–21; and Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, pp. 456–60.

106. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, pp. 99–113; Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 234–5.

107. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, p. 113. The quote is from Giovanni Villani.

108. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, p. 109; Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, p. 242; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 392–3.

109. On the rise and career of Kalavun as the successor to Baybars, see now the fundamental study, Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of Al-Mansur Qalawun and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689/1279–1290 A.D.)*, Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. XVIII, Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 65–158. See also Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, p. 750, and Northrup, "The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1390," *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 1, pp. 242–89.

110. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 84–5, and M. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, pp. 129–31.

111. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 65.

112. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 90–7; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 387, 390.

113. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 100–3; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 390.

114. For the text of the treaty of Bohemond VII with Kalavun and discussion of its contents, see Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, pp. 58–65.

115. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 103–6; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 390–1.

116. For a detailed account of the battle of Homs, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 183–201.

117. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 154;

Les Gestes des Chiprois, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 210. Riley-Smith points out that when these Hospitallers broke the current truce, Kalavun ordered the Muslim governor of Crac des Chevaliers to attack Margat. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, p. 194. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 183–201, does not mention the Hospitaller contingent in the Mongol army.

118. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 191–5, evaluates the size and makeup of these armies.

119. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 108–11; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 391–2.

120. Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," *HC*, 2, p. 586, n. 71. Taqi ad-Din al-Maqrizi, writing long after the event, reports this. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 200–1, does not mention this event.

121. However, consider also the views of David Ayalon on this victory: "Though this battle was won by Kalawun, the real architect of the victory was undoubtedly Sultan Baybars, who, in the seventeen years of his rule . . . built a war-machine which, in spite of the decline it underwent during the four years following his death, proved to be strong enough to beat one of the mightiest armies which the Mongol Il-Khans ever put into the field." Quoted by Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p. 179.

122. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 111–12, and the quote is from Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 392.

123. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 152; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 207; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, pp. 95–6; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 389–90.

124. *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 162 (sect. 419); *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Arm.* II, sect. 419; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, sect. 419; Templar of Tyre, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, sect. 419, trans. Paul Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre*, p. 89 (sect. 419).

125. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, p. 96; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 394–5.

126. See J. Richard, "Les Comtes de Tripoli et leurs vassaux sous la dynastie antiochénienne," *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, 1985, pp. 218–19.

127. In the Noailles Continuation, *RHC: Hist. Occid.*, II, p. 481, the first part of this story is the last entry in the text before it breaks off. See also the Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, pp. 162, 164; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 207, 210–12; Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," *HC*, 2, pp. 587–8; and Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, pp. 442–6, 451.

128. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, pp. 136–44.

129. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, pp. 48–57.

130. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 103–4; Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, p. 194; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 390.

131. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, p. 195.

132. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, pp. 69–91; Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 113–14; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 393–5. Shortly after Kalavun's campaign against Margat, in early July 1285, he also concluded truces with the widows of the rulers of Beirut and Tyre, who now ruled in their own right. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 133–4.

133. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 112–15, 127, 130; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 397–8.

134. On Margat, see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 163–79; P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, III; *La Défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche*, Paris, 1973, pp. 259–72; idem, *Terre Sainte Romane*, pp. 138–44; Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter*, pp. 58–60, Pls. 52–61; and R. Breton, "Monographie du château de Markab en Syrie," *Melanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 47 (1972), pp. 251–74, all with older bibliography.

135. Wilbrand von Oldenburg, quoted from Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 166.

136. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, pp. 120–3.

137. [anonymous], *The Honoring of the Years and Days, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, pp. 334–5.

138. [anonymous], *The Honoring of the Years and Days, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, p. 336.

139. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, p. 141, including the quote from Ibn 'Abd al-Ramim, who was a contemporary chronicler living in Hama.

140. [anonymous], *The Honoring of the Days and Years, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, p. 339.

141. Ibid., p. 340.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid., p. 341.

144. Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, eds. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, London, 1938, p. 94, partly quoted by S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia", *HC*, 2, p. 655. Ayas is variously also called Laias, or Lajazzo.

145. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 69.

146. For a discussion of the importance of Ayas, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen ge*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1886, rpt. Amsterdam, 1959, pp. 73–92.

147. Ibid., p. 69, and Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 132–3. See also the comments of Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. II, Paris, 1970, pp. 529–37, on the role of the Genoese in the eastern Mediterranean at this time.

148. Joseph Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, Princeton, 1980, p. 15, proposed the following interpretation of Philippe IV's policy: "Foreign adventures were abandoned. It was made clear that the essential tasks of the government were not to support French princes in Spain and Italy but to make sure that the king's authority was respected everywhere within the boundaries of France." Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 20–1, argues that Philippe's policy has been misinterpreted, and that whereas he refused to take over management of the Holy Land, he did reinstate French royal support for the French regiment.

149. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 396.

150. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, pp. 459–60, seems to think that Eudes Poilechien was the commander of the French regiment at this time. Jonathan Riley-Smith thinks it is more likely that the marshal of the kingdom was commander of the French regiment at this time rather than the seneschal of the kingdom, and in any case, there is no indication that the *bailli* would have been their leader. See Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 20–1. See also C. J. Marshall, "The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254–1291," *Journal of Medieval History*, 15 (1989), p. 305.

151. Templer of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 170; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 218–20; Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 45–62; Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, p. 460, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, pp. 96–7; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 396.

152. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 276–8.

153. R. D. Pringle, "The Crusader Cathedral of Tyre," *Levant*, 33 (2001), pp. 168–9. During the thirteenth century the Cathedral of Tyre became the coronation church of the Crusader kings, as well as the burial church for the lords of Tyre: Philip of Montfort in 1270, John of Montfort in 1283, and John's step-brother, Humphrey, in 1284. Despite our knowledge of these burials, no archaeological remains of these tombs have come to light (Pringle, ibid., pp. 184–5).

154. Templar of Tyre, Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314), ed. L. Minervini, p. 170 (sect. 439); *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Arm.* II, sect. 439; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, sect. 439, trans. Paul Crawford, *Templar of Tyre*, Ashgate, 2003, sect. 439, p. 96:

> And when the king came to Acre, they put on a festival that lasted fifteen days in a place at Acre called the *Auberge* of the Hospital of St. John, where the Hospitallers had a very great palace. It was the loveliest festival anyone had seen for a hundred years, with amusements and jousts with blunted lances. They re-enacted the stories of the Round Table and also of the Queen of Feminie, with knights dressed up like women jousting together. Then they had nuns who were dressed as monks and who jousted together, and they role-played Lancelot and Tristan and Pilamedes and many other fair and delightful and pleasant scenes.

155. The manuscript in question is London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, as published by Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 79–87.

156. Ibid., p. 68.

157. See the discussion of the Amazons in Acre in relation to Alice, countess of Blois, by Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, "Amazons and Crusaders," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 187–229. J. Riley-Smith notes that Alice came to Acre in 1287 with a large force, and died a year later there. See Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 20–1.

158. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 86–7.

159. In 1285, Arghun had sent a letter to Pope Honorius IV, and then followed this with more overtures later, especially in 1287. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 398.

160. On Baldwin IV, see B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 2000.

161. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 170; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 220.

162. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 136–7; and Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 95–6.

163. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, p. 461, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 403.

164. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, pp. 64–5.

165. The timing of Turuntay's siege of Saone and of his attack on Lattakiah is not completely clear. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 136–7, says that Turuntay received the capitulation of Lattakiah after the fall of Saone, before returning to Cairo. See also Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, p. 461, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 403.

166. Templer of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 188; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 231.

167. Jean Richard, "Les Comtes de Tripoli et leurs vassaux sous la dynastie antiochénienne," *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. Edbury, Cardiff, 1985, pp. 213–24, esp. pp. 219–21. This article is a continuation of Richard's basic monograph on the counts of Tripoli published in 1945. See also the version of this whole episode told by Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, Paris, 1970, pp. 532–7.

168. "Alerent à la princesse, & li mostrerent les letres, & li distrent que ce vesque estoit lor henemy, & quy ne seroit ja lor governeor.... Se partirent à conseill, & adons ordenerent une coumune à l'henor de la beate Virge Marye, mere de Dieu, & ordenerent chevetaines & prevost, & se qu'il lor sembla à faire, & se maintindrent par yaus, & à ce que il fucent plus fors, si manderent .j. message en Jene, quy ot nom Pierre d'Auberguamo, notaire, & qu'il mandassent à Triple, & eaus manderent toutes lor rayxons; don't le coumun si lor manda messire Beneit Zacarie [&] .v. gualées, & et vint à Triple." Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 188; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 231.

169. Steven A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528*, Chapel Hill and London, 1996, pp. 144, 178, 179. On Benedetto Zaccaria, see Robert Lopez, *Genova Marinara nel duecento, Benedetto Zaccaria, Ammiraglio e Marcante*, Messino-Milan, 1932.

170. Ibid., p. 232, and Richard, "Les Comtes de Tripoli et leurs vassaux," p. 219.

171. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, pp. 190–2; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 232–3.

172. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, pp. 190–2; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 232–3.

173. Richard, "Les Comtes de Tripoli et leurs vassaux," p. 220.

174. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 405.

175. Richard, "Les Comtes de Tripoli et leurs vassaux," p. 220, thinks a traitor took a copy of the letter to Zaccaria at Ayas, based on the views of Joshua Prawer, but Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 405, interprets this as Lucie shrewdly understanding that she could not proceed without the cooperation of the Genoese.

176. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 153.

177. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 192, sect. 473; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 234, sect. 473.

178. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, p. 462.

179. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291*, pp. 241–2.

180. This information is gathered from the discussion of E. A.Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China*, London, 1928, pp. 1–9, 42–76.

181. The text of Rabban Sauma's "Syriac History" written with Markos in Persian, as translated into Syriac, is published in English by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, pp. 119–306. The story of Rabban Sauma's travels to the West is found on pp. 163–97. See also R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia*, trans. N. Wadford, New Brunswick, 1970, pp. 374–5, and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 398–402.

182. Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, p. 188.

183. Ibid., p. 198.

184. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 152.

185. Hassan Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'Histoire de Tripoli et de sa Région à l'Époque des Croisades: Problèmes d'Histoire, d'Architecture et de Céramique*, Paris, 1980, pp. 34, 36–7, and Maps 1 and 6.

186. This is the view of Salamé-Sarkis, pp. 36–7, whereas Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 406, simply suggests that the castle was bypassed, and "no attempt was made to defend" it.

187. "Mon seignor Aumaury de Lezingnian, frere dou roy Henry, roy de Jerusalem & de Chipre, quy s'apelet seignor de Sur & counestable dou royaume de Jerusalem, vint à Triple, & mena belle gent d'armes, chevaliers & autres, & y vint le mareschau dou Temple frere Jofrey de Vendac, & frere Piere de Montade, coumandour d'Acre, & frere Reddeceur, & plussors freres de l'Ospitau, & plussors chevaliers & sergans dour roy de France, & avoit des Jenevés .iiij. gualées & .ij. de Venesiens quy vindrent puisses, & Pisans y vindrent assés, quy estoient henemis des Jenevés & de siaus de Triple." Templar of Tyre: *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 194, sect. 474; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, sect. 474, p. 235; *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Arm.*, II, sect. 474, trans. P. Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre*, Ashgate, 2003, sect. 474.

188. Maqrizi, *The Book of Proceeding to the Knowledge . . ., Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, p. 343.

189. Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, pp. 196–8; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, pp. 236–7.

190. Templar of Tyre: *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 198; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 237.

191. Abu l-Fida, *Historical Compendium, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, p. 342.

192. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 153.

193. Maqrizi, *The Book of Proceeding to the Knowledge . . ., Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, p. 343.

194. Abu l-Fida, *Historical Compendium, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, p. 342.

195. "Et enssi avint seste grant mesaventure de la sité de Triple, con je vos ais dit, & le soudan la fist abatre toute à terre, que vos ne troverés une soule mayson entiere, & ce a esté pour achaisson d'une ville, que Sarazins on labouré en un leuc, quy a nom Montpelerin, qui est loins de la mer en sus de Triple main d'une liue, & s'apele la vile de Triple la neuve."

Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. L. Minervini, p. 198; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, sect. 478, pp. 237–8; *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Arm.*, II, sect. 478, trans. P. Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre*, Ashgate, 2003, sect. 478.

196. The lack of attention is reflected even in modern accounts. Hans Mayer's excellent one-volume history, *The Crusades*, p. 285, tersely reports: "In 1287 Lattakieh fell; in 1289 Tripoli."

197. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 68.

198. Ibid., p. 69.

199. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 154.

200. See Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 117–18.

201. Robert E. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983, p. 16.

202. In fact, of course, there was no Cistercian monastery in Tripoli. The Cistercian monastery of Belmont was located about seventeen kilometers away from the city, and the last certain reference to it was in 1282. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy*, pp. 41–2, and n. 11. On Belmont, see Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, pp. 322–4, and L. Nordiguian and J.-C. Voisin, *Châteaux et Eglises du Moyen Age au Liban*, Beirut, 1999, pp. 125–30.

203. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy*, pp. 42–3.

204. On Rusticien of Pisa, see Henry Yule (ed.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd rev. edn. by H. Cordier, vol. 1, London, 1903, pp. 55–64.

205. Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, eds. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, London, 1938, pp. 73–4. "Now he caused all these things to be recounted in order by Master Rustacius citizen of Pise, who was with him in that same dungeon at Jene, at the time when it was 1298 years since the birth of our Lord Master Jesus Christ."

Another important early edition by Henry Yule (ed.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd rev. edn. by H. Cordier, vol. 1, London, 1903, p. 2, renders this passage: "Now, being thereafter an inmate of the Prison at Genoa, he caused Messer Rusticiano of Pisa, who was in the said Prison likewise, to reduce the whole to writing; and this befell in the year 1298 from the birth of Jesus."

206. Rusticien de Pise, "Voyages en Syrie," in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte*, eds. H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, Geneva, 1882, rpt. Osnabrück, 1966, pp. 201–12. A slightly later revised edition done for Thiébault de Cépoy, agent for Charles of Valois in Venice, is also published at pp. 213–26.

These selections are also published as follows: Rusticien de Pise, "Voyages en Syrie de Nicolo, Maffeo et Marco Polo," with an Italian translation, S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, 1984, pp. 95–107.

207. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1, Introduction pp. 80–90, discusses the claims for Old French, Latin, Venetian dialect, and [Tuscan] Italian. The original language of the text seems to have been Old French, but it may have had some Italian mixed in as one would find in the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean during that time.

208. Besides the translation cited earlier, Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, eds. Moule and Pelliot, London, 1938, see also the extensive scholarly notes published on this text by Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1, Paris, 1959, vol. 2, Paris, 1963, and vol. 3 (Index), Paris, 1973.

209. Niccolo and Maffeo Polo had first gone to the East from Constantinople on a trip to explore trading opportunities, starting in 1260. When they were taken to the court of the great Khan, Kubilai, he commissioned them to be his envoys to the pope, and sent letters with them requesting the pope to send a hundred able missionaries to instruct him and his court on the Christian religion. Having returned to Acre in 1269 to find the pope had died, the two Polos went on to Venice while they awaited for the new pontiff to be chosen. There they found Niccolo's wife had died, leaving their son, Marco, who was invited to go with them on the return journey. See Rusticien de Pise, *Voyages en Syrie*, ed. Michelant and Raynaud, pp. 203–9, and 213–23, trans., Yule (ed.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 11, 13, 17–19.

210. Yule (ed.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1, p. 19, and Rusticien de Pise, *Voyages en Syrie*, eds. Michelant and Raynaud, p. 210 and p. 223. The Rusticien de Pise text in Old French actually says that the "two brothers" went to Jerusalem where they obtained "the oil of the lamp of the sepulchre of Christ," wording not reproduced in the revised edition for Thiébault de Cépoy (p. 223) or the English translation.

211. Rusticien de Pise, *Voyages en Syrie*, ed. Michelant and Raynaud, pp. 210–12, 223–6; Yule (ed.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 1, pp. 20–3.

212. In P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, Leiden, 1995, p. 86, we learn that by means of a truce agreed on in 1283, the Mamluks allowed pilgrims to visit Nazareth and services were conducted at the holy site. J. Riley-Smith also informs me that cords worn by the Templars as symbols of chastity, similar to scapulars, were often placed on a column in the ruined Cathedral Church of the Annunciation. See, e.g., K. Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templar-Ordens*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1887 (rpt. 1970), pp. 65, 93. My thanks to J. Riley-Smith for all of this information.

213. *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*, in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte*, eds. H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, Geneva, 1882, rpt. Osnabrück, 1966, pp. 229–36. This text is published with an Italian translation, S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, 1984, pp. 109–17.

214. See D. Jacoby, "Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The *Pardouns dAcre*," *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen, Turnhout, 2001, pp. 105–17. Jacoby proposes to date this text between 1258 and 1264.

215. "Yl y a une tounbe de piére o gisent les .vij. roys, qe furent iadis de la cité, e Godefroy de Boylloun." *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*, eds. Michelant and Raynaud, p. 230.

216. On the tombs of the Crusader kings, see J. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 37–40, 74–5, 114–15, 143–4, 174, 328, 461, and 467–9.

217. Saewulf, "A Reliable Account of the Situation of Jerusalem," in J. Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage: 1099–1185*, London, 1988, p. 103.

218. *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*, eds. Michelant and Raynaud, pp. 230–2.

219. "Là o Nostre Dame nasquit, e al lu o le annunciatioun fust fet à Nostre Dame, qe ele concevereit le Salveour de ciel e de terre." *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*, eds. Michelant and Raynaud, p. 234.

220. *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*, eds. Michelant and Raynaud, p. 234.

221. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, II, p. 321.

222. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, I, p. 117.

223. "Rome, Fraunc, Engletere & en autres liws devers." *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*, eds. Michelant and Raynaud, pp. 234–5.

224. *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*, ed. Michelant and Raynaud, p. 235.

225. Jacoby, "Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The *Pardouns dAcre*," p. 117.

226. Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, in *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 1–100, and reprinted with an Italian translation, S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, 1984, pp. 119–219. The old English translation is by Aubrey Stewart, "A Description of the Holy Land, by Burchard of Mount Sion," in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. XII, London, 1897, pp. 1–36.

227. See A. Grabois, "Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Burchard of Mount Sion," in *Outremer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail, Jerusalem, 1982, p. 287.

228. It is tempting to think he took his name from some association with Mount Sion, either in Jerusalem or with a monastery by that name, but in this period the Augustinian abbey of Mount Sion was in Acre. See Grabois, "Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century," pp. 288–90.

229. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, p. 4; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, p. 124.

230. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, p. 9; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, p. 128.

231. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, p. 12; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, p. 132.

232. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 16, 20, 21; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, pp. 134, 136, 138.

233. Burchard's evaluation of Safed raises the question in my mind whether he ever really visited Margat Castle, which is loftier and on a much more impressive promontory overlooking the sea!

234. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 21, 27; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, pp. 138, 142.

235. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 39, 42; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, pp. 152, 154, 156.

236. J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, University Park and London, 1986, pp. 12–13.

237. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, pp. 309–13, and R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 283–97.

238. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*, pp. 313–15, and Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 297–301.

239. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 50, 51, 57, 65; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, pp. 162, 164, 168, 170, 174, 176.

240. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, p. 66; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, p. 176. This is a puzzling comment because Mount Sion was outside the city walls then and now.

241. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 76, 77; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, p. 186.

242. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 87–8; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, p. 196.

243. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 93, 94, 99; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, pp. 202, 206.

244. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, p. 102; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, p. 210.

245. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 103–4; Burchardus de Monte

Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, pp. 210–12. Presumably he is thinking of Syrians as meaning Orthodox Christians with an Arabic liturgy.

246. Turcomans are nomadic, but they are not Bedouins.

247. M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, p. 749.

248. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, pp. 104–11; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, pp. 212, 214, 216, 218. Assessment of the population demographics and the separate issue of Islamicization of the land in Syria-Palestine have been debated by scholars. The most recent and most reliable discussion pertaining to these issues is found in R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 3–38, 213–76.

249. Burchard of Mount Sion, trans. A. Stewart, *PPTS*, XII, p. 111; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. de Sandoli, p. 218.

250. Grabois, "Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century," *Outremer*, p. 288, identifies the Old and New Testaments, the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius of Caesarea, the writings of St. Jerome, and the *Historia Orientalis* by Jacques de Vitry, as Burchard's main sources.

251. Grabois, "Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century," *Outremer*, pp. 295–6.

252. W. Neumann, (ed.), *Drei mittelalterliche Pilgerschriften*, III, "Philippi descriptio Terrae Sanctae," *Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 11 (1872), pp. 1–78, 165–74. Philippus is named "Philippus Brusserius Savonensis" by R. Röhricht, *Biblioteca Geographica Palaestinae*, Berlin, 1890, rpt. Jerusalem, 1963, pp. 60–1.

253. "Que olim fuit domus Ioachim et beate Anne uxoris eius, matris Virginis gloriose." "Philippi descriptio Terrae Sanctae," p. 51.

254. "Castrum peregrinorum: extra castrum est petra, ubi b. virgo Maria requievit et infra castrum est corpus beate Eufemie virg. et mart." Ibid., p. 76.

255. Ibid., p. 171.

256. "Anteradus civitas que vulgariter Tortosa vocatur, in hac civitate est capella quedam parvula in medio maioris ecclesie Anteradensis sita que Apostolis Petro et Iohanne fabricata esse perhibetur ad honorem b. Virg. Marie que usque hodie in magna veneracione habetur. . . ." Ibid., p. 174.

257. "Et de peregrinacionibus Ierusalem et tocius Sancte Terre que vidi et eciam scire potui hec dicta sufficiunt: quas (ego) Philippus ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et ad utilitatem peregrinorum breviter memorie commendavi." Ibid.

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258. S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*, Oxford, 1991, p. 3.

259. See, e.g., P. A. Throop, *The Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda*, Amsterdam, 1940, and J. E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274*, Oxford, 1985, as commented on by Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 3–4.

260. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, p. 276.

261. "Il y a ou reiaume de Jerusalem deux chiefs seignors, l'un esperituel et l'autre temporel: le patriarche de Jerusalem est le seignor espirituel et le roi dou reiaume de Jerusalem le seignor temporel doudit reiaume." Jean d'Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, *RHC: Lois*, 1, p. 415, quoted in S. Schein, "The Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the Late Thirteenth Century – *Seignors Espirituelés et Temporeles?*," *Outremer*, p. 297.

262. Schein, "The Patriarchs of Jerusalem," p. 297.

263. Ibid., pp. 298–301.

264. P. Edbury and J. Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *JWCI*, 57 (1994), pp. 243–54. A color illustration is published in J. Folda, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), p. 55 and p. 272, Pl. 5.

See our discussion of this miniature later in this subchapter.

265. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1972, p. 117.

266. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, Pl. 110 (Paris, BN MS fr. 9084, fol. 214r, dated 1286), Pl. 132 (Boulogne sur Mer, Bibl. Mun. MS 142, fol. 183v, dated 1287), and Pl. 156 (Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. MS PLU LXI.10, fol. 188v, dated 1290/1). See also in this book, CD nos. 370–91, 392–413, and 470–95, respectively.

267. Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 280.

268. It is interesting that, relatively speaking, so many important prelates in the Latin Church were Dominicans in the later thirteenth century in the Holy Land.

269. I am relying on the substantial study of Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1261," *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, eds. D. Weiss and L. Mahoney, pp. 45–62, for my information on the French regiment, along with the briefer article by C. J. Marshall, "The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254–1291," *Journal of Medieval History*, 15 (1989), pp. 301–7.

270. Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1261," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 45–62.

271. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 169–77; M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri*, Göttingen, 1974, pp. 259–90.

272. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, London, 1967, pp. 186–93, 189–94, 196–8, respectively.

273. On the presence of Alice of Brittany in Acre, see "Les Annales de la Terre Sainte," *AOL*, II, pp. 459–69. See also the discussion of Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, "Amazons and Crusaders: The *Histoire Universelle* in Flanders and the Holy Land," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 187–229.

274. *RHC: Hist. Occ.*, II, p. 809. P. Crawford identifies her as the heiress of John of Chatillon. He says she did not die in Acre, but returned to France in 1290 and died there in January 1292 (*Templar of Tyre*, sect. 491, n. 33). It is unclear to me whether this person is the same as Alice's daughter, Joan. See Derbes and Sandona, "Amazons and Crusaders," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 187–229.

275. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 129–30.

276. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John*, pp. 272–3.

277. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 60–6, and see now K. V. Sinclair, "The Earliest Old French *Livre des Juges*; a Note on the Translator and His Patrons," *Neophilologus*, 81 (1997), pp. 349–54.

278. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 86–7.

279. As of this writing a new study of this codex by Lisa Mahoney as the focus of a doctoral dissertation at the Johns Hopkins University is underway.

280. See especially D. Jacoby, "The Trade of Crusader Acre in the Levantine Context: An Overview," *Archivio Storico del Sannio*, nos. 1–2 (1998), pp. 103–20, and idem, "Migration, Trade and Banking in Crusader Acre," *The Balkans and the East Mediterranean, 12th–17th Centuries*, ed. L. Mavromatis, Athens, 1998, pp. 105–19.

281. An interesting case of large loans arranged by the military orders is documented by M. G. Servois, "Emprunts de saint Louis en Palestine et en Afrique," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 19 (1858), pp. 290–3.

282. Jacoby, "Migration, Trade and Banking in Crusader Acre," pp. 116–17.

283. Ibid., pp. 106–19. In his discussion of the various aspects of commercial activity, Jacoby provides the important documentation for how the specific details of these activities can be known.

284. For information concerning the major Italian commercial cities in the period from 1260s to *c.*1290, see D. Jacoby, "Pelerinage Mediéval et Sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: La Perspective Vénitienne," *Ateneo Veneto*, n.s. XXIV (1986), pp. 28–32; idem, "Genoa, Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean Region (ca. 1100–1300), *Tessuti, Oreficerie, miniature in Liguria, XII–XV secolo*, Atti del Convegno, III, Bordighera, 1999, pp. 11–40; idem, "Silk Crosses the Mediterranean," *Le Vie del Mediterraneo*, ed. G. Airaldi, Genoa, 1997, pp. 55–79; and L. Buenger Robbert, "Venice and the Crusades," *HC*, 5, pp. 438–51.

285. See D. Jacoby, "Society, Culture and the Arts in Crusader Acre," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 97–137.

286. J. Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), p. 304.

287. J. Richard, "La Confrérie des Mosserins d'Acre et les marchands de Mossoul au XIIIe siècle," *L'Orient Syrien*, 11 (1966), pp. 451–60, and J. Prawer, "Estates, Communities and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 2 (1966), pp. 13, 20–2, 39–2.

288. J. Riley-Smith, "A Note" pp. 301–2.

289. On the new altarpieces, see J. Gardner, "Altars, Altarpieces, and Art History: Legislation and Usage," *Italian Altarpieces: 1250–1550*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 5–19, and K. van der Ploeg, "How Liturgical Is a Medieval Altarpiece?," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61 (2002), pp. 103–21. On the development and activities of the Italian confraternities, see the old study by G. M. Monti, *Le Confraternite Medievali dell'Alta e Media Italia*, vol. 1, Venice, 1927, pp. 5–64.

290. B. Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence*, Oxford, 1992, p. 2. Other recent publications on this important topic include C. Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series, 10, Kalamazoo, 1988, pp. 1–59. Besides the *Laudesi*, or confraternities devoted to Mary, there was a second type, the *Disciplinati*, that is, a confraternity established for penitential purposes. On the *Disciplinati*, see J. Henderson, "The Flagellant Movement and Flagellant Confraternities in Central Italy, 1260–1400," *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, ed. D. Baker, Oxford, 1978, pp. 147–60, and G. Dickson, "The Flagellants of 1260 and the Crusades," *Journal of Medieval Studies*, 15 (1989), pp. 227–67.

291. L. Bellosi, "The Function of the Rucellai Madonna in the Church of Santa Maria Novella," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61 (2002), pp. 147–59.

292. Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities," p. 308.

293. A. Grabois, *Le Pèlerin Occidental en Terre Sainte au Moyen Age*, Paris, Brussels, 1998, provides an overview of pilgrimage to the Holy Land as the result of twenty years of study. See also J. Richard, *Les Récits de voyage et de Pèlerinage*, Turnhout, 1981.

294. On Burchard of Mount Sion and his fellow German pilgrims, see A. Grabois, "Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Burchard of Mount Sion," *Outremer*, pp. 285–96.

295. Philippus Brusserius Savonensis is the title given to him by R. Röhricht, *Biblioteca Geographica Palaestinae*, Berlin, 1890, rpt. Jerusalem, 1963, pp. 60–1. The text of his account is published by W. Neumann: "Drei mittelalterliche Pilgerschriften," III, "Philippi descriptio Terrae Sanctae," *Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 11 (1872), pp. 1–78, 165–74, and S. de Sandoli (ed.), "Frater Philippus de Busseriis, *Liber Peregrinationum*," *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, 1984, pp. 221–54. My thanks to Helen Nicholson for drawing my attention to this pilgrim.

296. This report is discussed by D. Jacoby, "Society, Culture and the Arts in Crusader Acre," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 97–137, and n. 22. Jacoby says the figure appears in an unpublished manuscript of Ricoldus's account, referred to by E. Panella, "Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte Croce," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 68 (1988), p. 8. Although it is clearly a very impressionistic number, still the fact that there were many, many pilgrims there in the winter is notable.

297. C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, Chicago, 1988, p. 261.

298. See, e.g., A. Grabois, "Les Pèlerins Occidentaux en Terre Sainte au Moyen Age: Une Minorité Étrangère dans sa Patrie Spirituelle," *Studi Medievali*, 3a serie, 30 (1989), pp. 15–48; idem, "Medieval Pilgrims, the Holy Land and its Image in European Civilisation," *Pillars of Smoke*, Johannesburg, 1988, pp. 65–79; and idem, "Les pèlerins occidentaux en Terre Sainte et Acre: d'Accon des croisés à Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Studi Medievali*, 3a serie, 24 (1983), pp. 247–64; M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "The German Empire and Palestine: German Pilgrimages to Jerusalem between the 12th and 16th Century," *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995), pp. 321–41.

299. See Jacoby, "Society, Culture and the Arts in Crusader Acre," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 97–137.

300. D. Jacoby, "Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The *Pardouns dAcre*," *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem, Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen, Turnhout, 2001, pp. 116–17. See now also Jacoby's important and wide-ranging article, "Society, Culture and the Arts in Crusader Acre," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 97–137.

301. M. Benveniste, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 95–6.

302. This passage from William of Tyre is taken from the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, published as Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, with H. E. Mayer and G. Rösch, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis*, vol. 63, Turnhout, 1986, p. 485, and translated by E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, William Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, Records of Civilization, vol. 35, New York, 1943, vol. 1, p. 453.

303. For reproductions of the maps of Matthew Paris, see B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre: An Historical Cartography*, Acre, 1973, pp. 9–15.

304. Ibid., pp. 16–30.

305. On the maps of Acre, besides the publication of Dichter cited earlier, see J. Prawer, "The Historical Maps of Acre (in Hebrew)," *Eretz Israel*, 2 (1953), pp. 175–83; A. J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, London and New York, 1999, pp. 33–4; and Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 3–5 and n. 1.

On the name of Acre, it appears that "St. Jean d'Acre" may have been used later, that is, after 1291, and more in western Europe than in thirteenth-century Acre itself. This needs more investigation.

306. See H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883, esp. pp. 395 ff.; E. G. Rey, *Les Colonies franques en Syrie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1883, esp. pp. 165 ff; and J. L. LaMonte, "The Significance of the Crusaders' States in Medieval History," *Byzantion*, 15 (1940–1), pp. 300–15. More recently, see R. B. C. Huygens, *Latijn in "Outremer": Een Blik op de Latijnse Letterkunde der Kruisvaarderstaten in het Nabije Oosten*, Leiden, 1964 (my thanks to Dr. Huygens for providing me with an English version of his lecture).

307. S. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 489–92, Appendix II. More recent works by Mayer and Prawer basically follow Runciman's views. See Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 180–2, and Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom*, pp. 525–33.

308. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 490, 492.

309. Ibid., p. 489.

310. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 3, "Architecture and the Arts in Outremer," p. 367.

311. I see the discussion of David Jacoby in "Society, Culture and the Arts in Crusader Acre," *France and the Holy Land*, as an important statement drawing attention to this more multicultural, less Eurocentric point of view.

312. H. M. Attiya, "Knowledge of Arabic in the Crusader States in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999), pp. 203–13.

313. K. Ciggaar, "Manuscripts as Intermediaries: The Crusader States and Literary Cross-Fertilization," *East and West in the Crusader States*, eds. K. Ciggaar, A. Davids, and H. Teule, Louvain, 1996, p. 144.

314. On the Franciscans and Dominicans in Acre see M. Roncaglia, *I Francescani in oriente durante le crociate, Storia della provincia di Terra Santa*, vol. 1, Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'oriente francescano, ser. 4, tome 1, Cairo, 1954, p. 53, n. 2; J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 365–8; W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 1, Staten Island, New York, 1966, pp. 46–7; F. M. Abel, "Le Couvent des frères precheurs à Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Revue Biblique*, 43 (1934), pp. 265–84; E. Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation*, Oxford, 1913, p. 29, n. 51.

315. B. Gariador, *Les anciens Monastères Benedictines en Orient*, Lille-Paris, 1912, pp. 102, 115–16.

316. See J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 8–15.

317. P. M. Voerzio, "Fra Guglielmo da Tripoli: Orientalista domenicano del sec. XIII," *Memorie domenicane*, anno 71 (1954), pp. 91–113, and Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, pp. 575–98.

318. Ciggaars, "Manuscripts as Intermediaries," pp. 143–4.

319. Grabois, "Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century . . .: Burchard of Mount Sion," *Outremer*, pp. 287–8.

320. J. T. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age*, Paris and Toulouse, 1927, pp. 230–3; V. LeClerc, "Nicholas de Hanapes, Patriarche de Jérusalem," *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 20, Paris, 1842, pp. 51–78.

321. See the discussion in this chapter of Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 433 (590), and the classsical texts translated by Jean d'Antioche.

322. L. Thorpe, "Mastre Richard: A Thirteenth-Century Translator of the *De re militari* of Vegetius," *Scriptorium*, 6 (1952), p. 40.

323. L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale*,

Il Viaggio dei Testi, III Colloquio Internazionale Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, 1999, p. 93.

324. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 69.

325. For what we know on Jewish centers, see the basic work of J. Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 258–91 (on Acre). See now S. Schein, "Between East and West: The Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *East and West in the Crusader States*, eds. K. Ciggaar, A. Davids, and H. Teule, Louvain, 1996, pp. 31–8, and also Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, II, pp. 401–2; idem, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: The 'Minorities,'" *HC*, 5, pp 94–100; and A. Grabois, "Acre as the Gateway of Jewish Immigration to Palestine in the Crusader Period (in Hebrew)," *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel*, 2, University of Haifa, 1972, pp. 93–106, English summary, pp. xi–xii.

326. A. Grabois, "La bibliothèque du noble d'*Outremer* à Acre dans la second moitié du XIIIe siècle," *Le Moyen Age*, 103 (1997), pp. 53–66. See now also the very useful article by L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, colloquium 4 of III Colloquio Internazionale Medioevo Romanze e Orientale, 1999, pp. 79–96, and idem, "Outremer," *Lo Spazio Letterario del Medioevo, 2. Il Medioevo Volgare*, vol. 1, La Produzione del Testo, Rome, [n.d.], pp. 611–48. See also the very important articles by D. Jacoby, "Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Mediterranean States of the Eastern Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 1 (1986), pp. 158–86, and especially, idem, "La Littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création," *Essor et Fortune de la Chanson de Geste dans l'Europe e l'Orient Latin, Actes du* IXe *Congrès Internationale de la Société Rencesvals* . . . , Modena, 1984, pp. 617–46.

327. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 75–6.

328. P. Edbury and J. Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 243–54. The two manuscripts in question are in Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS fr. App. 20 (=265), a codex that is illustrated (his manuscript A), and in Paris, B.N., MS fr. 19025, a codex that is unillustrated (his manuscript C).

329. Edbury has undertaken the enormous task of producing a new critical edition of this important text, which has just been published: John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. P. W. Edbury, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500*, vol. 50, Leiden-Boston, 2003. His new edition is partly based on three early manuscripts not known by the first editor, Beugnot, in the nineteenth century.

330. See especially the work of Jacoby, "La Littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création," pp. 617–46, in particular pp. 620–4, 625–33, 635–9.

331. A. Foulet, "The Epic Cycle of the Crusades," *HC*, 6, pp. 98, and 98–113, and D. Jacoby, "La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création," p. 640.

332. K. Ciggaar, "Manuscripts as Intermediaries: The Crusader States and Literary Cross-Fertilization," *East and West in the Crusader States*, eds. K. Ciggaar, A. Davids, and H. Teule, Louvain, 1996, pp. 140–1.

333. Grabois, "La bibliothèque du noble," p. 65. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," p. 95, also suggests the *Roman de Tristan* as another literary work to be found in the Latin East, although the manuscript she cites, Paris, B.N., MS fr. 750, does not seem to be from the Crusader States.

334. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," p. 94, and nn. 50 and 51.

335. See Jacoby, "La Littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et creation," pp. 631–2.

336. Ciggaars, "Manuscripts as Intermediaries," p. 142.

337. Ibid., p. 143.

338. "Jaquemin d'Acre l'escrist/a la chandelor de Nostre Dame Crist./Que Dieu le mete en paradis/Lui et tos nos amis.Amen./Explicit liber mapamondi./Escrist fu en l'an de l'incarnation Nostre Seignor Jesu Crist 1270 o meis de jenvier."

Image du Monde, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 476; cf. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," pp. 92–3, and C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des Manuscrits en écriture Latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, I, Musée Condé et Bibliothèques Parisiennes, CNRS, Paris, 1959, p. 35, Pl. 15.

339. J. S. Beddie, "Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum*, 8 (1933), pp. 240–2. Beddie points out that even though the list is identified as coming from the convent of the Nazareth church, and is linked with the bishop of Sidon, it is not absolutely certain that this is a list of the books from a convent in Nazareth in Palestine. Accepting this cautionary note, it seems very likely that this does pertain to Nazareth in Palestine *c.* 1200, and even more important, it indicates the kind of books in a religious house, in contrast to what we might find in that of an educated layman of means. For the current documentation on this list, see Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," p. 81, n. 6.

340. H. de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, Société de l'Histoire de France, vol. 228, Paris, 1886, p. 26, art. 15, p. 165, art. 270, p. 341, art. 668. A new edition of the Rule is in preparation by S. Cerrini (ed.), *Regula pauperum commilitonum Christi Templique Salomonici*, for the Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis series published by Brepols. See also the recent English translation of the Rule: *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Temple*, trans. J. M. Upton-Ward, Woodbridge, 1992.

341. A. Trudon des Ormes, "Etudes sur les possessions de l'Ordre du Temple en Picardie," *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, 4th ser., 2. (1894), pp. 283–4. Nothing similar seems to have survived for the Templars in the Latin East: see E. G. Rey, "L'Ordre du Temple en Syrie et à Chypre: Les Templiers en Terre Sainte," *Revue de Campagne et de Brie*, 24 (1888), pp. 241 ff., 367 ff.

342. Jonathan Riley-Smith, communication by letter, November 2002, and reference to J. Michelet, *Le Procès des Templiers*, vol. 1, Paris, 1841, pp. 379, 388–9.

343. J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St.-Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. II, Paris, 1897, art. 2213: pp. 554–5, no. 111, pp. 556–7, no. 121, vol. III, Paris, 1899, p. 52, art. 3039, no. 39.

344. "libri prophetarum et evangeliorum, breviaria, librum . . . Moralium, librum missale, ..." See Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," pp. 79–80, who refers to the letters of Ricoldo da Monte Croce published by R. Röhricht, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce," *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II, Paris, 1884, rpt. AMS Press, New York, 1978, 277, 280–1, 289.

345. Beddie, "Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades," p. 241. H. E. Mayer raised the issue of these libraries in two of his writings, first in a review of Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 167, and his discussion in idem, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *DOP*, 21 (1967), pp. 143–7.

346. See Chapter 6, n. 932.

347. See Chapter 6, n. 926.

348. These Acre *History of Outremer* manuscripts are the following:

a. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 2628, with continuation (added) to 1264, done in the late 1250s or early 1260s, with additions *c.*1280.
b. Leningrad, M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, MS fr. fol. v.IV.5, with continuation to 1264, done *c.*1280.
c. Lyon, Bibl. Mun. MS 828, with continuation to 1244/8, done *c.*1280.
d. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 9084, with continuation to 1275 (incomplete, ends *c.*1264), done *c.*1286.
e. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. Mun. MS 142, with continuation to 1274, done *c.*1287.
f. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS PLU.LXI.10, with continuation to 1277, done *c.*1290/1 with additions *c.*1330 in Venice.

We shall discuss them later with regard to their miniature cycles.

349. These Acre manuscripts are the following:

a. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 10175, *Histoire Universelle* done in the 1270s.
b. London, British Lib. MS Add. 15268, *Histoire Universelle* done *c.*1285/6.
c. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 20125, *Histoire Universelle*, done in *c.*1287.
d. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 10212, *Faits des Romains*, done *c.*1287/8.

We shall discuss them later with regard to their miniature cycles.

350. Does this choice of style mean, for example, that a Crusader style was more appropriate for a Crusader king than the French Gothic style would be?

351. H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 120–79; K. Molin, *Unknown Castles*, Hambledon and London, 2001, pp. 3–88; W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter*, Munich/Berlin, 1966, pp. 43–77.

352. For the churches, see R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, Cambridge, vol. 1, 1993, vol. 2, 1998, vol. 3, forthcoming. For secular works see, R. D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1997.

353. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 68 ff., 87 ff.

354. For this manuscript, see Chapter 6, nn. 868–74.

355. For the literature on Lyon, Bibl. Mun., MS 828, see H. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 91–2, 152–3, with older bibliography; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 27–41, 216; R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 6, 19, and passim; and see now *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué, Milan 1997, pp. 393, with a substantial number of excellent color plates of this manuscript distributed through the first part of the catalogue, pp. 5–97, and Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," pp. 90–1.

The main content/decoration of Lyon, Bibl. Mun., MS 828 is as follows: Old French translation of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* (Books 1–22), with continuation to 1244 completed to 1248. 382 fols.:

Fols. 1–379 with approx. 43 gatherings of 8 fols. each.
Text in two columns of 39 lines each, justification of 22.65 × 16.7 cm, interval 1.7 cm.
Fols. 380–2 with two folios.
Text in two columns of 35 lines each, justification of 22.05 × 16.25 cm, interval 1.8 cm.
No rubrics.
23 miniature panels:
Books 1–22: 22 miniature panels
Books 23 ff.: 1 miniature panel.

Fol. 1r, Book 1, (L)es ancienes estoires . . .(panel: 15.7 × 7.5 cm, damaged)

1. Peter the Hermit prays at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Peter the Hermit leads the First Crusade.

Fol.15v, Book 2, (V)enus estoit . . . (panel: 7.85 × 7.9 cm)

1. Mounted pilgrims en route to the Holy Land led by Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy.

Fol. 24r, Book 3, (D)e la cite de nique . . . (panel: 7.9 × 7.7 cm)

1. The siege of Nicaea.
2. The capture of the wife of the Turkish commander, Qilij Arslan.

Fol. 33r, Book 4, (O)re aves oi coment tancres . . . (panel: 7.1 × 7.4 cm)

1. The siege of Antioch.

Fol. 42r, Book 5, (V)oians les seignors . . . (panel: 7.8 × 7.55 cm)

1. The surrender of Antioch.
2. The Crusaders enter the lower city.

Fol. 52v, Book 6, (I)a sestoient bien saoule . . . (panel: 7.8 × 7.35 cm)

1. The citadel of Antioch.
2. Fighting at the gate of Antioch.

Fol. 62r, Book 7, (L)es choses . . . (panel: 8.85 × 7.4 cm)

1. Council of the Latin leaders.
2. Death of a king.

Fol. 73r, Book 8, (V)erites est que . . . (panel: 8.15 × 7.3 cm)

1. The Crusaders at Jerusalem.
2. Prayers in the Crusader camp.

Fol. 83r, Book 9, (S)i come vos aves oi . . . (panel: 7.7 × 7.4 cm)

1. Godefroy de Bouillon prays at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Discussions among the Crusaders about who should rule Jerusalem.

Fol. 93v, Book 10, (R)ois fu li dus . . . (panel: 7.7 × 7.6 cm)

1. Death of Godefroy de Bouillon.
2. Coronation of Baldwin as king of Jerusalem.

Fol. 106r, Book 11, (E)stes iert ia passes . . . (panel: 7.6 × 7.2 cm)

1. Prince Bohemond departs on horseback for the West.
2. Prince Bohemond travels to Apulia by ship.

Fol. 122v, Book 12, (X)erses fu un puissant . . . (panel: 7.7 × 7.5 cm)

1. Death of King Baldwin I.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin II.

Fol. 135v, Book 13, (F)ors fu a grant . . . (panel: 7.8 × 7.45 cm)

1. The siege of Tyre.

Fol. 147v, Book 14, (R)ois fu apres . . . (panel: 8.2 × 7.5)

1. Death of King Baldwin II.
2. Coronation of King Fulk I.

Fol. 160v, Book 15, (A)pres le mois . . . (panel: 7.7 × 7.3 cm)

1. The Byzantine Emperor attacks Shayzar.
2. The prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli play chess.

Fol. 174, Book 16, (N)e demora gaires apres . . . (panel: 8.2 × 7.35 cm)

1. King Fulk and Queen Melisende ride out from Acre.
2. King Fulk falls from his horse and is killed.

Fol. 189r, Book 17, (C)orat . . . (panel: 7.0 × 7.4 cm)

1. The council at Acre during the Second Crusade.
2. The attack of the Second Crusade on Damascus.

Fol. 205v, Book 18, (O)r parlerons . . . (panel: 8.0 × 7.4 cm)

1. The patriarch of Antioch is abused by Renauld de Chatillon.

Fol. 224v, Book 19, (R)emes . . . (panel: 7.3 × 8.2 cm)

1. Death of King Baldwin III.
2. Coronation of King Amaury I.

Fol. 238v, Book 20, (U)ne chose . . . (panel: 8.05 × 7.5 cm)

1. King Amaury I receives a letter from the Byzantine Emperor.
2. The siege of Balbis.

Fol. 254r, Book 21, (M)lt fu grans le duel . . . (panel: 8.2 × 7.25 cm)

1. Death of King Amaury I.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin IV.

Fol. 268r, Book 22, (B)ueimont . . . (panel: 8.25 × 7.2 cm)

1. The prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli meet in Jerusalem.
2. Baldwin IV's sister marries Guy de Lusignan.

Fol. 288r, Book 23, ch. 6, (D)evant ce que . . . (panel: 8.4 × 7.6 cm)

1. Death of King Baldwin IV.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin V.

Fol. 379v (end of original hand), . . . il furent mult travaillez et en la fin . . . (Book 33, ch 55).
Fol. 381v (in later hand), . . . Ce fu en lan de lincarnation nostre seignor ihesu christi MCCXLIII (sic: for MCCXLVIII) ans.

356. For the literature on St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia (formerly the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), MS fr. fol. v.IV.5, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 27–41, 176–8, with older bibliography, and see now Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," pp. 90–1.

The main content/decoration of St. Petersburg MS fr. fol. v.IV.5 is as follows: Old French translation of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*, (Books 1–22) with continuation to 1264.
Bound in two volumes:

Vol. 1, 196 fols., with 27 gatherings of 8 folios each and a number of leaves missing.
Text in two columns of 41 lines each, justification of 24.4 × 16.0 cm, interval, 2.2 cm.
(13 miniatures)
Vol. 2, 133 fols., with 20 gatherings most of 8 folios each but many irregular gatherings and some folios missing.
Text in two columns of 40 to 41 lines each, justification of 24.3 × 16.0 cm, interval, 2.2 cm.
(6 miniatures)
16 miniature panels (5 panel miniatures missing), 3 historiated initials:
Books 1–22: 16 panel miniatures, 1 historiated initial (5 panel miniatures missing).
Books 23 ff.: 2 historiated initials.
Illuminated book initials, and red and blue calligraphically decorated chapter initials.
No rubrics.

Volume I:

Fol. 1r, Book 2, (V)enus estoit li mois daost....

No miniature. Illuminated initial (V), (3.4 × 3.65 cm).

Fol. 10v, Book 3, (D)e la cite de nique... (panel: 8.2 × 6.9 cm)

1. The Crusaders attack Nicaea.
2. The Crusaders capture the wife of the Turkish commander, Qilij Arslan.

Fol. 18v, Book 4, (O)r avez oi coment... (panel: 8.2 × 7.2 cm)

1. The Crusaders besiege Antioch.

Fol. 27r, Book 5, (V)oiant le seignor... (panel: 10.9 × 7.0 cm)

1. The city of Antioch is betrayed to the Crusaders by Firuz.
2. The Crusaders enter Antioch after the gates were opened from within.

Fol. 36r, Book 6, (I)a estoient bien saole... (panel: 8.2 × 7.1 cm)

1. The citadel of Antioch where many citizens took refuge.
2. The Crusaders kill many people in the lower city of Antioch.

Fol. 45r, Book 7, (L)es choses furent ensi... (panel: 9.1 × 7.0 cm)

1. The Crusaders besiege the city of Maara.
2. The Crusaders encamp before the city of Jerusalem.

Book 8: incipit missing between fols. 49 and 50.
Book 9: incipit missing between fols. 49 and 50.
Book 10: incipit missing between fols. 58 and 59.

Fol. 73r, Book 11, (E)stes estoit ia passes... (panel: 9.4 × 7.2 cm)

1. Bohemond leaves Antioch on horseback for the West.
2. Bohemond travels to Apulia by ship.

Fol. 90r, Book 12, (X)erses fu .I. puissat... (panel: 9.3 × 7.2 cm, damaged)

1. Death of King Baldwin I.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin II by Patriarch Arnulf.

Fol. 103r, Book 13, (F)orz estoit a mervoilles... (panel: 9.9 × 7.1 cm)

1. The Crusaders besiege Tyre by land and by sea.

Fol. 116r, Book 14, (R)ois fu de ihrlm... (panel: 8.1 × 6.9 cm)

1. Death of King Baldwin II.
2. Coronation of King Fulk I by Patriarch William.

Fol. 129r, Book 15, (A)pres le mois diver... (panel: 8.3 × 6.8 cm)

1. The Byzantine Emperor attacks Shayzar.
2. The count of Edessa and the prince of Antioch play chess in their tent.

Fol. 143v, Book 16, (N)e demora puis guaires... (panel: 8.6 × 7.2 cm)

1. King Fulk and Queen Melisende ride out from Acre.
2. King Fulk is thrown from his horse and lies fatally injured.

Fol. 166r, Book 17, (C)onrat lempeor dalemaigne... (panel: 9.1 × 7.2 cm)

1. The council at Acre during the Second Crusade.
2. The Crusaders besiege Damascus.

Fol. 177r, Book 18, (O)r plerons .i. petit... (panel: 8.5 × 7.1 cm)

1. Amaury, patriarch of Antioch, is exposed on the citadel.
2. Renauld de Chatillon and his men observe the patriarch on the citadel.

Volume II:

Fol. 2r, Book 19, (R)emes estoit un frere... (historiated initial: 8.1 × 7.9 cm)

1. Death of King Baldwin III.
2. Coronation of King Amaury I.

Fol. 15v, Book 20, (U)ne chose ne voil... (panel: 7.0 × 7.5 cm)

1. The envoys of the Byzantine Emperor to King Amaury I.
2. The Crusaders besiege Balbis.

Fol. 29r, Book 21, (M)out fu grans li duels... (panel: 7.3 × 7.5 cm)

1. Death of King Amaury I.
2. Coronation of King Baldwin IV by Patriarch Amaury.

Fol. 41r, Book 22, (B)eumons li princes... (panel: 6.7 × 7.4 cm)

1. Sibylle, sister of King Baldwin IV, marries Guy de Lusignan.

Fol. 61r, Book 23, ch. 6, (D)evant ce q... (historiated initial: 4.4 × 5.4 cm, damaged)

1. Coronation of King Baldwin V.

Fol. 115v, Book 33, ch. 13, (E)n ce point... (historiated initial: 5.5 × 4.7 cm)

1. Alice, queen of Cyprus, and regent of the Latin Kingdom, conferring with a representative of the High Court on the succession of the crown, in Acre in 1229.

Fol. 134v,... contre le roi manfroi & le desconfi & le tua en champ. (end)

357. The text of Paris, B.N., MS fr. 2628 is continued to 1264. The text of St. Petersburg MS fr. fol. v.IV.5 is also continued to 1264, and that of Lyon MS 828 is continued to 1248. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 6 and 19, notes that in the continuation of Lyon MS 828 "long sections of the text [are] unique to this manuscript." It remains to be seen whether the same special features are found in the text St. Petersburg codex. Dr. Morgan was at work on Lyon MS 828 at the time of her untimely death. Other important work on these continuations has been carried on since her death, e.g., J. Pryor, "The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An Interim Report," *The Horns of Hattin*, pp. 270–301, but nothing that deals directly with the manuscripts of St. Petersburg MS fr. fol. v.IV.5 or Lyon MS 828.

358. In what follows I am mostly summarizing what appears in more detail in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 27–41, with additional comments.

359. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 31–2; for reasons stated here I do not believe this imagery is based on Western cycles of the *History of Outremer*.

360. The St. Petersburg–Lyon Master is the same painter as the artist I referred to as the Leningrad–Lyon Master in earlier publications. The name is changed here only to reflect the change in the name of the city – Leningrad to St. Petersburg – in the wake of events in the former Soviet Union in 1991.

361. See, e.g., the miniature for Book 15 in the *History of Outremer*, now in Bern, Burgerbibl. MS 112, produced in France about 1270: Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 33, and Pl. 168.

362. See Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4660, fol. 92r; facsimile by B. Bischoff, *Carmina Burana*, Munich, 1967, pp. 30 and 36, n. 20, with the views of various art historians on the miniatures attributing the codex to a Bavarian German-speaking area in the *c.*1230s.

363. Patrimonio nacional, Monasterio de El Escorial, Biblioteca Real, MS T.I.6. See J. G. White (ed.), *El tratado de Ajedrez ordenado por mandado del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio, en el año 1283. Codice de la R. Biblioteca del Ecorial*, Leipzig, 1913, 2 vols., and the more recent publication, A. Steiger (ed. and trans.), *Alfonso el Sabio, Libros de Acedrex, Dados e Tablas*, Romanica Helvetica, X, Geneva-Zurich, 1941. In these scenes it should be mentioned that there are both Easterners and Westerners playing chess, so some sit on the floor and some sit on benches, but this East–West distinction is clearly made.

364. C. Nordenfalk, "En Medeltida Schakbok," in *Spanska Mästare, Nationalmusei Arsbok*, Stockholm, 1960, pp. 33–4, and Fig. p. 32. See my additional comments in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 33–4.

365. We can point out, however, that there are a number of chess-playing scenes in Persian *Shahnama* manuscripts of *c.*1300 to 1330. See M. L. Swietochowski and S. Carboni, *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s*, New York, 1994, p. 123. I am indebted to my colleague, M. Shreve Simpson, for drawing my attention to these manuscripts, and providing me with the reference to this publication.

366. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Appendix to the History of Damascus*, in F. Gabrieli (ed.), *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E. J. Costello, London, 1969, p. 25. See also additional comments in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 34, n. 43.

367. On the lost *Gesta*, see the comments of P. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge, 1988, and see now A. V. Murray, "William of Tyre and the Origin of the Turks: Observations on Possible Sources of the *Gesta orientalium principum*," *Dei gesta per Francos*, pp. 217–29, with more recent

bibliography. Murray writes a valuable article, which should caution us against imagining that William of Tyre was very much of an orientalist, or had extensive knowledge of Eastern languages.

368. See R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Lausanne, 1962, pp. 71, 76, 135.

369. See H. R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt-Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches, MS. Fr. 19093 der Pariser, Nationalbibliothek*, 2nd edn., Graz, 1972.

370. Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9085 is published in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 36–8, 175–6, with the older bibliography. See now also Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociate," pp. 90–1.

The main content/decoration of Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9085 is as follows:

> Old French translation of William of Tyre's "History of Outremer" (Books 1–22), with continuation to 1232 (incomplete: ends *c.*1187, in Old French).
>
> 348 folios (N.B.: Blank paper sheets have been bound in as substitutes for the missing folios at the start of each book.) with 43 gatherings of 8 folios each, occasional losses apart from the systematic removal of leaves with miniatures, last gathering has four folios.
>
> (N.B.: This codex has substantial losses of folios. For the full collation, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 175.)
>
> Text in two columns of 36 lines each, justification of 25.0 × 18.0 cm, interval of 1.9 cm.
>
> 23 panel miniatures planned and executed with illuminated initials, all systematically removed leaving only one illuminated initial remaining on fol. 47r, at the start of Book 5.
>
> No rubrics.
>
> Acre, *c.*1270s.

371. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 37, and see also nn. 55–7.

372. Ibid., Pls. 2, 3.

373. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 175, cat. no. 1.

374. M. A. and R. H. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols., Turnhout, 2000.

375. See F. Wormald and P. M. Giles, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1966, pp. 15–16, no. 31, and Pl. 7. See also Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 129–30, and 199, cat. no. 18 for the other relevant bibiography.

376. See L. Thorpe, "Master Richard: A Thirteenth-Century Translator of the *De re militari* of Vegetius," *Scriptorium*, 6 (1952), Pl. 14, and D. Diringer, *The Illuminated Book*, rev. edn., New York, 1967, Pl. VII-52, for an illustration of this miniature.

377. On the controversy over where this codex was done, see Thorpe, "Master Richard," pp. 39–50, idem, "Master Richard at the Skirmish of Kenilworth?," *Scriptorium*, 7 (1953), pp. 120–1, and M. Dominica Legge, "The Lord Edward's Vegetius," *Scriptorium*, 7 (1953), pp. 262–5.

378. See Thorpe, "Master Richard," Pl. 13, and Wormald and Giles, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, Pl. 7, for an illustration of this miniature.

379. Wormald proposed this comparison to the Huth Psalter; see Wormald and Giles, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, p. 16. For the Huth Psalter, Brit. Library Add. MS 38116, see P. Brieger, *English Art: 1216–1307*, Oxford, 1957, Pls. 85a, c.

380. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 130.

381. For the literature on Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 10175, see Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 69–79, 97–8, 149–50; Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationzyklen zur "Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César" (1250–1400)*, pp. 35–6, 75–83 (pictoral themes in group D), 234–8; M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, vol. 1, passim (as variant "B" in the text edition), vol. 2, pp. 11–12, and passim.

The main content/decoration of Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 10175 is as follows:

Histoire Universelle in Old French.

333 folios, 34.7 × 25.0 cm., gatherings of eight folios each.

Text in two columns of, for fols. 1–20, 42 lines each, and for fols. 21–332, 38 lines each.

Justification, fols. 1–20 (15th century replacement), 25.0 × 17.5 cm, interval 1.5 cm, fols. 21–332, 24.8 × 16.6 cm, interval 1.2 cm.

Acre, *c.*1270s.

Fol. 1–20, replacements of the 15th century, including the first miniature:

Fol. 20r, The Paradise.

Fol. 22v, rubrics: Coment nostre sires parla a caym (panel: 6.9 × 7.7 cm)

The Lord speaks to Cain standing over the fallen Abel.

Fol. 24v, rubrics: Coment noe entra en larche (panel: 7.6 × 7.7 cm)

Noe, nimbed, shepherds the elephants and lions into the ark.

Fol. 40r, rubrics: Coment Abraham herberia nostre seignor qui li dist quil auroit fiz de sa feme (panel: 7.6 × 7.7 cm)

Abraham with the three Heavenly visitors.

Fol. 41v, rubrics: Coment li angles maudirent les cites et coment eles fondirent après la maleison des angles (panel: 8.0 × 7.7 cm)

The angel destroys the city as Lot flees with his family.

Fol. 45r, rubrics: Coment li angeles rescoust ysaac que son pere ne li tolt la vie (panel: 8.3 × 7.7 cm)

The sacrifice of Isaac where Abraham holding a dagger is stopped by the angel of the Lord.

Fol. 52r, rubrics: Coment iacob dessut ysaac son pere (panel: 7.6 × 7.6 cm)

How Jacob deceives his father Isaac as Esau approaches.

Fol. 61v, rubrics: Coment esau et iacob partirent de decevrerent les terres puis la mort lor pere (panel: 8.7 × 7.7 cm)

The death of Isaac.

Fol. 63r, rubrics: Si commence lestoire de ioseph (panel: 8.0 × 7.7 cm)

Jacob and his sons, with Joseph in front.

Fol. 68v, rubrics: Coment la dame se complainst a son baron de ioseph a tort (panel: 6.8 × 7.7 cm)

Potiphar's wife attempts to sedeuce Joseph.

Fol. 71v, rubrics: De la vision pharaon. Et coment il manda tous les sages de sa terre (panel: 8.2 × 7.7 cm)

The dream of Pharaoh.

Fol. 73r, rubrics: Coment le roi fist aler ioseph sur son riche char par toute sa cite (panel: 7.6 × 7.6 cm)

Joseph tours the land of Egypt in Pharoah's chariot.

Fol. 74r, rubrics: Coment les fiz iacob pristrent conseill a luer [sic] pere daler en egypte au forment (panel: 8.1 × 7.7 cm)

Jacob and his sons take counsel to go to Egypt for grain.

Fol. 79r, rubrics: Coment ioseph fist a sa maisnee voider la salle et ce fist conoistre a ses freres (panel: 7.5 × 7.7 cm)

Joseph makes himself known to his brothers.

Fol. 82r, rubrics: Coment pharaon demanda a iacob de son aage (panel: 8.1 × 7.7 cm)

Jacob and his sons before Pharaoh.

Fol. 84r, rubrics: Coment ioseph porta le cors iacob son pere en ebron per avoir sepulture (panel: 8.3 × 7.7 cm)

The death of Jacob.

Fol. 90r, rubrics: Si commence lestoire de thebes (panel: 9.9 × 7.7 cm)

Above: Laius and Jocasta; below: the finding of Oedipus.

Fol. 92r, rubrics: De la devinaille que Spins dist a edippus (panel: 7.8 × 7.7 cm)

Oedipus approaching from the right confronts the sphinx.

Fol. 96v, rubrics: Coment polinices et thideus se combatirent por la place (panel: 9.1 × 7.5 cm)

The combat of Polynices and Tydeus.

Fol. 110v, rubrics: De la tygre de thebes par quoi comensa la bataille et la grant destorbance (panel: 7.7 × 7.5 cm)

The tiger of Thebes.

Fol. 117v, rubrics: Coment les dames de scite alerent vengier leur fis et leur amis as espees esmolues (panel: 7.8 × 7.5 cm)

The Amazons do battle to avenge their menfolk.

Fol. 119r, rubrics: Coment les II. serors la royne Antyope iousterent as II. chevaliers les meillors qui estoient adonc el monde: Hercules and Theseus (panel: 9.0 × 7.5 cm)

Two Amazon sisters of Antiope do battle with two knights.

Fol. 121r, rubrics: Coment iason et Hercules alerent por la toison par quoi renovela la heyne des grezois a ceaus de troyes, dont la cite fu destruite (panel: 9.0 × 8.0 cm)

The story of the Golden Fleece.

Fol. 130r, rubrics: Coment hector fist merveilles quant il fu venus al estor, et come achille locist. Et come grant dolor fu demenee (panel: 7.9 × 7.8 cm)

Achilles kills Hector by spearing him from behind.

Fol. 138r, rubrics: Coment pirus le fiz Achilles vint en lost por venger son pere (panel: 7.8 × 7.7 cm)

Penthesilea and the Amazons battle Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles.

Fol. 151r, rubrics: Coment eneas revint en cesile (panel: 8.3 × 7.7 cm)

The departure of Aeneas as Dido kills herself on the balcony of her palace.

Fol. 165v, rubrics: Coment la royne Camilla demanda a turnus la premiere bataille contre eneas (panel: 8.3 × 8.0 cm)

Queen Camilla battles Aeneas.

Fol. 172r, rubrics: Ci commence lestorement de la cite de rome (panel: 7.8 × 7.5 cm)

The building of the city of Rome.

Fol. 195r, rubrics: Coment nabugodenosor comanda a holofernes qui alast sur ciaus qui contre lui estoient (panel: 7.8 × 7.5 cm)

Holofernes leads his army against the Israelites.

Fol. 195v, rubrics: Coment iudith fu menee devant le duc holofernes (panel: 7.1 × 7.5 cm)

Judith comes before Holofernes.

Fol. 216v, rubrics: Coment alixandre sagenoilla contre le nom de dieu (panel: 7.9 × 7.6 cm)

Alexander kneels before the high priest in front of the temple in Jerusalem.

Fol. 219v, rubrics: Que cil qui estoient sur les olifans greverent mult la gent alixandre (panel: 7.8 × 7.7 cm)

Alexander and his army battle King Porus with his army on elephants.

Fol. 222r, rubrics: Coment la gent alixandre envairent cele beste (panel: 7.1 × 7.6 cm)

Alexander's army confronts a monstrous beast in India.

Fol. 224v, rubrics: Coment la beste qui avoit II. testes corut sus as genz le roi alixandre (panel: 7.1 × 7.7 cm)

Alexander's army confronts a second monstrous beast with two heads.

Fol. 254v, rubrics: Que adonques ot pais arome et que nulles gens ne les agrevoient (panel: 7.9 × 7.6 cm)

The temple of Janus in Rome.

Fol. 304v, rubrics: Coment le roi iugurta fu pris et mene a rome ou grant ioie fu demenee (panel: 7.8 × 7.7 cm)

Jugurtha captive is carried through the streets of Rome.

Fol. 328r, rubrics: Coment pompeyus repaira a rome (panel: 7.9 × 7.7 cm)

Pompey's return to Rome.

Fol. 332v, text ends: Coment la bataille rassembla lendemain . . . de ce avient encores quele est clamee sei, et non seis en nostre language. Cest livre escrist Bernart dacre.

382. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 97–8.

383. On the literary merits of the *Histoire Universelle*, see M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, 2, pp. 266–72, and p. 272 for this quote.

384. See Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 70.

385. Ibid., p. 71.

386. Ibid., pp. 68–79.

387. There are actually thirty-seven miniatures in the Brussels codex, but one, the frontispiece on fol. 20r, is a replacement executed in the fifteenth century, when the lost first twenty folios of this codex were replaced.

388. Ibid., p. 71.

389. Ibid., Pls. 107b (MS 10175) and 107a (Dijon MS 562). See also the color plate of this scene in the Dijon MS, in *Les Croisades: L'Orient et L'Occident*, p. 104, which, together with Pls. 107b and 107a, shows the larger size, the better condition, and the higher quality gold ground of the Dijon miniature.

390. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 72.

391. For the manuscript stemma envisioned in this discussion, see Fig. 1, in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 102.

392. In the case of the example cited here, the triumph of Joseph, the Brussels miniature follows the MS 20125 model more closely, but simplifies and introduces certain changes. See the MS 20125 miniature in Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, Pl. 151e.

393. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 72.

394. Ibid., pp. 73–4, and see Pl. 99a, also illustrated in an excellent color plate in *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident*, p. 100. Notably, however, the Brussels MS 10175 lacks this kind of element introduced from observation of the local scene.

395. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 74.

396. Ibid., p. 75.

397. Ibid., p. 68.

398. This structure has a vague parallel with the throne of the Mellon Madonna, also from the second half of the thirteenth century, whose artist may have worked in the eastern Mediterranean at the time the panel was painted. The Mellon Madonna is now in the National Gallery of Art, where it is designated inv. no. 1937.1.1.

399. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 78.

400. For the literature on Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 433(590), see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 42–76, with the older bibliography. See now also J. Folda, "The Hospitaller in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 51–9, 271, and Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati," p. 92 and n. 44.

The main content/decoration of Chantilly, Musée Condé, inventory no. MS 433(590), coté XX D(superscript 1)3, is as follows: Old French translation of Cicero's *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, by Jean d'Antioche for William of St. Stephen.

164 fols. with the first two gatherings of 6 folios each, then seventeen gatherings of 8 folios each, gathering twenty with 10 fols. each, and gathering twenty-one with 6 fols. each.

Text in two columns of 31 or 32 lines each, justification of 21.6 × 14.7 cm (fols. 1–12v, hand 1), and 21.5 × 14.9 cm (fols. 13–164v, hand 2), interval 1.5 cm.

4 panel miniatures, 4 illuminated initials, 1 historiated initial, marginal drolleries, and 2 illuminated schemata.

Red and blue calligraphic book and chapter initials.

Rubrics.

Acre, 1282.

Fol. 1–5v, *capitula*.

Fol. 6v, Prologue, illuminated initial (T) (5.2 × 5.0 cm), with flourish and tail.

Fol. 9v, schema of "toute ceste division de philosophie."

Fol. 11v, schema of "la reson civile: retorique."

Fol. 12v, colophon, see text and Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, Pl. 26.

Fol. 13r, Book 1 (*De Inventione*) miniature panel with two registers (11.0 × 8.3 cm):
1. Evil Oratory causes the fall of cities and strife among the people.
2. Good Oratory encourages the building of cities and harmony among the people.
Marginal drolleries.

Fol. 45v, Book 2 (*De Inventione*) miniature panel (6.75 × 8.45 cm) with Zeuxis of Heraclea painting an image of Helen; illuminated initial (I) (9.6 × 1.3 cm).

Fol. 86r, Book 3 (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) illuminated initial (20.7 × 1.6 cm).

Fol. 95r, Book 4 (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) miniature panel (5.5 × 7.1 cm) with Cicero dictating to his scribe as Herennius looks on; illuminated initial (N) (4.2 × 4.85 cm).

Fol. 113r, Book 5 (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) historiated initial (4.9 × 5.15 cm) with Cicero seated, addressing a standing student. Marginal drollery.

Fol. 127v, Book 6 (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*) miniature panel (6.0 × 8.4 cm) with a classroom scene: a master teaches six students with two elders looking on; illuminated initial, (N) (4.3 × 8.4). Marginal drollery.

Fol. 164r, . . . trop grant mestier rhetorique de l'argumentacion de logique. (end)

401. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 43, and n. 6. For a reproduction of this text in the manuscript see also Pl. 26.

402. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 43, and n. 5; Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, p. 273.

403. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 42–52.

404. In his review of my book, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, Harvey Stahl (*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), pp. 417–18) notes the different hands in Chantilly MS 433 and calls one hand "slightly later." I am unable to see why this hand is necessarily later, as opposed to different, and I could not identity separately in this manuscript the hands of the translator, scribe, and illuminator, if the illuminator did any scribal work. Stahl's analysis may lead toward that identification as part of understanding the project to do this commission.

405. The Perugia Missal, discussed earlier in Chapter 6, is the only religious manuscript with textual documentation identifying its place of origin in Acre. Of course, we also noted that the Brussels *Histoire Universelle* was signed by Bernard d'Acre as the scribe, and we have taken this to indicate its Acre origin, but some have chosen to interpret this as evidence it was made elsewhere, perhaps in Cyprus, wrongly in our view.

406. See the catalogue of these manuscripts for ruling diagrams and statistics in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 175–92.

407. A codex in Leiden, University Library codex Voss. Lat. Q33, dating from the tenth century has illustrations, but they have no relation to the illustrations found in Chantilly MS 590. See F. Mütherich, "'De Rhetorica', Eine Illustration zu Martianus Capella," *Festschrift Bernhard Bishoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart, 1971, pp. 200 ff., and Pl. 11; and *Christina, Queen of Sweden*, 11th Exhibition of the Council of Europe, Stockholm, 1971, pp. 536–7, no. 1343. Most *Rhetorica* manuscripts did not have illustrations.

408. Stephen of Antioch is recorded as having written a Latin manuscript of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in 1154 in Antioch. See F. Steffens,

Lateinische Paläographie, 2nd edn., Berlin and Leipzig, 1929, Pl. 83.

409. L. M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966, pp. 8–15. The drolleries found in this codex are seemingly of the innocuous, decorative type, compared to the often highly sexually charged examples discussed by M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, Cambridge, MA, 1992, whether as related to the monastery, the cathedral, the court, or the city!

410. Delisle provides the Old French and Latin texts of this story in his publication: L. Delisle, "Notice sur la Rhétorique de Cicéron," *Notices et Extraits*, 36, Paris, 1899, pp. 236–7.

411. As Michael Camille points out, writing about this image, "medieval artists, like this illuminator, were not sanctioned to fashion ideal images in the classical sense, even though we so often describe Gothic art as one of idealism." M. Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 318.

412. For a citation of parallels to images in the *Bibles Moralisées*, the Old Testament Picture Book in the Morgan Library (Morgan MS 638), and the Psalter of Saint Louis (Paris, B.N., MS lat. 10525), see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 49, n. 34.

413. Ibid., p. 50.

414. Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, pp. 73–128, and 197–241. Camille discusses the various kinds of idols, and what is relevant here are pagan idols and idols associated with a church.

415. On the Palaeologan hats, see H. Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, London and Leiden, 1971, p. 34, and Pls. 32e and 33d. On the contrast between Greeks and Jews wearing such broad-brimmed hats, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 51–2.

416. For the literature on Paris, B.N., MS nouv. acq. fr. 1404, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 60–76, with the older bibliography, and D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of St. Louis*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 110–12.

The main content/decoration of Paris, B.N., MS nouv. acq. fr. 1404 is as follows: Old French translation of selected Old Testament books of the Bible.

245 fols., with 30 gatherings of 8 folios each, one folio missing, and two folios bound at the end with a final gathering of 4 folios.

Text in two columns of 34 lines each, justification of 20.0 × 13.2 cm, interval 1.2 cm. There are rubrics at the start of each book.

15 miniature panels extant, with large red and blue calligraphically decorated book initials, and smaller red and blue chapter initials.

Acre, *c.*1280–1.

Fol. 1r, Preface, panel miniature with St. Jerome and Brother Ambrosius (6.9 × 6.1 cm), large red and blue calligraphic initial, (D).

Fol. 2r, Genesis, two panel miniatures: the Lord creating on the first day (5.3 × 5.1 cm), and the Lord creating, days two to six, and resting on the seventh day (12.2 × 7.3 cm), large red and blue calligraphic initial, (E).

Fol. 25v, Exodus, panel miniature with Moses leading the Israelites (7.15 × 6.4 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (C).

Fol. 44r, Numbers, panel miniature with an Israelite making an offering to God (6.9 × 6.35 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (N).

Fol. 54v, Joshua, panel miniature with Joshua kneeling before the Lord (7.5 × 6.3 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (A).

Fols. 63r–64v, verse prologue to Judges (cf Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 61–3).

Fol. 64v, Judges, panel miniature with the people of Israel kneeling in prayer to God (6.2 × 6.2 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (A).

Fol. 94v, I Kings, panel miniature with the prayer of Anna, as Eli looks on (7.3 × 6.4 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (U).

Fol. 123v, II Kings, panel miniature with King David ordering the killing of the Amalekite (6.8 × 6.5 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (A).

Fol. 124v, II Kings, Chapter 3, panel miniature with the annointing of the seated King David (5.8 × 6.5 cm), with red and blue calligraphic initial, (Q).

Fol. 148r, III Kings, panel miniature with Abishag brought to the aged King David in bed (5.95 × 6.5 cm), with red and blue calligraphic initial, (D).

Fol. 180v, IV Kings, panel miniature with Elijah taken up to heaven as Elisha watches (6.65 × 6.05 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (L).

Fol. 208v, I Maccabees, miniature panel, and start of text missing.

Fol. 226v, II Maccabees, panel miniature with John Hyrcanus returning to defend Jerusalem (6.85 × 6.8 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (I).

Fol. 229v, Tobit, panel miniature with Tobit blinded (6.15 × 6.6 cm), with red and blue calligraphic initial, (T).

Fol. 238r, Judith, panel miniature with Judith decapitating Holofernes (6.25 × 6.85 cm), with large red and blue calligraphic initial, (A).

Fol. 245v, . . . apres sentorna a domas & 7 ileuques morut. "explicit iudith" (end)

417. In the Pentateuch, Arsenal MS 5211 has miniatures for all five books, but Paris MS n.a.fr. 1404 has miniatures only for Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, but not Leviticus or Deuteronomy.

418. We assume, partly on the basis of this comparison, that Louis IX had taken the Arsenal Bible home to France with him when he left Acre in 1254.

419. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 60–6; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 110–12; and see now also K. V. Sinclair, "The Earliest Old French *Livre des Juges*; a Note on the Translator and His Patrons," *Neophilologus*, 81 (1997), pp. 349–54.

420. P. Meyer, "Notice du ms. Bibl. Nat. Fr. 6447," *Notices et Extraits*, 35 (Paris, 1896), p. 436.

421. Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 111.

422. G. Bertin and A. Foulet, "The Book of Judges in Old French Prose: The Gardner A. Sage Library Fragment," *Romania*, 90 (1969), pp. 121–8.

423. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 68.

424. H. Martin, "Les Enseignements des miniatures: attitude royale," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, sér. IV, 9 (1913), pp. 173–88.

425. M. Schapiro, "An Illuminated English Psalter of the Early Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23 (1960), pp. 181 ff., discusses the crowning and anointing.

426. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 68–9.

427. We have seen the beardless Byzantine Moses used in the Arsenal MS 5211 miniatures along with the Western bearded version. For the horned Moses, see R. Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*, Berkelely, Los Angeles, and London, 1970, pp. 6, 13ff., 68–70, 76 ff.

428. True, the text suggests that Judith only uses one hand to wield the sword as shown in the image, but the blow she administers in this depiction contrasts sharply with what we see in the Moralized Bible tradition. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 72.

429. R. L. McGrath, "The Romance of the Maccabees in Medieval Art," Diss. Princeton University, 1963, p. iv.

430. For the literature on Paris, Archives Nationales, Pièce 1626(1), see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 52–60, opposite p. 58 (color plate), 178–9, with older bibliography, and idem, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 51–2, 57. For the discussion on the identification of the hands in the *Censier*, see H. Stahl, review of *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), pp. 416–23.

The main content/decoration of Paris, Archives Nationales, Pièce 1626(1) is as follows:

Censier for the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, in Latin.

35 fols., 27.2 × 19.3 cm, 4 gatherings of 8 folios each, and a final gathering with 3 folios.

Text in one column of 28 lines, justification, 18.5 × 12.4 cm.

4 miniature panels and associated marginal drolleries.

Small illuminated and red and blue calligraphically decorated initials.

Paris, last quarter of 1276.

Fol. 1r, (First quarter) Relicta Hervei Munerii .v. sol' . . .

Rubrics: Recepta pitantiarum conventus sce Genovefe . . . a termino Sci Remigii usque ad natale anno dñi m(o).cc(o).lxxvi(o). . . .

Miniature panel (7.7 × 7.2 cm), Geneviève is consecrated by Bishop Germain of Auxerre and Bishop Loup of Troyes.

Fol. 13r, (Second quarter) Burgesia parisien .xl. sol' . . .

Rubrics: Recepta pitantiarum . . . a termino natale usque ad pascha anno dñi m(o).cc(o).lxxvi(o).

Miniature panel (8.1 × 8.2 cm), Geneviève on her way to evening prayer has her candle relit by an angel after it had been extinguished by a devil.

Fol. 20r, (Third quarter) Relicta Hervei Munerii .v. sol' . . .

Rubrics: Recepta conventus . . . a pascha usque ad festum sci iohis bapte anno dñi m(o).cc(o).lxxvi(o).

Miniature panel (7.8 × 7.8 cm), Geneviève supervises the construction of the Basilica of Saint-Denis.

Fol. 26v, (Fourth quarter) Familia iohis rouselli .xxxv. sol' . . .

Rubrics: Recepta pitantiarum . . . a termino sci iohis bapte usque ad festum sci Remigii anno dñi m(o).cc(o).lxxvi(o).

Miniature panel (8.0x 8.1 cm), Monks from the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève carry her *châsse* through the streets of Paris on the Feast of Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents.

431. For the literature on Paris, B.N., MS lat. 5334, see Folda, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5334 and the Origins of the Hospitaller Master," *Montjoie*, pp. 177–87, and idem, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 51–2, 57, 269.

The main content/decoration of Paris, B.N. MS lat. 5334 (=ancien Bibl. Reg. MS 4180) is as follows:

Libellus of texts on the life and miracles of St. Martin [for a detailed inventory, see Folda, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat 5334," p. 177, n. 4]

298 fols., 28.7 × 19.5 cm, gatherings of 12 fols. each, justification, 21.0 × 12.6 cm, interval 1.2 cm, text in two columns of 24 lines each, one scribe writing in "gothic textura" (Bischoff) or "littera minuscula gothica textualis rotunda libraria media" (Brown).

One historiated initial (S), 14 medium-sized red and blue calligraphically decorated initials at the start of each main text division, and many small red and blue initials in the text.

Paris, *c.*1276–80.

Fol. 1r, Historiated Initial, (S)everus . . . (3.45 × 3.55 cm, main rectangle, with flourishes in the margins that measure 24.55 cm high maximum).

1. St. Martin nimbed and in episcopal robes, blesses three *malades.*

432. The *censier* was originally discovered by Robert Branner in the 1960s while he was at work on his study eventually published as *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*, Berkeley, 1977. He alerted me to its existence.

433. In his review of *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), pp. 416–23, Harvey Stahl argues that two artists did the four miniatures. He sees a weaker hand in the first three miniatures, in contrast to the firm line and sensitive control of the Paris–Acre Master in the final panel with the procession of the chasse through the streets of Paris. The variations in these miniatures are there for all to see. I continue to interpret them, not as different hands, but as evidence of the results of miniatures painted by one hand using different models, possibly produced at different times during the year, but most of all as an indication of change and development in the work of a single painter.

The reader is invited to consider this issue against the background of what criteria we use to identify the work of an individual artist in comparison to the other very closely related manuscripts I am proposing were painted by this Master, and in contrast to those related manuscripts from the West that I argue were done by other artists influenced by the Paris–Acre Master's work. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 42–116, 119–58.

434. My initial suggestion that the Paris–Acre Master went to the Near East because of a decline in book production in Paris at the end of the 1270s, is, as I have noted elsewhere (Folda, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5334," p. 184 and n. 32), not borne out by the facts. The situation in Paris for book production is much more fully documented now that the major study by Mary and Richard Rouse has appeared; see M. and R. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, Turnhout, 2000, 2 volumes.

435. Work by other artists related to the Paris–Acre Master appears to have been executed in the Paris region between 1276 and 1295, however. See, for example, four illustrated codices with texts in Old French, Paris, BN, MS fr. 19166 and Paris, BN, MS fr. 1533, done in Paris between 1276 and 1287, and Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS 20.D.II and Tours, Bibl. Mun., MS 951, done in Paris between 1287 and 1295, in Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 119–24.

436. Folda, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5334," p. 185.

437. I discovered Morgan MS 494 shortly after the article in *Montjoie* was published. Among my colleagues, the only other scholar who seems to know about this manuscript is Alison Stones, and it may well be that she is the one who first alerted me to its existence.

438. For the literature on J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 494, see M. R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts/Books from Collections of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram of Ashburnham, now part of the Morgan Library*, London, 1906, MS 494, and various incidental notices, such as W. Pfeister and W. Schild (eds.), *Recht und Gerechtigkeit im Spiegel der europäischen Kunst*, Cologne, 1988, Fig. 242 (fol. 330r); T. Ford and A. Green (eds.), *Inventory of Musical Iconography*, New York, 1988, no. 142 (fol. 314v), no. 143 (fol. 318r); P. Needham, *12 Centuries of Bookbinding, 400–1600 (Morgan Library)*, New York, 1979, no. 19.2; and E. Pellegrin and T. de Marinis, *Bibliothèque des Visconti*, Florence and Paris, 1969, p. 56. On the text of MS 494, see the studies by Clive R. Sneddon, *A Critical Edition of the Four Gospels in the Thirteenth-Century Old French Translation of the Bible*, D. Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1978, vol. I, pp. 146–8, siglum L, no. 3, and idem, "Pour l'Edition critique de la Bible française du XIIIe siècle," *La Bibbia in Italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8–9 November 1996, ed. Lino Leonardi, Florence, 1998, pp. 229–461, pp. 214 n.3, 238 n. 2, 241 n. 3.

The main content/decoration of Morgan MS 494 is as follows: Bible in Old French, complete in one volume.

638 fols., 38.5 × 28.0 cm, 81 gatherings of 8 folios each, except gathering 42 has only 3 folios, plus three additional leaves.

Text in two columns of 40 lines each, justification, 26.0 × 18.45 cm, interval, 1.6 cm.

34 Miniature panels, 10 historiated initials, 47 illuminated initials, by at least three main artists, plus assistants.

Paris, *c.*1276–80.

[N.B.: The analysis of the miniatures that follow refers mainly to the parts of the manuscript in which the Paris–Acre Master worked.]

Fol. 1r, Genesis, panel and illuminated initial (C)ist livres est apelez genesis . . . (26.4 × 8.7 cm)

Fol. 59v, Exodus, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 77r, Leviticus, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 89v, Numbers, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 108v, Deuteronomy, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 126r, Joshua, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 151v, Judges, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 169r, Ruth, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 171r, I Kings, panel (8.9 × 7.9 cm) and illuminated initial (5.4 × 4.9 cm) (U)ns homs fu de la cite. . . .

1. The prayer of Anna to God, with Eli looking on. [Paris–Acre Master]

Fol. 187, II Kings, panel (5.45 × 5.6 cm) and illuminated initial, joined, (I)l avint apres ce que Saul fu mort . . . , with marginal drolleries.

1. David orders the death of the Amalekite. [Paris–Acre Master]

Fol. 200v, III Kings, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.3 cm) (L)i rois david estoit envielliz . . .

1. Abishag is brought to the aged David. [Paris–Acre Master]

Fol. 215v, IV Kings, historiated initial (5.4 × 4.6 cm) (L)es fuiz moab se revelerent. . . .

1. Achab is thrown out of a window in Samaria. [Paris–Acre Master]

Fol. 229r, Paralipomenon I, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 241r, Paralipomenon I, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 258r, Esdras I, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 262v, Esdras II, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 271v, Judith, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 277r, Hester, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 283v, Job, panel and illuminated initial.

Fol. 296v ff., Psalms. [N.B.: All of the Psalms have rubrics, unlike most of the rest of the books of the Bible in this manuscript, and they consist of the Latin incipit to the Psalm. Only the Psalms at the start of the eight parts have historiated initials.]

Fol. 296v, Psalm 1, panel (8.7 × 7.5 cm) and historiated initial (4.3 × 4.9 cm), (B)eneuvrez est li homs..., with 2 marginal drolleries.
(panel) 1. Confrontation of David and Goliath. [Paris–Acre Master]
2. David decapitates Goliath.
(initial) 1. King David plays the psaltery. [Paris–Acre Master]
Fol. 302r, Psalm 26, historiated initial (5.2 × 4.7 cm), (N)ostre sires si est ma lumiere & mon salut....
1. Coronation of King David [Paris–Acre Master], 2 marginal drolleries.
Fol. 305r, Psalm 38, historiated initial/panel (5.4 × 4.5 cm), (I)e dis ie gardere mes voies....
1. King David kneels in prayer to God above [Paris–Acre Master], 2 marginal drolleries.
Fol. 308r, Psalm 52, historiated initial (5.2 × 4.7 cm), (C)il qui nestoit pas sages dist....
1. The fool [Paris–Acre Master], 2 marginal drolleries.
Fol. 311r, Psalm 68, historiated initial (5.3 × 4.6 cm), (D)ieux fai moi sauf porce que....
1. King David standing orans in water prays to the Lord above [Paris–Acre Master], 2 marginal drolleries.
Fol. 314v, Psalm 80, historiated initial (5.3 × 4.7 cm), (E)cleesciez vos en dieu qui....
1. King David plays the bells, [Paris–Acre Master], 2 marginal drolleries.
Fol. 318r, Psalm 97, historiated initial (5.2 × 5.0 cm), (C)hantez a nostre seingneur nouvelle chancon....
1. Two monks chanting before a lectern [Paris–Acre Master], marginalia.
Fol. 322r, Psalm 109, historiated initial (5.2 × 5.2 cm), (N)ostre sires dist a mon seingneur....
1. Jesus and God the Father enthroned together [Paris–Acre Master], marginalia.
Fol. 330r, Paraboles, panel (21.0 × 9.7 cm) and illuminated initial, (L)es parables Salemon
Fuiz david rois....
[panel by the Paris–Acre Master]:
1. King enthroned with three students seated before him.
2. Wisdom of Solomon; one mother kneels before him, one mother stands.
3. King enthroned watches as wrapped body is shot with arrows.

Fol. 343v, Ecclesiastes, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 349r, Wisdom, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 357r, Ecclesiasticus, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 380v, Ysias, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 406r, Jeremias, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 434r, Treni, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 436v, Baruth, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 439v, Ezechiel, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 461v, Daniel, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 470r, Osee, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 473v, Joel, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 475r, Amos, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 478r, Abdias, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 478v, Ionas, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 479r, Micheas, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 481v, Naum, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 482v, Abacuc, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 483v, Sophonias, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 484v, Aggeus, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 485v, Zacharias, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 489r, Malachias, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 490v, I Maccabees, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 504r, II Maccabees, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 514v, Old Testament ends.
Fol. 515r, start of Gospel of Matthew is lost, start with Ch. 3.
Fol. 531r, start of Gospel of Mark, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 543r, start of Gospel of Luke, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 562v, start of Gospel of John, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 577v, start of the Pauline epistles:
Fol. 578r, Letter of Paul to the Romans, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 584r, 1st Letter of Paul to the Corinthians, historiated initial (6.2 × 5.55 cm), (P)oulx apelez apoustres ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 589v, 2nd Letter of Paul to the Corinthians, historiated initial (5.4 × 5.3 cm), (P)ouls apoustres ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 593r, Letter of Paul to the Galatians, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.65 cm), (P)ouls apostre nonmie des homes....
1. Paul seated holding a sword. [Paris–Acre Master]
Fol. 595r, Letter of Paul to the Ephesians, historiated initial (5.65 × 5.35 cm), (P)ouls apoustres ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword. [Paris–Acre Master]
Fol. 597r, Letter of Paul to the Philippians, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.7 cm), (P)ouls & thy mothee sers ihesucrist....
1. Paul in city tower hands letter to man outside [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 598r, Letter of Paul to the Colossians, historiated initial (5.0 × 5.35 cm), (P)ouls apoustre de ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 599v, 1st Letter of Paul to the Thessalonians, historiated initial (5.5 × 6.7 cm), (P)ouls &siluams & thymotees....
1. Paul seated holding a sword. [Paris–Acre Master]
Fol. 600v, 2nd Letter of Paul to the Thessalonians, historiated initial (5.6 × 5.45 cm), (P)ouls & sylvains et thymotee....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 601v, 1st Letter of Paul to Timothy, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.4 cm), (P)ouls apoustre ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword. [Paris–Acre Master]
Fol. 603r, 2nd Letter of Paul to Timothy, historiated initial (5.35 × 5.6 cm), (P)ouls apoustre ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 604r, 1st Letter of Paul to Titus, historiated initial (5.25 × 5.0 cm), (P) saint [sic] poul amoneste thytum....
1. Paul seated holding a sword. [Paris–Acre Master]
Fol. 604v, 2nd Letter of Paul to Titus, historiated initial (5.5 × 5.4 cm), (P) ouls le seriant de dieu & apoustre ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 605r, 3rd Letter of Paul to Titus, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.3 cm), (P)ouls sers de dieu apoustre ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 605v, Letter of Paul to Philomen, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.65 cm), (P)ouls liez de lamor ihesucrist....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 606r, Letter of Paul to the Hebrews, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.8 cm), (D)iex qui parla iadis a nos peres....
1. Paul seated holding a sword [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 610v, Acts of the Apostles, panel and illuminated initial.
Fol. 625v, Letter of St. James, panel (5.5 × 8.8 cm) and illuminated initial (4.1 × 3.4 cm), (I)aques serians nostre seingneur ihesucrist....
1. St. James [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 627r, 1st Letter of St. Peter, panel (8.0 × 8.6 cm) and illuminated initial (5.3 × 5.2 cm), (P)ierres apoustres ihesus crist aus genz estranges....
1. St. Peter. [Paris–Acre Master]
Fol. 629r, 2nd Letter of St. Peter, historiated initial (5.4 × 4.9 cm), (S)ymonspierres sers de ihesucrist....
1. St. Peter [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drollerie.
Fol. 630r, 1st Letter of St. John, panel (8.1 × 8.8 cm) and illuminated initial (4.2 × 5.0 cm), (N)os vos anoncons & tesmoignons ce qui des le comancement....
1. St. John [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.
Fol. 631v, 2nd Letter of St. John, historiated initial (5.3 × 5.5 cm), (L)i viellarz a son esleu seingneur....
1. St. John [Paris–Acre Master], with marginal drolleries.

[N.B.: The 3rd Letter of St. John, the Letter of St. Jude, and the start of the Apocalypse are all missing.]

Fol. 639r, "ci fine lapocaypse".

439. The other Bibles related to it in the same text family are Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 35; London, Brit. Lib., Harley MS 616; and London, Brit. Lib. Yates Thompson MS 9. I am indebted to Alison Stones for alerting me to the work of Clive R. Sneddon, whose Oxford doctoral dissertation, cited earlier, contains this analysis.

440. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 145, n. 127, 152–7, and 212, no. 27. See also Sneddon's work cited earlier. Thott MS 7 is the second volume, containing Psalms to Apocalypse, of a two-volume work of which the first volume with much of the Old Testament is missing.

441. See A. Stones, "Les Manuscrits du Cardinal Jean Cholet et l'Enluminure Beauvaisienne ver la fin du XIIIeme siècle," in *L'Art Gothique dans l'Oise et ses environs, Actes du Colloque organisé à Beauvais* par le GEMOB, 10–11 October 1998, Beauvais, 2001, pp. 239–66. Alison Stones is the one art history scholar known to me who has studied it, and I am grateful to her for sharing her views about its artists, in letters dated 12 March and 22 March 1997. She thinks there are three main masters, a hand related to the Cholet Master who appears in several other codices, the Paris–Acre Master, and the Copenhagen Bible Master. I am interested here only in the Paris–Acre Master and the work that he did in this Bible, but this book is worth a complete and thorough study.

442. See A. Stones, "Arthurian Art since Loomis," *Arturus Rex*, vol. II, Louvain, 1991, p. 63, Fig. 8, the famous image of the first kiss of Lancelot and Guinevere, on fol. 67r of the Morgan *Lancelot*, MS 805, attributed to Amiens *c.*1315.

443. G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert*, [n.p.], 1938, pp. 29–33, 108–9, and Pl. 10.

444. It is difficult to say for certain what this sequence of work should be. It appears that the initial in the *libellus* is more closely related to the painting in the *censier*, so it may be that after the *censier* our Master painted the *libellus*, and then was commissioned to work on the Morgan MS 494 Bible. We provisionally date both the *libellus* and MS 494 to *c.*1276–80.

445. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 100.

446. For the literature on London, British Library, Additional MS 15268, see Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 79–87, 98–101, 150–1, with the older bibliography. See now also D. Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen zur "Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César" (1250–1400)*, Frankfurt am Main, 1989, pp. 35–6, group D in the analysis of picture themes between pp. 75–83, 141–2, 261–6, with additional bibliography; B. Zeitler, "'Sinful Sons, Falsifiers of the Christian Faith': The Depiction of Muslims in a 'Crusader' Manuscript," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 12 (1997), pp. 25–50; and M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, 2 vols., Orléans, 1999, vol. 1, partial critical edition of the text ("Assyrie," "Thèbes," and "Le Minotaure, Les Amazones, Hercule") ("L" = Add. MS 15268, a "manuscrit de contrôle"), vol. 2, pp. 12, 13, 205, 212–16, and passim. A new study by Lisa Mahoney as a doctoral dissertation at the Johns Hopkins University is currently underway.

The main content/decoration of London, British Library, Add. MS 15268 is as follows:

Histoire Universelle, in Old French.
314 fols., "bound in quaternions" (Oltrogge), 37.0 × 24.7 cm,
text in two columns of 41 lines each, justification of 26.4 × 16.5 cm, interval, 1.7 cm.
43 panel miniatures.
Acre, *c.*1286/7.

Fol. 1v, (panel: 30.0 × 20.0 cm), the Creation.

Fol. 2r, Ce est li livres des ansienes estoires. . . .

Fol. 7v, (panel: 8.0 × 7.7 cm), Noah's ark.

Fol. 8r, rubrics: Coment les aigues crurent et abonderent par quoi tot fu peri.

Fol. 16r, (panel: 21.6 × 16.4 cm), King Ninus enthroned.

Fol. 16v, rubrics: Coment le roi ninus ot premerairement seignorie.

Fol. 24v, (panel: 18.3 × 16.6 cm), Abraham's hospitality.

Fol. 25r, rubrics: Coment Abraham herberianostre seignor qui li dist quil avroit fiz de sa feme.

Fol. 26v, rubrics: Coment les angles maudirent les cites et come elles fondirent après la maleysson des angles (panel: 16.8 × 16.4 cm).

The angel destroys the city as Lot and his family flee.

Fol. 30v, rubrics: Coment li angles rescoust ysaac que so pere nel ocist (panel: 15.5 × 16.5 cm).

The sacrifice of Isaac.

Fol. 37v, rubrics: Coment iacob dessut ysaac son pere (panel: 11.6 × 16.4 cm).

Jacob deceives his father Isaac as Esau approaches.

Fol. 48r, rubrics: Ci commence lestoire de ioseph (panel: 12.2 × 16.8 cm).

Jacob and Joseph; Joseph and his brothers.

Fol. 54r, rubrics: Coment la dame vost retenir ioseph et le prist par le mantel (panel: 12.1 × 16.3 cm).

Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

Fol. 56v, rubrics: De la vision que le roi pharaon vit (12.2 × 16.5 cm).

Pharaoh's dream.

Fol. 58r, rubrics: Coment le roi fist aler ioseph sur son char par tote sa cite (panel: 11.6 × 16.4 cm).

Joseph surveys the land of Egypt in Pharaoh's chariot.

Fol. 56r, rubrics: Coment les fiz iacob pristrent conseill a lor pere daler en egypte au forment (panel: 11.6 × 16.4 cm).

Jacob and his sons consult on going to Egypt to secure grain.

Fol. 64r, rubrics: Coment li freres ioseph sagenoillierent devant lui et il fist voidier la sale a sa maisnee et se fist conoistre (panel: 12.2 × 16.6 cm).

Joseph makes himself known to his brothers.

Fol. 65v, rubrics: Coment iacob si mist a la voie por aler a ioseph son fiz (panel: 12.3 × 16.5 cm).

Jacob travels to Egypt with his family to see Joseph.

Fol. 67r, rubrics: Coment iacob ala devant le roi pharaon (panel: 11.9 × 16.6 cm).

Jacob before Pharaoh.

Fol. 69r, rubrics: Coment ioseph porta le cors iacob en ebron por avoir sepulture (panel: 12.0 × 16.3

The burial of Jacob in Hebron.

Fol. 71r, rubrics: Quant ans le roi ninus regna (panel: 12.0 × 16.3 cm).

King Ninus enthroned.

Fol. 75v, rubrics: Ci commence lestoire de thebes (panel: 20.7 × 16.3 cm).

The finding of Oedipus.

Fol. 77v, rubrics: Coment edippus ala vers thebes ou il trova spins qui li vint alencontre (panel: 12.1 × 16.3 cm).

Oedipus confronts the sphinx.

Fol. 81v, rubrics: Coment polinices et thideus si combatirent por la place (panel: 11.3 × 16.6 cm).

Polynices and Thydeus in combat.

Fol. 95r, rubrics: De la tygre de thebes par quoi comensa la bataille (panel: 12.2 × 16.5 cm).

The tiger of Thebes.

Fol. 101v, rubrics: Coment les dames de scite alerent vengier lor barons et lor fiz et lor amis (panel: 11.6 × 16.5 cm).

The Amazons Merpesia and Lampetho avenge the deaths of their menfolk.

Fol. 103r, rubrics: Coment les .II. serors iosterent a hercules et theseus qui adonc estoient les meillors chevaliers dou monde (panel: 11.4 × 16.6 cm).

Two Amazon sisters of Antiope do battle with two knights.

Fol. 104v, rubrics: Coment Hercules occist le orible iahan qui ne doutoit nulle creature (panel: 11.5 × 16.6 cm).

Hercules battles the giant Antheus.

Fol. 105v, (panel: 26.5 × 16.4 cm).

The story of the Golden Fleece.

Fol. 106r, rubrics: Ci comense lestoire de troies. Coment iason et Hercules alerent por la toison.

Fol. 114v, rubrics: Coment achiles occist hector dont grant doulor fu demenee (panel: 12.0 × 16.2 cm).

Achilles kills Hector by spearing him from behind on the battlefield.

Fol. 122r, rubrics: Coment la royne pantisselee vint au secorz de troies (panel: 12.0 × 16.4 cm).

The Amazon queen Penthesilea leads her army en route to aid the Trojans.

Fol. 123r, rubrics: Coment pirus le fiz ahilles et la royne pantisselee iosterent corz a corz (panel: 12.0 × 16.3 cm).

Penthesilea and the Amazons battle Pyrrhus the son of Achilles and his army.

Fol. 136v, rubrics: Coment cil dathenes estoient subget a cil de crete (panel: 16.0 × 16.2 cm).

A naval battle between the fleets of Athens and Crete.

Fol. 149r, rubrics: Coment la royne Camilla demanda a turnus la premiere bataille contre eneas (panel: 11.9 × 16.3 cm).

Queen Camilla prepares to battle Aeneas.

Fol. 155v, rubrics: Ci commence lestorement de la cite de rome.

Fol. 156r, (panel: 13.8 × 16.3 cm).

The building of the city of Rome.

Fol. 161v, rubrics: Ci commence des conselles de rome le grant afaire (panel: 12.2 × 16.2 cm).

Brutus as consul.

Fol. 179v, rubrics: Coment nabugodenosor comanda a holofernes qui alast sur ciaus qui contre lui estoient (panel: 12.8 × 16.3 cm).

Nebuchadnezzar sends Holofernes against the Israelites.

Fol. 181r, rubrics: Come iudit fu menee devant holofernes (panel: 11.4 × 16.3 cm).

Judith is brought to Holofernes in his tent.

Fol. 203r, rubrics: Coment la royne damazone vint a alixandre et li rendi li et sa terre (panel: 16.2 × 16.2 cm).

The queen of the Amazons comes before Alexander.

Fol. 204r, rubrics: Que cil qui estoient sur les olifanz greverent mult la gent alixandre (panel: 12.2 × 16.2 cm).

Alexander and his army battles King Porus with his elephants.

Fol. 208r, rubrics: Coment la gent alixandre envayrent ceste beste (panel: 12.3 × 16.3 cm).

Alexander and his army confront a monstrous beast in India.

Fol. 210v, rubrics: Coment la beste qui avoit II. testes corus sus as genz le roi alixandre (panel: 12.2 × 16.3 cm).

Alexander's army confronts a second monstrous beast with two heads.

Fol. 214v, rubrics: Coment la vois del arbre dist a alixandre que iames ne repaireroit en sa contree (panel: 12.2 × 16.3 cm).

Alexander kneels before the magic tree which tells him he will never return to Macedonia.

Fol. 217r, rubrics: Coment II. rois vindrent ensemble armes a la bataille (panel: 11.5 × 16.3 cm).

Two kings do battle.

Fol. 226r, rubrics: Coment le roi pirus vint en laye de cil de tarente et amena ses olifanz (panel: 12.0 × 16.3 cm).

King Pyrrhus and his army with elephants marches to the aid of the city of Tarentum.

Fol. 242r, rubrics: Que adonques ot pais a rome si que nulls genz ne les agrevoient (panel: 12.1 × 16.3 cm).

The Temple of Janus in Rome with senators feasting.

Fol. 292r, rubrics: Coment le roi boctus fist pais as romainz et le roi iugurta pris et lies et mene a rome ou grant ioie fu demenee (panel: 11.5 × 16.3 cm).

Jugurtha captive is carried through the streets of Rome.

Fol. 313v, rubrics: Coment le roi mitridates perdi la vie.

Fol. 314r,...que ia ne fust eschape se roi non...se ne fucent les forest granz et ramees...(end).

447. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 79.

448. Ibid., pp. 79–80.

449. Ibid., p. 84.

450. Ibid., and see now the new interpretation of the meaning of this throne in J. Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61 (2002), pp. 133–5.

451. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 84–5.

452. O. Demus, "Zwei konstantinopler Marienikonen des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 7 (1958), pp. 87–104.

453. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 85.

454. Ibid.

455. Buchthal cites E. Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture, II," *Ars Islamica*, X (1943), p. 45, Fig. 17, and H. Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 5 (1942), pp. 19–21.

456. B. Zeitler, "'Sinful Sons, Falsifiers of the Christian Faith': The Depiction of Muslims in a 'Crusader' Manuscript," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 12 (1997), pp. 30–1. She cites a Book of Songs (Kitab al-Aghani) by Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (Cairo, National Library, Adab farsi 579), dated 1217 (AH 614), published in the exhibition catalogue of the Arts Council of Great Britain, *The Arts of Islam*, London, 1976, nos. 515, 516. She also refers to an Fatimid ivory frame of the eleventh/twelfth century from Berlin (Museum für Islamische Kunst, Inv. 6375), published in J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Berlin, 1973, p. 261 and Fig. 191; *The Arts of Islam* catalogue, no. 151; and D. Howard, *Venice and the East, the Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Archtitecture, 1100–1500*, New Haven and London, 1993, p. 61, Fig. 58.

457. Buchthal cites D. S. Rice, "The Aghani Miniatures and Religious Painting in Islam," *Burlington Magazine*, 95 (1953), pp. 128–33, Figs. 17, 18.

458. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 85.

459. Ibid., p. 86.

460. Zeitler, "'Sinful Sons, Falsifiers of the Christian Faith,'" p. 29. She cites the following references: J. van Helmont, *Dictionnaire de Renesse*, 1992, p. 255, and C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, publications of the Harleian Society, 80–4, Oxford, 1929–32, vol. II, pp. 127–8, and vol. V, pp. 153–4.

461. For the coat of arms of Henry II of Lusignan, see G. J. Brault (ed.), *Rolls of Arms of Edward I (1272–1307)*, Society of Antiquaries, Aspilogia III, Woodbridge, 1996.

462. Zeitler, "'Sinful Sons, Falsifiers of the Christian Faith,'" p. 30.

463. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 99.

464. Ibid., p. 84.

465. Despite the fact that London Add. MS 15268 has been studied for its textual contents and its miniature cycle several times since the 1950s, no basic collation has been done to establish the structure of the codex and the relationship of its miniatures to the gatherings in the book. As mentioned earlier a new dissertation is underway on this manuscript by Lisa Mahoney at the Johns Hopkins University, who will certainly rectify this need in her study of the book.

466. Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 137–59.

467. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 86.

468. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 96–7.

469. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, pp. 396–7.

470. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 86–7.

471. If the project started in June 1286, when Henry II formally appeared in Acre ready to accept the crown, then it would seem unlikely that the project could have been done by the time of the festivities following the coronation in the second half of August of that year. Most likely the book was ordered and played some role in the choice of material selected for the presentations made at the time of the celebrations. However, probably the manuscript was done much later in the year, or even at the start of 1287, and the book was given to Henry II later on, partly to commemorate his festive welcome as king in the preceding August.

472. For the literature on Paris, MS fr. 9084, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 77–92, 182–4, with older bibliography. See also Folda, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 53–6, 272; H. Stahl, review of *Crusader Manuscript Illumination, in Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), pp. 419–22; and L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, Rubbettino, 1999, pp. 90–1.

The main content/decoration of Paris, B.N., MS fr. 9084 is as follows:

Old French translation of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* (Books 1–22), with continuation to 1275 (incomplete, ends 1264), in Old French.

419 folios, with 53 gatherings of 8 folios each except for gathering 1 with 7 folios, gathering 3 with 7 folios, gathering 39 with 10 folios, gathering 40 with 9 folios, gathering 47 with 4 folios, gathering 52 with 7 folios, and gathering 53 with 5 folios, 37.0 × 26.5 cm.

Text in two columns of 34 to 39 lines each, justification, 23.5 × 16.0 cm, interval, 2.3 cm.

22 miniature panels, large red and blue calligraphic book initials, smaller red and blue calligraphic chapter initials.

No rubrics.

Text and first five miniatures, Acre, *c.* early 1286.

Remaining seventeen miniatures, Acre, *c.* later in 1286.

Fol. 1r, Bk 1, (L)es ancienes estoires...(panel: 8.85 × 15.2 cm).

1. Christ appears to Peter the Hermit at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Peter receives a message from the patriarch of Jerusalem to give to the pope in Rome.

Fol. 20v, Bk 2, el XVeime jour dou mois...(panel: 8.3 × 7.6 cm).

1. Godefroy de Bouillon and his men on the march toward the Holy Land.

Fol. 31v, Bk 3,...de nicomede mais lempereres la fist oster...(panel: 8.5 × 12.2 cm).

Caption: "*la desputacion des perlas encontre les mescreans.*"

1. The council of Nicaea, 325, with eastern and western prelates.

Fol. 42r, Bk 4, (O)re aves oy comt tancres se contenoit en celisse...(panel: 7.0 × 6.25 cm).

1. Turkish and Armenian satraps from the mountains offer Tancred gifts to win his favor and obtain treaties of friendship.

Fol. 53r, Bk 5, (D)e faim & de mezaise come nos avons dit . . . (panel: 9.2 × 16.0 cm).
Captions: left, "*lost*," right, "*antioche*."

1. The Crusaders attack and enter Antioch.

Fol. 64v, Bk 6, (L)a estoyent bie saoule despandre le sac . . . (panel: 7.4 × 11.8 cm).

1. The Crusaders put the Antiochenes to the sword; some citizens gain refuge in the citadel.

Fol. 77r, Bk 7, (C)estes choses firent ensi atirees en la cite dantioche . . . (panel: 8.0 × 11.0 cm).

1. Crusader envoys to the Byzantine Emperor Alexius at Constantinople.

Fol. 89v, Bk 8, (V)erites est que la sainte cite de ierlm . . . (panel: 8.3 × 7.4 cm).

1. The city of Jerusalem between two mountains.

Fol. 101r, Bk 9, (S)i com vos aves oy li peleris . . . (panel: 8.3 × 15.7 cm).

1. A meeting of the chief men of the Crusaders, despite the opposition of the clergy, to choose a ruler for Jerusalem.
2. A meeting of the clergy to choose a patriarch for Jerusalem.

Fol. 112r, Bk 10, (R)oys fu li dus godefroy de ierlm . . . (panel: 7.6 × 7.25 cm).

1. Baldwin, count of Edessa, crowned king of Jerusalem.

Fol. 125v, Bk 11, (E)stes estoit ia passes le prices beumot . . . (panel: 9.6 × 15.5 cm).

1. Bohemond sails to France to seek funding.
2. Philippe king of France prepares to give two daughters, Constance and Cecilia, in marriage to Bohemond and Tancred.

Fol. 142v, Bk 12, (P)erces fu .I. mlt puissant roy . . . (no miniature planned).
Fol. 155v, Bk 13, (L)ors estoit a merveilles . . . (no miniature planned).
Fol. 169r, Bk 14, (R)oys fu apres de ierlm fouques . . . (panel: 8.3 × 7.15 cm).

1. Fulk of Anjou is crowned king in Jerusalem by Patriarch William.

Fol. 182v, Bk 15, (A)pres le mois diver . . . (panel: 8.0 × 15.4 cm).

1. The Byzantine Emperor John attacks the city of Shayzar while the prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa stay in camp.

Fol. 197r–v, Bk 16, (N)e demora puis gaires . . . (panel: 8.2 × 15.4 cm).

1. The mourning of King Fulk and the coronation of King Baldwin III in Jerusalem.

Fol. 214r, Bk 17, (C)onras lemperes dalemaigne doit estre . . . (panel: 8.9 × 15.6 cm).

1. The council at Acre during the Second Crusade with Conrad of Germany and Louis VII of France.

Fol. 232v, Bk 18, (O)r parleros un petit . . . (panel: 8.85 × 6.8 cm).

1. Raynauld de Chatillon abuses the Amaury the patriarch of Antioch on a tower of the citadel.

Fol. 255v, Bk 19, (R)emes estoit .i. fre le roy Baudoi . . . (panel: 8.4 × 7.0 cm).

1. The Coronation of King Amaury I by Patriarch Amaury in Jerusalem.

Fol. 272r, Bk 20, (U)ne choze ne veil gie mie laisier . . . (panel: 7.95 × 7.1 cm).

1. Crusader envoys, Archbishop Hernesius of Caesarea and Eudes de St.-Amand, deliver a message to the Byzantine Emperor requesting a wife for the king of Jerusalem.

Fol. 290v, Bk 21, (M)out fu grans le duel . . . (panel: 7.3 × 7.4 cm).

1. Mourning for the dead King Amaury I.

Fol. 307v, Bk 22, (B)emons le princes dantioche . . . (panel: 7.85 × 7.5 cm).

1. Bohemond of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli arrive at Jerusalem.

Fol. 331r, Bk 23, ch 6, (D)evant ce que li roys fu mors . . . (panel: 9.2 × 6.85 cm).

1. King Baldwin IV on his deathbed crowns his nephew king as Baldwin V.

Fol. 395v, Bk 33, ch 13, (E)n ce point q li emperepres se fu partis . . . (panel: 8.5 × 7.15 cm).

1. The Crusaders send two envoys, Joffrey le Tour and Johan de Bailluel, to Frederick II in Saint-Lorens.

Fol. 417r, . . . En son tens ala li rois charles en puille. & se combati contre le roy manfroy. & le desconfi & le tua en champ. (end)

473. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 93, and p. 92, n. 2.

474. At Book 6 the frame of the panel is clearly drawn over the calligraphic decoration. In neither case at Book 6 or 7 do we see the panel jut into the margins the way it does with Book 3. These miniatures were more carefully planned at Books 6 and 7.

475. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 81–3.

476. See ibid., p. 82 and n. 31, for comments on why this should be interpreted as the first rather than the seventh ecumenical council.

477. The presence of these patterned robes in images of this kind make one wonder whether Muslim textiles that are comparable survive from this period. Certainly the Crusaders were interested in these textiles, as this image indicates, and one encounters the Western interest in luxury textiles from the Muslim (and Byzantine) East in French literature of the period, as E. Jane Burns has discussed. Indeed the appearance of Muslim textiles in Western medieval painting becomes quite remarkable in the very lavish costumes that appear in art of the International Gothic style, around the year 1400. One extraordinary example in Italian painting by Lorenzo and Jacopo Salimbeni, in the Oratorio di San Giovanni in Urbino, is cited by E. Gombrich. See E. Gombrich, "An Islamic Motif in a Gothic Setting," *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives, A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, Manchester and New York, 1998, pp. 159–64. The lead onlooker behind the figure of St. John the Baptist in the "Baptism of Christ" in this Oratorio is wearing an amazing colored robe with what he calls a trefoil counterchange pattern. The trefoil looks suspiciously like a type of fleur-de-lis design to me. Gombrich calls it a type of Hispano-Islamic fabric that was popular in Italy at the time.

478. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 92.

479. In Paris MS fr. 2628, St. Petersburg MS fr. fol. v.IV.5, and Lyon MS 828, the images of the Holy Sepulcher specifically focus on the aedicule of the Sepulcher, not on the building itself and its dome.

480. The identification of this imagery continues to be problematic on the seals, and interpretations vary. In the manuscripts, however, there is no doubt that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is indicated, and it seems probable this is also the case with the seals, instead of the alternative of seeing this superstructure as simply some kind of tabernacle. See E. J. King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, London, 1932, pp. 8–17, especially pp. 9–10, and Appendix A, pp. 127–8. For the statute authorizing the new seal during the time of Master Nicholas Lorgne, see the text in Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, III, pp. 368–70, no. 3670, with a translation in King, *The Seals*, pp. 129–30 (Appendix B).

481. According to our analysis there were at least six or seven main artists working on the Melisende Psalter project. See Folda, *ACHL I*, pp. 137–59.

482. Folda, "The South Transept Façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: An Aspect of 'Rebuilding Zion,'" *The Crusades and Their Sources*, pp. 239–57.

483. H. Klein, "The So-Called Byzantine Diptych in the Winchester Psalter, British Library MS Cotton Nero C.IV.," *Gesta*, 37 (1998), pp. 26–43, and W. Voelkle, *The Stavelot Triptych, Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross*, New York, 1980.

484. Given the length of time it would take to do an illustrated codex, one assumes the patron involved would be there many months. However, it is of course possible that even a pilgrim to the Latin Kingdom might have lived out there for a year, arriving one season one year, and returning the same season the following year.

485. On the program of mosaics at San Marco, see O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, 2 vols., Chicago and London, 1984, with the special essay on the first narthex dome mosaic by Kurt Weitzmann in vol. 2.

486. For the literature on Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipal MS 142, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 83–91, 184–7, with the older bibliography; Stahl, review in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), pp. 418–19; Folda, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 53–5; and L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, Rubbettino, 1999, pp. 90–1.

The main contents/decoration of Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 142 is as follows:

Old French translation of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* (Books 1–22), with continuation to 1274 in Old French.
363 folios, with 42 gatherings of 8 folios each, and seven additional gatherings at the end of differing numbers of folios, 35.4 × 25.2 cm.
Text in two columns of 40 lines each, justification (fols. 1–356) 24.5 × 16.6 cm, (fols. 357–63) 25.7 × 16.6 cm, interval, 2.6 cm.
22 miniature panels, with large red and blue calligraphic book initials, and small red and blue chapter initials.
No rubrics, captions written in a fifteenth-century hand in black ink.
Acre, *c.*1287.

Fol. 1r, Bk 1, (L)es ancienes estoires dient que eracles... (panel: 8.5 × 16.8 cm).

1. Christ appears to Peter the Hermit at the Holy Sepulcher.
2. Peter the Hermit receives a message from the patriarch of Jerusalem to deliver to the pope in Rome.

Fol. 16, Bk 2, (E)l quinsaime ior dou mois... (panel: 9.1 × 7.9 cm).

1. Godefroy de Bouillon and Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy lead the men of the First Crusade to the Holy Land.

Fol. 24v, Bk 3, (L)e nicomede, mais lepererez costanu... (panel: 9.1 × 7.65 cm).

1. The Council of Nicaea.

Fol. 32r, Bk 4, (O)re aves oy comet tacres... (panel: 6.8 × 8.8 cm).

1. Turkish and Armenian satraps offer Tancred gifts to win his favor.

Fol. 40v, Bk 5, (D)e faim & de mesaisse... (panel: 10.2 × 8.2 cm).

1. Godefroy de Bouillon leads the First Crusade attack on Antioch.

Fol. 49v, Bk 6, (L)a estoient bien saoule... (panel: 8.9 × 7.6 cm).

1. The Crusaders enter and take Antioch.

Fol. 60v, Bk 7, (C)estes choses furent ensi atirees... (panel: 8.1 × 7.6 cm).

1. Two Crusader envoys to the Byzantine Emperor Alexius.

Fol. 71r, Bk 8, (V)erites est que la sainte cite... (panel: 8.45 × 7.5 cm).

1. The First Crusaders approach Jerusalem situated between two mountains.

Fol. 80v, Bk 9, (S)i com vos aves oy... (panel: 7.3 × 17.4 cm).

1. The pilgrims pray at the Holy Sepulcher while barons and clergy confer on a ruler for Jerusalem.

Fol. 89v, Bk 10, (R)ois fu li duc Godefroy de ierlm... (panel: 8.2 × 7.6 cm).

1. Baldwin I is crowned king of Jerusalem.

Fol. 101r, Bk 11, (E)ste estoit ia ales li princes Beaumont... (panel: 10.7 × 8.15 cm).

1. Philippe I of France prepares to give his two daughters, Constance and Cecilia, as wives for Bohemond and Tancred.

Fol. 116r, Bk, 12, (P)erses fu I puissant roy... (no miniature).
Fol. 129r, Bk 13, (F)ors estoit a merveilles... (no miniature).
Fol. 141, Bk 14, (L)ors fu apres de ihrlm fouques... (panel: 10.0 × 7.1 cm).

1. Fulk of Anjou is crowned king of Jerusalem.

Fol. 153v, Bk 15, (A)pres le mois diver... (panel: 11.0 × 7.2 cm).

1. The emperor of Byzantium and his army attack Shayzar.
2. The prince of Antioch and the count of Edessa remain in camp.

Fol. 168r, Bk 16, (N)e demora puis gaires... (panel: 12.5 × 7.2 cm).

1. King Fulk hunting as a hare dashes away at right.
2. Fulk, thrown from his horse, is fatally injured.

Fol. 183v, Bk 17, (C)onras lemperes dalemaigne... (panel: 9.4 × 7.2 cm).

1. The council at Acre during the Second Crusade with Conrad of Germany.

Fol. 199r, Bk 18, (O)r parlerons un petit... (panel: 10.7 × 7.2 cm).

1. Raynauld of Chatillon abuses Patriarch Amaury of Antioch on a tower of the citadel.

Fol. 218r, Bk 19, (R)emes estoit .I. frere le roy Baudoin... (panel: 9.6 × 7.2 cm).

1. The coronation of King Amaury I.

Fol. 233v, Bk 20, (U)ne chose ne vueill ie mie leisser a dire... (panel: 12.9 × 7.0 cm).

1. Two Crusader envoys, Archbishop Hernesius and Eudes de Saint-Amand, are received by the emperor of Byzantium.
2. The Crusader envoys take princess Maria to become the wife of King Amaury I.

Fol. 249v, Bk 21, (M)out fu grans le dueill en la terre... (panel: 10.05 × 7.15 cm).

1. The funeral and mourning for King Amaury I.

Fol. 264v, Bk 22, (B)eumons li princes dantioche & Reymons... (panel: 8.6 × 7.3 cm).

1. Baldwin IV gives his sister, Sibylle, to Guy de Lusignan in marriage.

Fol. 283v, Bk 23, ch 6, (D)event ce que li roys fu mors... (panel: 8.6 × 7.1 cm).

1. Baldwin IV, on his deathbed, crowns his nephew as King Baldwin V.

Fol. 337v, Bk 33, Ch 13, (E)nce point que li empereres... (panel: 10.1 × 7.2 cm).

1. Two Crusader envoys give their message to Frederick II at Saint-Lorens.
2. Two Crusader envoys, Joffrey le Tour and Johan de Bailluel, sail to Brindisi.

Fol. 363v...concile dou lautran par ensi quil poisent demorer en leur religion. (end)

487. Besides Books 1–5, MS 142 essentially follows the MS fr. 9084 cycle at Books 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23 Chapter 6, and 33 Chapter 13. In some of these cases, for example, at Books 20 and 33 Chapter 13 the MS 142 scenes are more complete than those in MS fr. 9084, suggesting the painter referred to the standard cycle, and this is indicated especially at Books 15 and 16 where our artist reintroduces the basic scenes from the St. Petersburg–Lyon cycles that had been changed in MS fr. 9084. There is also the fact that our Master changes the imagery of two scenes, at Books 8 and 14, but to do this he merely refers to other scenes in the cycle. For Book 8 in MS 142 he draws on the imagery he used for Books 5 and 15 in that codex and the image at Book 22 in MS fr. 9084. For Book 14 he introduces the architecture of the Holy Sepulcher seen elsewhere in MS 142 at Book 19 and in MS fr. 9084 at Book 19.

488. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 83–5.

489. Stahl, review of *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 419.

490. For a discussion of colonial characteristics, see Folda, *ACHL 1*, p. 475.

491. For the literature on Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, MS 10212, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 91–7, 187–8, and Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, Rubbettino, 1999, pp. 91–2.

The main content/decoration of Brussels MS 10212 is as follows:

Les Faits des Romains in Old French.
280 folios, with 37 gatherings of 8 folios each, and a final gathering of 4 folios, 30.9 × 23.4 cm.
Text in two columns of 34 lines each, justification, 21.1 × 16.25 cm, interval, 1.6 cm.
5 miniature panels, 2 historiated initials.
Red and blue calligraphically decorated chapter initials.
Rubrics.
Acre, *c.*1287–8.

Fol. 1r, blank.
Fol. 1v, Chascun hom se doit pener....

Rubrics: Ci comense le livre de Cesar comet il conquist plusors tres (panel: 4.7 × 7.35 cm).

Caesar's army on the march.

Fol. 53v, Omienis et publius cledius estoient....

Rubrics: Comt cesar comanda a faire nes apasser en bertaine & coment il prist port en bertaine o ses nes (panel: 5.2 × 7.5 cm).

Boats are constructed for Caesar's army to cross the English Channel.

Fol. 69r, Cesar qui cuidoit atendre...

Rubrics: Coment siaus de treves tindret les sesnes cotre cesar & sa gent (panel: 5.45 × 7.5 cm).

Caesar's army arrives at Trier.

Fol. 121r, Quant cezar qui atongues estoit....

Rubrics: Ci commence le premier livre de lucan (historiated initial (Q): 4.35 × 4.85 cm, plus tail, 23.8 cm long).

Caesar in camp in Ravenna receives a messenger from Rome.

Fol. 126v, Quant cezar aparsut que....

Rubrics: Comt cesar assembla siaus de france les vaillans chrs por corre sur siaus de rome (historiated initial (Q): 4.0 × 4.35 cm, plus tail, 16.8 cm long).

Caesar's army battles Roman soldiers at Rome.

Fol. 208r, Aps se ptirent sur pulger come....

Rubrics: XI livre de lucan comt pope ot le chef cope p .ii. sers e egipte (panel: 5.7 × 7.7 cm).

Pompey is assassinated as Cornelia looks on.

Fol. 233r, Cex fist entrer ses nes el port....

Rubrics: Ci comense li x [sic] livre de luca coment cesar sen ala en alixandre (panel: 5.1 × 7.25 cm).

Pompey's decapitated head is brought to Caesar.

Fol. 280r, ... il orent ocis cesar ya teismoigne suetoines la mort & la vie cesar. Cy fenist Julius cezar. (end)

492. The basic edition is by L.-F. Flutré and K. Sneyders de Vogel, *Li Fet des Romains compilé ensemble de Saluste et de Suétone et de Lucan*, 2 vols., Paris, 1938. See also L.-F. Flutré, *Les Manuscrits des Faits des Romains*, Paris, 1933, pp. 9–10, and K. Sneyders de Vogel, "Une nouvelle Sources des *Faits des Romains*," *Neophilologus*, 23 (1938), pp. 407–9.

493. The most important *comparanda* include Brussels, Bibl. Roy., MS 10168–72, a manuscript painted in Rome in 1293, with eleven historiated initials, seven panel miniatures, and numerous representations of the arms of the patron, and Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 1391, a northern French codex done *c.*1275–1300, with fourteen historiated initials, one panel miniature, and one map. By contrast, manuscripts of this text in the fourteenth century received huge cycles, for example, Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott MS 431 fol., done *c.*1350, with 102 miniatures.

494. For the pertinant literature on Paris, Bib. Nat., MS fr. 20125, see Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 70–3, 78–9; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 95–102, 188–92; Stahl, review in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), pp. 419–22; M. C. Joslin, *The Heard Word, a Moralized History: The Genesis Section of the Histoire Ancienne in a text from St. Jean d'Acre*, Romance Monographs 45, University, MS, 1986, 19–22, 24–6; Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen sur "Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César" (1250–1400)*, pp. 20–2, 75–83 (group D), 122–4, 302–7; M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, vol. 1, Édition partielle des manuscrits Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 20125 et Vienne Nat. Bibl. MS 2576, vol. 2, pp. 24–7, 32–7, 40–2, 45–53, 59–171, 200–11, 275–307, all with additional bibliography.

The main content/decoration of Paris MS fr. 20125 is as follows:

Histoire Universelle in Old French.
375 folios, 37 gatherings of 10 folios each, and a final gathering of 5 folios, 36.5 × 24.5 cm.
Text in two columns of 39 lines each, justification, 26.8 × 16.95 cm, interval, 1.5 cm.
49 panel miniatures, 2 illuminated initials.
Red and blue calligraphically decorated chapter initials.
Rubrics.
Acre, *c.*1287.

Fol. 1r, (S)egnor, je ai oi retraire....

Rubrics, Ci commence li prologues ou livre des estoires .Roger. & la porsivance.

Illuminated initial, (S) (6.9 × 6.15 cm)

Fol. 2v, (panel: 11.6 × 6.5 cm).

Creation: 1. God separates light and dark. 2. God separates sky and water.

Fol. 3r, (Q)uant dues ot fer le ciel & la terre....

Rubrics: Ci commence li livres del estoremet dou monde coment nre sires parla a adam .i.

Illuminated initial, (Q) (8.9 × 8.6 cm, plus tail).

(panel: 25.4 × 6.8 cm).

Creation: 1. God separates dry land and sea.
2. God creates the sun and moon and the fish of the sea.
3. God creates the birds and animals.
4. God creates Eve from the side of Adam.
5. God rests on the seventh day.

Fol. 6v, rubrics: Si com nre sires parla a chaim .viii. (panel: 6.95 × 9.1 cm).

1. God speaks to Cain,
2. Cain kills Abel.

Fol. 9r, rubrics: Ce que noes ot tost fait .xviii. (panel: 7.8 × 8.95 cm).

The Ark of Noah.

Fol. 29r, rubrics: Coment abrahans herberga nre segnor & si li dist qu'il auroit un fill de sa feme (panel: 8.8 × 8.6 cm).

Abraham and the three Heavenly visitors.

Fol. 31v, rubrics: Comet la feme loth fu muee en pierre por ce qu ele trespassa le comat del angele (panel: 10.1 × 8.4 cm).

Lot and his family flee Sodom; his wife is turned to a pillar of salt when she looks back.

Fol. 35v, rubrics: Comet li angeles restost ysaac que ses peres ne li ot tolue la vie (panel: 9.2 × 8.2 cm).

The sacrifice of Isaac.

Fol. 43v, rubrics: Comet iacob decuit ysaac son pere (panel: 8.75 × 9.65 cm).

Jacob deceives his father, Isaac, as Esau returns from the hunt.

Fol. 54v, rubrics: Comet iacob vir a son pere ysaac (panel: 9.9 × 9.0 cm).

The death of Isaac.

Fol. 64r, rubrics: Coment la dame triste & dolente se plainst de ioseph a son baron (panel: 9.35 × 8.95 cm).

Joseph flees from Potiphar's wife.

Fol. 66v, rubrics: Lor li rois pharaons comanda q les sages homes venisser espodre sa visio (panel: 6.65 × 8.95 cm).

The dream of Pharaoh.

Fol. 68v, rubrics: Or li rois dona a ioseph son riche anel dor devant ses pnces par grant segnorie (panel: 8.1 × 9.9 cm).

Joseph tours the land of Egypt in Pharaoh's chariot.

Fol. 69v, rubrics: Or li fill iacob pristrent conseill a lor pere d'aler au fromet en egypte (panel: 9.2 × 9.2 cm).

Jacob counsels his sons to go to Egypt for grain.

Fol. 70v, rubrics: Or symeon demora en prison por ses freres. & li autre sen raleret (panel: 9.15 × 8.85 cm).

Joseph receives his brothers who have come to procure grain in Egypt.

Fol. 75v, rubrics: Or ioseph fist a tote sa maisnee voidier la sale (panel: 8.6 × 9.65 cm).

Joseph's brothers plead for grain.

Fol. 77r, rubrics: Que iacob ot grant ioie quat il oi noveles de ioseph son fill (panel 8.2 × 8.6 cm).

Joseph's brothers tell Jacob that Joseph is alive and well in Egypt.

Fol. 79r, rubrics: Or pharaons demanda a iacob de son eage (panel: 8.1 × 8.35 cm).

Jacob and Joseph's brothers before Pharaoh.

Fol. 81r, rubrics: De la costume des mors con faisoit en egipte (panel: 9.95 × 8.2 cm).

The death of Jacob.

Fol. 83v, rubrics: Dou rois ninus qns ans il regna (panel: 8.75 × 7.7 cm).

King Ninus enthroned.

Fol. 88v, rubrics: Or li siecles estoit mout mauvais adonqs (panel: 10.8 × 7.7 cm).

1. King Laius and his wife, Jocasta.
2. Oedipus exposed on Mount Cithaeron.

Fol. 91v, rubrics: Del adevinal q spins dist a edippum (panel: 6.0 × 8.0 cm).

Oedipus confronts the sphinx.

Fol. 95v, rubrics: Or tideus qui fu fills le roi de calidonie vint la ou pollinices estoit par autel avete (panel: 8.4 × 11.0 cm).

Polyneices and Tydeus battle as Adrastus comes to separate them.

Fol. 112r, rubrics: De la tigre de thebes por quoi comensa la bataille & la gns noise (panel: 8.4 × 9.5 cm).

The Tiger of Thebes.

Fol. 119r, rubrics: Des dames de sithe qui alerent vegier lor fiz & lor amis as armes esmolues (panel: 6.2 × 10.1 cm).

The Amazons, led by Merpesia and Lampetho, ride out to avenge the deaths of their menfolk.

Fol. 119v, rubrics: Or les amazonienes funderet ephese (panel: 8.7 × 9.65 cm).

The Amazons are victorious in battle.

Fol. 121r, rubrics: Que li diu chivalier vaillant o laie de lor gens pstret les .ii. puceles (panel: 7.95 × 9.3 cm).

The two sisters of Queen Antiope battle with Hercules and Theseus.

Fol. 123r, rubrics: Or h'cules ocist un autre iaiant (panel: 8.7 × 8.15 cm).

Hercules wrestles with the giant Antaeus.

Fol. 123v, rubrics: Ci commence lueure (panel: 6.75 × 9.1 cm).

Peleus sends Jason to fetch the Golden Fleece: the sailing of the Argo.

Fol. 133v, rubrics: Coment hector fist merveilles qnt il fu venus al estor & qu' Achilles locist & co gras dolors en fu menee (panel: 7.6 × 9.65 cm).

Achilles kills Hector by spearing him from behind.

Fol. 141r, rubrics: Or la roine pantesilee de femenie vit au socors de ceaus de troies (panel: 7.35 × 9.2 cm).

Queen Penthesilea and the Amazons on their way to aid the Trojans.

Fol. 142r, rubrics: Or pirrus le fiz Achilles vint en lost por vengier son pere (panel: 6.55 × 8.85 cm).

Pyrrhus son of Achilles battles Penthesilea.

Fol. 156v, rubrics: Or mout dura la dolors ansois q li cors fust ars & mis encendre qr tint cil de la cite lamoient mout si come lor bone dame dont il estoit gns domages qle avoit ensi perdue la vie. Co eneas revint en sesile (panel: 7.7 × 9.2 cm).

Dido impales herself on her sword as Aeneas and his men sail away from Carthage.

Fol. 157v, rubrics: De ce mesmement encore que eneas sen repaira vers Itale (panel: 8.0 × 7.85 cm).

(fol. 158r) The Labyrinth.

Fol. 171v, rubrics: Or eneas vint devant la cite de laurente ou turnus estoit a sa chivalerie (panel: 7.35 × 9.8 cm).

(fol. 172r) Aneas meets Queen Camilla.

Fol. 185r, rubrics: Or li cocele sosmirent a rome grant partie dou monde (panel: 7.45 × 9.2 cm).

Brutus as consul.

Fol. 205v, rubrics: Or nabugodnosor comanda au duc holofernes qu'il alast sor ceaus qui contre lui estoient (panel: 8.65 × 9.5 cm).

(fol. 206r) Holofernes, marching against the enemies of King Nebuchanezzar, arrives at Jerusalem.

Fol. 207r, rubrics: Come iudith fu menee devant le duc holofernes (panel: 8.0 × 9.6 cm).

(fol. 207v) Judith is brought before Holofernes.

Fol. 232r, rubrics: Or alixandres sagenoilla contre le non deu (panel: 6.9 × 8.9 cm).

Alexander kneels before the high priest Jaddus in front of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Fol. 233v, rubrics: Or la roine damazone vint a alixandre (panel: 7.95 × 9.3 cm).

The Wheel of Fortune.

Fol. 234v, rubrics: Or cil qui estoient sor les olifans les grevoient mout (panel: 8.9 × 17.3 cm).

(fol. 235r) Alexander's army battles King Porus and his elephants.

Fol. 239r, rubrics: Or la beste que li indiem clamoient deut tirant vit al estanc boivre (panel: 6.6 × 8.35 cm).

The monstrous beast with three horns encountered by Alexander's army in India.

Fol. 241v, rubrics: Or la beste a .ii. testes lor coru sore (panel: 6.95 × 9.0 cm).

The monstrous beast with two heads also encountered by Alexander's army in India.

Fol. 249r, rubrics: Or li diu roi vindret tuit arme ensamble (panel: 8.55 × 10.0 cm).

Alexander and Porus on horseback in a final duel.

Fol. 259v, rubrics: Or li rois porus vint en laie ceaus de tarente & si amena avec lui ses olifans (panel: 8.7 × 9.8 cm).

(fol. 260r) The army of King Pyrrhus mounted on elephants coming to the aid of the people of Tarentum.

Fol. 279r, rubrics: Or adonques fu pais a rome & q nulles gens ne les agreverent (panel: 9.1 × 9.0 cm).

Roman soldiers deposit and collect their arms at the Temple of Janus.

Fol. 300v, rubrics: Or les batailles assamblerent des anfriquans & des romais (panel: 8.45 × 11.3 cm).

Hannibal and Scipio in battle.

Fol. 339v, rubrics: Or marius abati le roi dou cheval a terre (panel: 8.25 × 9.6 cm).

Marius defeats Jugurtha in battle.

Fol. 340r, [no rubrics] (panel: 8.5 × 10.15 cm).

The captured Jugurtha is paraded through Rome as a prisoner.

Fol. 369v, rubrics: Or pompeius sen repaira a rome (panel: 8.6 × 10.1 cm).

The triumph of Pompey in Rome.

Fol. 375v, . . . & de grant noblece fist julius cesar faire & establir le temple iupiter le pere de toz ior deus encusil avoit grant fiance. (end)

495. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 70–3, 77–8.

496. Ibid., p. 70.

497. Stahl, review in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), p. 420.

498. Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen zur "Histoire ancienne justqu'à César*, pp. 21–2.

499. M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, vol. 2, pp. 24, 30 n. 6, and for the "langue et localisation," pp. 45–55.

500. A. Derbes and M. Sandona, "Amazons and Crusaders: The *Histoire Universelle* in Flanders and the Holy Land," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 187–229.

501. Stahl, review in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), p. 420, says that the stylistic evidence is not convincing. He is willing to see the MS fr. 20125 artist as contemporary with the Paris–Acre Master, but he says the former is "a mediocre artist whose style derives from a different French tradition. . . ." I must agree the painter of MS fr. 20125 probably has a different French background, but the problem is that unlike the Paris–Acre Master, we have not yet identified his hand in specific datable manuscripts done in France. This does not, however, disqualify him as an artist working somehow with the Paris–Acre Master in Acre.

502. Even Stahl agrees this artist is probably contemporary with the Paris–Acre Master, but Oltrogge and M. de Visser-van Terwisga think the manuscript dates from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, without stating specific criteria for their dating.

503. Stahl, review in the *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), p. 420, concludes, "He certainly is an artist working in a different shop, for the manuscript has no important codicological features in common with the other Acre manuscripts." I am puzzled by this assessment because I see the codicological aspects of MS fr. 20125 to be comparable to those books produced by the Paris–Acre Master as well as the earlier books done in the Crusader style from the 1270s and 1280s. Whereas Stahl proposes to see some of the work of the Hospitaller Master (= Paris–Acre Master) as actually the work of more than one hand, I am proposing to see in the MS fr. 20125 painter a clearly distinct artistic personality whose hand is distinctly different from the Paris–Acre Master, but whose style is nonetheless closely related to it.

504. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 98.

505. Ibid., p. 101. There are also vague references to the Templars and to the Lusignans.

506. Derbes and Sandona, "Amazons and Crusaders," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 187–229.

507. Folda, *Crusader Ms. Illum.*, p. 99. Futher details on the relationship between MS fr. 20125 and these earlier Acre *Histoire Universelle* MSS are spelled out on pp. 98–101.

508. M. C. Joslin, "The Illustrator as Reader: Influence of Text on Images in the *Histoire Ancienne*," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 20 (1993), pp. 85–121.

509. Ibid., p. 97.

510. Ibid., p. 99.

511. Derbes and Sandona, "Amazons and Crusaders," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 187–229.

512. Ibid.

513. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 95.

514. The stemma appears in ibid., p. 102.

515. Folda, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), p. 55.

516. I am indebted to Jonathan Riley-Smith for this observation, among a myriad of other thought-provoking comments on my text.

517. M. A. Stones, "Secular Manuscript Illumination in France," *Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism*, ed. C. Kleinhenz, Chapel Hill, 1976, pp. 90–1.

518. On secular book illumination, see Stones, ibid., pp. 83–102; idem, "Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book-Illumination in the Thirteenth Century," *The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Values*, Tübingen, 1977, pp. 100–12; idem, "Arthurian Art since Loomis," *Arturus Rex*, vol. II, Louvain, 1991, pp. 21–78; idem, "The Illustrations of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229: Prolegomena to a Comparative Analysis," *Word and Image in Arthurian Literature*, ed. K. Busby, New York and London, 1996, pp. 203–60. For Paris book production, see M. and R. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, Turnhout, 2000, 2 volumes.

519. We exclude his reference to "the university or *pecia* system," which of course pertains only to Paris, not to Acre. See Derolez, "The Aesthetics of the Gothic Manuscript," p. 4.

520. The major extant Crusader style works consist of Paris MS fr. 2628, St. Petersburg MS fr. Fol. v.IV.5, Lyon MS 828, Dijon MS 562, Brussels MS 10175, and London Add. MS 15268, plus the first five miniatures of Paris MS fr. 9084. The Paris–Acre Master then produced in Acre the Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404, Chantilly MS 433 (590), 17 miniatures in Paris MS 9084, Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 142, and Brussels MS 10212, while another French Gothic painter did Paris MS fr. 20125. The remarkable fact is that all but one of these works, Paris MS n. a. fr. 1404, are secular books in the vernacular.

521. Stones, "Secular Manuscript Illumination in France," pp. 89–90.

522. *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, ed. L. Minervini, Naples, 2000, sect. 374, p. 134; *Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Arm.* II, sect. 374; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, sect. 374, p. 197.

523. *Templar of Tyre*, trans. P. Crawford, sect. 374, pp. 67–8.

524. We have seen already, for example, the Maestas Domini panel (no. 308) from the 1250s and later, the Virgin and Child enthroned with

a turbaned donor (no. 573) from the 1260s, and a triptych with the Virgin and Child and scenes of the Virgin (no. 822), also from the 1260s.

525. For the Byzantine icons, see Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, vol. 1, Figs. 150, 151, vol. 2, 128–9, 130–1. These panels are of the eleventh or twelfth century. The later, probably twelfth-century icon is also published in full color in Weitzmann, *The Icon* [8 (1978)], pp. 84–5, plate 23. See also the color reproduction of the Last Judgment mosaic at Torcello, *c.* late eleventh century, in W. Wixom, "Byzantine Art and the Latin West," *The Glory of Byzantium*, eds. H. Evans and W. Wixom, New York, 1997, p. 437.

526. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, no. 212, 39.5 × 32.4 cm, catalogue no. 24.

527. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1973, pp. 19–21, Pl. 56.

528. Freer Gallery of Art, MS 32.18, thirteenth century. See S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington, DC, 1973, pp. 26–8, and Pl. 39, Fig. 95 (p. 159).

529. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, pp. 20–1.

530. Icon in the Collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, no. 1128, unpublished.

531. This contrast of size in the upper and lower registers reminds us of the Ghent Altarpiece by Hubert and Jan van Eyck, from 1432, which of course has no relation to this particular panel. However, one wonders how much the Ghent Altar is inspired by the medieval images of the Last Judgment type seen here.

532. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, no. 1725, 40.2 × 32.0 cm, catalogue no. 99.

533. K. Weitzmann, "The Icons of Constantinople," *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], p. 59. This image appears to have three bishops instead of two along with the Apostles, but is otherwise very comparable.

534. Weitzmann points out, however, that bishops in Byzantine frescoes, for example, at Lagoudhera, also perform these same functions. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], p. 60.

535. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, no. 496, unpublished, catalogue no. 47.

536. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 61–9.

537. Ibid., p. 62.

538. See Chapter 6, in the discussion of the Crusader icons done in the Italo-Byzantine style with Venetian connections. For the publication of this work, see R. Pallucchini, *La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento*, Venice and Rome, 1964, p. 11 and Fig. 8, and the catalogue entry in *Venezia e bisanzio*, eds. I. Furlan et al., Venice, 1974, no. 74, with bibliography. For reproductions in accessible guidebooks, see G. Romanelli, *Museo Correr*, Milan, 1984, pp. 40–1, and E. Bianchi et al., *Il Museo Correr di Venezia*, Milan, 1997, p. 30.

539. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (no. 1394), 44.4 × 34.4 cm, catalogue no. 85. A color reproduction is found in Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [8 (1978)], pp. 118–19, Pl. 40.

540. The significance of the appearance of textile, embroidery, and brocade patterns on these panels remains to be explored fully. Suffice it to say here that this kind of appearance suggests both knowledge of textiles with such designs, and perhaps the existence of a model book with a repertory of designs, another possible indication of the continuing output of a workshop in Acre, and also possibly in St. Catherine's Monastery.

541. There are a number of these Crusader icons at St. Catherine's with similar gold lozenge with white pearls on a black ground border decoration, for example, nos. 56, cat. 9; 137, cat. 18; 172, cat. 20; 200, cat. 22; 212, cat. 24; 260, cat. 29; 261, cat. 30; 293, cat. 33; 428, cat. 43; 730, cat. 62; 753 (design in raised gesso with no colors), cat. 66; 1394, cat. 85; 1568, cat. 95; 1744–6, cat. 101a–c; 1783, cat. 104; and 1901, cat. 111.

542. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (no. 1568), 120.5 × 68 cm, catalogue no. 95.

543. Weitzmann, 'The Icons of the Period of the Crusaders," [11 (1982)], p. 204.

544. Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [8 (1978)], p. 114.

545. O. Demus, "Zum Werk eines Venezianischen Malers auf dem Sinai," *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. Hutter, Vienna, 1984, pp. 131 ff., reprinted in O. Demus, *Studies in Byzantium, Venice and the West*, vol. 2, ed. I. Hutter, London, 1998, pp. 283–91. These panels are 72.5 × 52.5 cm in size. See also G. Mariacher, *Il Museo Correr di Venezia, dipinti dal XIV al XVI secolo*, vol. 1, Venice, 1957, pp. 156–7, nos. 1096, 1097

546. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," p. 118.

547. Demus, "Zum Werk eines Venezianischen Malers auf dem Sinai," pp. 131, 140, Figs. 1–2.

548. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], p. 64.

549. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai," [15 (1986)], pp. 81–2.

550. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, no. 1003, 43.3 × 168.5 cm, catalogue no. 73.

551. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, no. 1645, 58.2 × 44.9 cm, catalogue no. 96.

552. Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)] , pp. 205–6,

553. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th centuries at Sinai," [15 (1986)], p. 81.

554. Weitzmann, *The Icon*, [8 (1978)], p. 117.

555. Icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, no. 1783, each panel 51.2 × 39.7 cm, catalogue no. 104

556. M. Aspra-Vardavakis, "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych Representing St Procopius, the Virgin Kykkotissa and Saints along the Border," *Byzantine Icons: Art, Technique and Technology*, ed. M. Vasilaki, Heraklion, 2002, pp. 90–1.

557. See, for example, the Icons of the Virgin and Child from Moutoullas and from Asinou in Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, pp. 48, Fig. 29, and 57, Fig. 35.

558. A. Weyl Carr, "The Presentation of an Icon at Mount Sinai," *Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society, Athens*, tomos IZ' (1993–4), pp. 239–48.

559. A. Weyl Carr, "Images of Medieval Cyprus," *Visitors, Immigrants, and Invaders in Cyprus*, ed. P. W. Wallace, Institute of Cypriot Studies, Albany, 1995, pp. 96–7. Weyl Carr points out that the earliest known image with this veil is a fresco icon from Lyso in northwest Cyprus, also from the early thirteenth century (ibid., p. 97).

560. A. Weyl Carr, "Threads of Authority: The Virgin Mary's Veil in the Middle Ages," *Robes of Honor, The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. S. Gordon, New York and Basingstoke, 2001, p. 69.

561. See the discussion of the "Workshop of the Soldier Saints" in Chapter 6.

562. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], p. 67.

563. M. Aspra-Vardavakis, "Diptych: A. St. Prokopios, B. The Virgin Kykkotissa, and Saints," *Mater Theou/Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. Vassilaki, Milan, 2000, pp. 444, 445, and idem, "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych Representing St Procopius, the Virgin Kykkotissa and Saints along the Border," pp. 90, 92, 93. Aspra-Vardavakis discusses the problem of this inscription at greater length in the second article, and she is by no means certain that "'O PERIBOLITHS" is not the correct interpretation, although she is reluctant to consider that this refers to the precinct of the church in honor of St. Procopius in Jerusalem as the reason for the reference.

I am grateful to M. Aspra-Vardavakis for sending me a copy of her article for the Symposium Papers for consultation in advance of publication in 2002.

564. In other well-known Byzantine images, for example, the preiconoclastic icon from Sinai, Peter holds the keys in his right hand and a cross staff in his left hand (Weitzmann, *The Icon* [8 (1978)], pp. 54–5 and in the late thirteenth-century icon now at Dumbarton Oaks, Peter holds the scroll and cross staff in his left hand but has the keys on a cord around his neck (Weitzmann, *The Saint Peter Icon of Dumbarton Oaks*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications, no. 6, Washington, DC, 1983).

565. M. Aspra-Vardavakis, "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych Representing St Procopius, the Virgin Kykkotissa and Saints along the Border," p. 96, where she cites an example in the work of Guido da Siena (J. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, Princeton, 1964, Fig. 7).

566. Ibid., pp. 94–5.

567. Ibid., pp. 89–90, notes that Moses with a full beard appears in the apse mosaic of the Transfiguration in the Church at St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. This mosaic would not, however, seem to be a very likely source, because here Moses has white hair and a long white beard, a very old man compared to his younger age and shorter, dark beard in our icon.

568. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], p. 68.

569. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], p. 68, notes that Catherine carrying the orb, as she does in an icon of the Crucifixion (no. 1732), is unusual.

It is, he says, "an attribute which does not occur in earlier genuinely Byzantine icons and which, therefore, appears to be an invention of Crusader iconography." M. Aspra-Vardavakis, "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych Representing St Procopius, the Virgin Kykkotissa and Saints along the Border," p. 89, notes that St. Catherine with such an orb does, however, appear in the mosaics of Hosios Lukas in Phocis.

570. We shall discuss this chrysography later when we consider the Crucifixion icon (Fig. 267, App. no. 9/56) and related work.

571. Weitzmann, ibid., pp. 66–9.

572. A. Weyl Carr, "Icon-Tact: Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, eds. T. S. Mathews and R. S. Wieck, New York, 1994, pp. 97–9. Weyl Carr thinks of the Queen Keran gospels, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2563, dated 1272, as being very similar to the Sinai Diptych (no. 1783). See S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, Paris, 1978, pp. 142–3, Figs. 104–6.

573. M. Aspra-Vardavakis, "Diptych: A. St. Prokopios, B. The Virgin Kykkotissa, and Saints," pp. 444–6, no. 71, and Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," pp. 118–19, 190–1.

574. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)] p. 69.

575. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," p. 119.

576. Aspra-Vardavakis, "Diptych", pp. 445–6, discusses the style, but whereas she considers the Sinai, Syrian, and Cypriot links, she has nothing to say about Weitzmann's Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style nor about the other icons he relates this to in the collection at Sinai. In her more recent paper, "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych Representing St Procopius, the Virgin Kykkotissa and Saints along the Border," p. 98, she maintains essentially the same position, but suggests that this "Cypriot artist-monk" may have traveled widely in the East and sketched ideas from other icons.

577. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, 33.7 × 26.6 cm.

578. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," p. 118.

579. Note that M. Aspra-Vardavakis, "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych Representing St Procopius, the Virgin Kykkotissa and Saints along the Border," p. 97, and Fig. 7, p. 103, attributes this icon to the same artist who did the diptych of our Figs. 271–88.

580. Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, p. 13, no. 7, and idem, "Icon of the Virgin Eleousa," *Mother of God*, ed. Vassilaki, pp. 470–1, no. 76.

581. Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, p. 18, no. 11, and idem, "Icon of the Virgin Arakiotissa," *Mother of God*, ed. Vassilaki, pp. 406–7, no. 62.

582. Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, p. 26, no. 15a, and idem, "Two-sided Icon: A. The Virgin Brephokratousa," *Mother of God*, ed. Vassilaki, pp. 350–2, no. 36.

583. S. Sophocleous, *Icons of Cyprus, 7th–20th Century*, Nicosia, 1994, pp. 90 and 156, no. 28.

584. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," pp. 32, 112, and Fig. 65. I am not certain whether this fresco employs genuine chrysography or painted highlights simulating chrysography on the garments of the figure of the Christ child.

585. Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, pp. 52–3, no. 32; J. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Question," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 216–19; and R. W. Corrie, "Icon with St. Nicholas and Scenes from His Life," *The Glory of Byzantium*, eds. H. Evans and W. Wixom, New York, 1997, pp. 397–8, entry 263.

586. Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, p. 51, no. 31; Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291," pp. 216–1. This Golden Virgin Enthroned is, of course, a special case, and does not employ chrysography as found in the other examples. Instead it features the Virgin and Child wearing all golden garments. This is a distinctly un-Byzantine iconography found rather in the West, and certainly in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Folda, ibid., p. 220). The date for this panel is partly based on the adoption of the new habit for the Carmelites between 1284 and 1287, as seen in this altarpiece.

587. J. Folda, "The Kahn and Mellon Madonnas: Icon or Altarpiece?" *Byzantine East, Latin West, Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, eds. C. Moss and K. Kiefer, Princeton, 1995, pp. 501–6.

588. J. Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. V. M. Schmidt, *Studies in the History of Art*, 61 (2002), pp. 122–45, and R. Corrie, "286. Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne," Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1657, pp. 476–7.

589. J. Folda, "Reflections on the Mellon Madonna as a Work of Crusader Art: Links with Crusader Art on Cyprus," *Dei Gesta per Francos, Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, eds. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar, and J. Riley-Smith, Aldershot/Burlington, 2001, pp. 361–71; and idem, "Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne," *The Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 396–7, no. 262.

590. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, 20.0 × 16.0 cm.

591. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, unpublished.

592. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, unpublished.

593. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, unpublished.

594. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

595. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

596. Icons from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, unpublished.

597. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

598. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, unpublished.

599. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, unpublished.

600. Icon from the collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai.

601. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," p. 67. She included our nos. 1144, 1453, and 1966 in her grouping.

602. One icon fragment that might be considered in relation to these Mary and John panels is the handsome torso of Christ, no. 809, from the collection at St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai. See our Appendix, no. 69, Fig. 383. We cannot fully evaluate this possible relationship, however, until the precise measurements are known along with other facts pertaining to the painting, condition, and wood panels on which these images are painted.

603. K. Weitzmann, "Three Painted Crosses at Sinai," [6 (1972)], pp. 23–31, and idem, "Annotation," in *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, [12 (1982)], pp. 436–7.

604. An excellent selection of these painted crucifixions with figures in the side fields is published by E. B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting, An Illustrated Index*, Florence, 1949, pp. 183–98.

605. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)], p. 198.

606. For the Freer Canteen, no. 41.10 done in brass with silver inlay, it is attributed to the Mosul School in the mid-thirteenth century, and is related to Eastern Christian painting. See L. Schneider, "Freer Canteen," *Ars Orientalis*, 9 (1973), Pls. 1–2; E. Atil, *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington, DC, 1985, p. 124; and H. Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art," *Syria*, 20 (1939), pp. 135–50.

For the Freer d'Arenberg Basin, no. 55.10, done in brass with silver inlay, it is attributed to the 1240s as the commission of sultan al-Malik al-Salih in Syria. See G. Migeon, *Exposition des Arts Msulman au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris, 1903, Pls. 11–12, and E. Atil, *Islamic Metalwork in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington, DC, 1985, pp. 137–47.

For the Baptistère de Saint Louis, see E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam, Art of the Mamluks*, Washington, DC, 1981, pp. 76–8, no. 21, and see our discussion with other bibliography pertaining to the dating in the section on metalwork later in this chapter.

607. Careful study of the existing photograph of this icon does not yield any conclusive evidence that would substantiate a conclusion one way or another about the date of this incision. It is at least possible that it was done at the time of the painting of the icon and not added later. The fact is, however, that this technique is little used in the East before *c.*1300 and so its appearance here would be very early if it is part of the production of this icon in the 1270s or the 1280s. It will be very important to examine this icon firsthand and to see the details of the technique and the relationship between the incision and the painted surface of the icon.

608. This is yet another icon for which detailed study and firsthand examination is required to help determine answers to some of the main questions posed by the work. It is worth mentioning also that this triptych has a special feature of regular display inscriptions painted in Greek combined with a long Arabic painted inscription at the upper right side of the central panel. This reminds us of the Near Eastern context in which these icons were done, the possibility of Arabic-speaking Christians commissioning some of these icons, and the fact, as yet almost entirely unstudied, that there are at Sinai a corpus of icons from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the which the display inscriptions for the figures are painted in Arabic, indicating very likely patronage by Arabic-speaking Eastern Christians.

609. On this type of arch in architecture, see D. Howard, *Venice and the East, the Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500*, New Haven and London, 2000, pp. 142–6, and Fig. 168, the plate by John Ruskin on the orders of Venetian Gothic.

610. The best parallel is found in the Freer canteen, but the Freer basin and the Paris candlestick also have figures in arched openings that are comparable. For the bibliography, see n. 606, and see also the following articles: N. Khoury, "Narratives of the Holy Land: Memory, Identity and Inverted Imagery in the Freer Basin and Canteen," Orientations, 1998, pp. 63–9, and R. A. Katzenstein and G. D. Lowry, "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork," *Muqarnas*, 1 (1983), pp. 53–68.

611. A. G. Malloy, I. F. Preston, and A. J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States, 1098–1291*, New York, 1994, p. 39.

612. J. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC* 6, p. 385.

613. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, pp. 39, 143, 144. See also D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, London, 1995, p. 96, and Pl. 12, no. 215, and Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 384, 385, 407, 419, Pl. X, nos. 89–92.

614. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, p. 143.

615. Ibid., p. 176.

616. Ibid., pp. 164–6, 174–5; Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC* 6, pp. 386–7, 404–5, and 418, Pl. XI, nos. 76–83; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, p. 96.

617. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," p. 386.

618. Ibid., pp. 386–7.

619. The basic work for this material is by G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, a publication of the Haut Commissariat de l'Etat Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, vol. XXXVII, Paris, 1943. See also the material in S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 21, Jerusalem, 1974, and A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*, London and New York, 1999, p. 189.

620. E. J. King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, London, 1932, pp. 14–17, Pls. II and IV, and pp. 23–4.

621. Ibid., p. 15. This story is comparable to, if much briefer than, what is found in the Golden Legend.

622. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. G. R. and H. Ripperger, New York, 1941, rept. 1969, pp. 269–76.

623. P. de Saint-Hilaire, *Les Sceaux Templiers et Leurs Symboles*, Puiseaux, 1991, pp. 61–2, a seal now in Paris, Archives Nationales, J.456 no. 27.

624. Ibid., p. 134.

625. G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1943, p. 252, no. 265, and Pl. XIII, no. 14.

626. J. Folda, "Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned," *Studies in the History of Art*, 61, ed. V. M. Schmidt, Washington, D.C., 2002, pp. 123–45. One wonders what model the Teutonic Knights employed for the image of the Virgin and Child on their seal; what kind of cult image was it, an icon or a sculpture; and where was it, in their house in Acre.

627. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, p. 81, no. 22, and S. Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano*, vol. 1, Lucca, 1733, p. 196, Pl. VII, no. 73.

628. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, pp. 92–3, nos. 49, 51, Pl. III, no. 2.

629. The act reads: "Cui privilegio suprascripto erat imposita quodam bulla vera plumbea pendens cum filo serico videlicet albo et celeste, in qua scultus erat, a parte una, rex quidam et erat scriptum circumquaque 'Henricus dei gratia rex Iherusalem et rex Cipri'. Ab alia vero parte erat sculta quedam insula ei mare cum navibus et erat scriptum circumquaque: 'Insula Cipri et civitates et castra'." Ibid., p. 148, no. 16.

630. Ibid., p. 132, Pl. V, no. 7.

631. Ibid., p. 138, no. 173, Pl. V, no. 11.

632. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, I and II, with two albums, Paris, 1925–8.

633. H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzügge*, Berlin, 1883.

634. B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion?*, Berlin, 1994; and A. J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*, London and New York, 1999. See especially his chapter entitled "Crafts and Minor Arts," pp. 143–92.

635. See the works cited in Chapter 6 concerning objects excavated at Acre and possibly elsewhere: D. Syon, "Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A Crusader Workshop of Lead Ampullae from Acre," *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. S. Rozenberg, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 110, 114, 319, and comments by A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East*, pp. 159–60.

636. A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le Développement d'un Culte*, Paris, 1961, pp. 442–54, nos. 564–90. Some of these objects are Byzantine, see nos. 570, p. 443 (Sopočani), 573, pp. 444–7 (Constantinople), 582, p. 451 (Mount Athos – Vatopedi Monastery), and 586, pp. 452–3 (Venice).

637. See O. Grabar, "The Crusades and the Development of Islamic Art," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington, DC, 2001, pp. 235–45, for an introductory overview. See also R. Ward, "Metallarbeiten der Mamluken-Zeit, hergestellt für den Export nach Europa," *Europa und der Orient, 800–1900*, eds. G. Sievernich and H. Budde, Berlin, 1989, pp. 202–9, and A. Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere: The Invisible Muslim and Christian Self-Fashioning in the Culture of Outremer," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 253–281, esp. pp. 262–9. Ward in contrast to Grabar and Cutler does not link these works to the Crusader context.

638. The basic study is by D. S. Rice, *Le Baptistère de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1953. There are several recent studies, including those by D. Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère de Saint Louis: A Reinterpretation," *Islamic Art*, 3 (1989), pp. 3–13; E. R. Knauer, "Einige trachtgeschichtliche Beobachtungen am Werke Giottos, *Scritti in onore de Roberto Salvini*, Florence, 1984, pp. 173–81; R. Ward, "The 'Baptistère de Saint Louis' – A Mamluk Basin Made for Export to Europe," *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, eds. C. Burnett and A. Contadini, Warburg Institute Colloquia, 5, London, 1999, pp. 113–32; and comments by C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh, 1999, pp. 12, 13, 14, 18, 21, 113, 115, and 541–2, and color plate 9. I am indebted to my colleague M. Shreve Simpson for drawing my attention to the Ward article.

639. D. Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère de Saint Louis: A Reinterpretation," *Islamic Art*, 3 (1989), pp. 3–13, argues this work was made in the time of Sultan Baybars I (1260–77). R. Ward, "The 'Baptistère de Saint Louis' – A Mamluk Basin Made for Export to Europe," *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 113–32, proposes to date the Baptistère to the 1340s. These differences of attribution point up the unresolved questions surrounding this work as well as this type of metalwork in the Levant during the thirteenth century.

640. E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam, Art of the Mamluks*, Washington, DC, 1981, pp. 76–8, summarizes its modern history: "The earliest record of its existence appears in a travel book written in 1742, which states that the basin was used for the baptism of the children of the ruling house of France and was thought to have been brought back from the Near East by Louis IX during one of his Crusades (which predates the basin by almost half a century). The basin was kept in the Treasury of the Sainte Chapelle on the grounds of the Chateau de Vincennes until 1852 when it was moved to the newly established museum at the Louvre Palace. It was used for the baptism of Prince Napoleon-Eugène in 1856 – the last time it served as a baptismal font" (p. 78).

641. Ward, "The 'Baptistère de Saint Louis,' – A Mamluk Basin Made for Export to Europe," pp. 113–23, raises all of these issues in light of recent scholarship, but decides in the end to attribute the Baptistère to the early fourteenth century, made in Damascus.

642. Grabar, "The Crusades and the Development of Islamic Art," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*,

pp. 235–45, esp. 241. It is interesting that there are many metalwork objects, some with figural decoration, of Mamluk origin, loosely dated to the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries or the fourteenth century, now in Italian collections, which seem to belong to this market. See S. Carboni and C. Tonghini, "La Siria e l'Egitto nei periodi ayyubide dal 564/1179 al 658/1260 e mamelucco dal 648/1250 al 923/1517," *Eredità dell'Islam, Arte islamica in Italia*, ed. G. Curatola, Milan, 1993, pp. 283–8, 298–323, nos. 169, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 188. There seems to be a certain parallelism between the metalwork and its problems of provenance and dating, artists and patronage, and that of the luxury enameled glass production, which I shall comment on later.

643. J. W. Allan, *Islamic Metalwork, The Nuhad es-Sahid Collection*, rev. edn., London, 1999.

644. Ibid., p. 68. See pp. 66–9, no. 9, for the full entry.

645. Ibid., pp. 70–3, no. 10.

646. Ibid., pp. 74–5, no. 11.

647. Ibid., pp. 76–9, no. 12.

648. Ibid., pp. 80–3, no. 13.

649. Ibid., pp. 84–5, no. 14.

650. Ibid., pp. 86–9, no. 15.

651. S. Makariou, "Two Objects from the Louvre Made for the Lusignans of Cyprus," pamphlet published on the occasion of the exhibition of these works at the Leventis Municipal Museum, 19 May–31 July 2000 in Nicosia, Cyprus. I am indebted to my colleague, Annemarie Weyl Carr, for drawing my attention to these works and providing me with a copy of this illustrated pamphlet.

652. See D. S. Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions on a Brass Basin Made for Hugh IV de Lusignan," *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, vol. II, Rome, 1956, pp. 390–402, and comments by Ward, "The 'Baptistère de Saint Louis,' – A Mamluk Basin Made for Export to Europe," pp. 120–1. See also the important article by A. Weyl Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 246–7 and 254, with comments on this basin.

653. C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, 2 vols., Berlin 1929–30. See the comments on Lamm's classification and dating of the glass by, for example, G. Scanlon, "Lamm's Classification and Archaeology," *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. Ward, London, 1998, pp. 27–9; S. Carboni, "The Great Era of Enameled and Gilded Glass," *Glass from Islamic Lands*, New York, 2001, pp. 323–5.

654. S. Carboni, "Painted Glass," *Glass of the Sultans*, eds. Carboni and Whitehouse, pp. 247–9, no. 123, and R. Ward, "Glass and Brass: Parallels and Puzzles," *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. Ward, London, 1998, pp. 30–1. In this article, R. Ward offers some new ideas for restructuring the chronology of the enameled glass production in Syria and Egypt from *c.*1250 to *c.*1350.

655. Carboni, "Painted Glass," p. 248.

656. With regard to Lamm's study, his classification, and his idea that the Aldrevandinus Beaker was "Syro-Frankish," see now the recent scholarship that argues that in fact this work, and some of the other painted glass in the group related to it, was painted in Venice, imitating Islamic technique. See D. Whitehouse, "Imitations of Islamic Glass," in S. Carboni and D. Whitehouse (eds.), *Glass of the Sultans*, New York, 2001, pp. 297–8, and S. Carboni, "The Aldrevandin Beaker," ibid., pp. 302–3, no. 151.

657. See I. Krüger, "A Second Aldrevandin Beaker and an Update on a Group of Enameled Glasses," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 44 (2002), pp. 111–32, for a survey of the scholarship and the current points of view. The claim that Bohemond VII transferred the technology of Syrian glassmaking to Venice by a treaty dated 1277 must be factored into this discussion. See A. Y. al-Hassan and D. R. Hill, *Islamic Technology, An Illustrated History*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 33, 153. David Whitehouse characterizes this agreement between Bohemond VII and Doge Jacopo Contarini in 1277 as exempting the Venetians from duty in Tripoli, except when they exported broken glass. See D. Whitehouse, "Islamic Glass and Italy, 1200–1500," *Papers from the EEA Third Annual Meeting in Ravenna, 1997*, M. Pierce and M. Tosi, eds., BAR International Series, 718, Oxford, 1998, pp. 191–195.

On this whole issue of luxury glassmaking East and West, see the fictitious story told by S. Carboni, "Gregorio's Tale; or, Of Enameled Glass Production in Venice," *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. Ward, London, 1998, pp. 101–6.

658. It is now in the Furussiya Arts Foundation, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, said to have been found in China! See S. Carboni, "121. Bottle," S. Carboni and D. Whitehouse, eds., *Glass of the Sultans*, New York, 2001, pp. 242–5, no. 121. See also M. Gibson, "Enamelled Glass of Syria, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries," M. A. report, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1983, J. Ball, "258. Bottle with Monastic Scenes," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, pp. 430–1.

659. For a color plate of these beakers, see R. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art 1300–1600*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 2002, p. 114, Fig. 118.

660. See M. Jones, "The Luck of Edenhall," *Palace and Mosque*, London, 2004, pp. 108–109, and the V&A Museum Web site: http://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/glass/stories/edenhall/index.html.

661. S. Kenesson, "Islamic Enamelled Beakers: A New Chronology," *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. Ward, London, 1998, pp. 46–7. C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, vol. 1, p. 329, vol. 2, tafel 127, no. 2, dates it, *c.*1240.

662. On Crusader pottery, see the general remarks by A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, pp. 142–50; B. Porée, "Le Royaume de Jérusalem aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: les céramiques croisées, témoins des échanges culturels et commerciaux," *Pèlerinages et Croisades*, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Paris, 1995, pp. 333–50, and R. D. Pringle, "The Medieval Pottery of Palestine and Transjordan (A.D. 636–1500): An Introduction," *Medieval Ceramics*, 5 (1981), pp. 45–60.

663. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 143.

664. For the study of Kinet/Tinat/Calamella, see S. Redford, "On *Saqis* and Ceramics: Systems of Representation in the Northeast Mediterranean," in *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 282–312. See also the report on the excavations at Kinet by S. Redford et al., "Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, 38 (2001), pp. 59–139.

665. Redford, "On *Saqis* and Ceramics, Systems of Representation in the Northeast Mediterranean," pp. 282–312.

666. Ibid.

667. Ibid., p. 302, for the quote. He is arguing here parallel to the views expressed in a recent book, R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998, but with certain important differences that pertain to the northern region.

668. It is this luxury cloth that the Mongols prized especially. See T. T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*, Cambridge, 1997, for example, pp. 46–71. The term Allsen uses for this cloth is *nasij*, which meant "cloth of gold and silk" (pp. 2–3).

669. Boas cites Burchardus de Monte Sion as saying this, but actually it was the Muslim historian, Taqi ad-Din al-Maqrizi, who wrote it much later. See Maqrizi, "The Book of Proceeding to the Knowledge of the History of the Kings," *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, London, 1969, p. 343. What he says is that when the Mamluks conquered Tripoli they found four thousand weaver's looms. Obviously there may have been more than four thousand weavers working on those looms.

670. G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, p. 344.

671. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 180.

672. A. Baginski and O. Shamir, "Textiles from Jaziret Fara'un (Coral Island)," *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter*, 18–19 (1994), pp. 4–6; idem, "Textiles from Coral Island," *20th Archaeological Conference in Israel*, Jerusalem, 1994; and idem, "Textiles, Basketry, and Cordage from Jaziret Fara'un (Coral Island)," *'Atiqot*, 36 (1998), pp. 39–92.

673. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 180.

674. The report on this find from the Qarantal cave near Jericho will be forthcoming in *'Atiqot*, entitled, "The Textiles, Basketry, and Cordage from Qarantal Cave 38 – The First Medieval Assemblage Discovered in Palestine."

675. A. Baginski, "Textiles from a Crusader Burial in Caesarea," *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter*, 23 (1996), p. 6.

676. Examples of the lack of objects for this period can be seen in the luxury textiles and rugs exhibited in the major show organized on the Arts of Islam by the Arts Council of Great Britain and the World of Islam Festival Trust in 1976: *The Arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery, London, 1976, "Textiles," pp. 65–118. See also the lack of textiles from this period in the catalogue by C. V. Bornstein and P. P. Soucek, *The Meeting of Two Worlds: The Crusades and the Mediterranean Context*, Ann Arbor, 1981, pp. 22–8.

677. K. L. Reyerson, "Commerce and Communications," *The New Cambridge Medieval*

History, vol. V, ed. D. Abulafia, Cambridge, 1999, p. 60.

On the silk trade, see D. Jacoby, "Silk Crosses the Mediterranean," *Le vie del Mediterraneo: Idee, uomini, ogetti (secoli XI-XVI)*, ed. G. Airaldi, Genova, 1997, pp. 55–79; idem, "Genoa, Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean Region (ca. 1100–1300), *Tessuti, Oreficerie, miniature in Liguria, XIII-XV secolo*, eds. A. R. Calderoni Masetti, C. Di Fabio, and M. Marcenaro, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri: Atti dei Convegni, III, Bordighera, 1999, pp. 11–40; idem, "Dalla Materia Prima ai Drappi tra Bisanzio, Il Levante e Venezia: La Prima fase dell'Industria Serica Veneziana," *La Seta in Italia dal Medioevo al Seicento*, eds. L. Molà, R. C. Mueller, and C. Zanier, Venice, 2000, pp. 265–304.

See a further selection of his earlier articles on commerce and the silk trade in his selected studies volume, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Aldershot, 1997.

On additional trade issues of relevance here, see D. Jacoby, "The Trade of Crusader Acre: The Levantine Context," *Economia e Territorio nel Medioevo*, Barcelona, 2001; idem, "The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 25 (2001), pp. 102–34; idem, "Diplomacy, Trade, Shipping and Espionage between Byzantium and Egypt in the Twelfth Century," *Festschrift für Peter Schreiner, Byzantinisches Archiv*, 19 (2000), pp. 83–102; idem, "The Venetian Privileges in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Interpretations and Implementations," *Montjoie*, eds. B. Z. Kedar et al., Aldershot, 1997, pp. 155–75; and idem, "L'Expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle," *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977) pp. 225–64.

On Frankish Greece, see D. Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington, DC, 2001, pp. 197–233, with substantial bibliography.

678. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 24.

679. S. Carboni, "123. Canteen," Carboni and Whitehouse, eds., *Glass of the Sultans*, p. 249. For the 1277 date, see C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterlich Gläser*, vol. 1, p. 491, and see above, n. 657.

680. R. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, pp. 114 and 208–9, n. 10.

681. D. Whitehouse, "Imitations of Islamic Glass," *Glass of the Sultans*, eds. Carboni and Whitehouse, pp. 297–8, and Carboni, "The Aldrevandin Beaker," *Glass of the Sultans*, eds. Carboni and Whitehouse, pp. 302–3, no. 151.

682. R. Pallucchini, *La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento*, Venice – Rome, 1964, pp. 17–60.

683. Ward, "The 'Baptistère de Saint Louis' – A Mamluk Basin Made for Export to Europe," p. 113.

684. Cahen pointed out that Abu'l-Fadl was probably a Maronite. See B. Z. Kedar, "Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099–1291," *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land*, eds. A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa, Jerusalem, 1998, p. 220; C. Cahen, "Une inscription mal comprise concernant le rapprochement entre Maronites et Croisés," *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. S. A. Hanna, Leiden, 1972, pp. 62–3. This inscription is also published by S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, Jerusalem 1974, pp. 301–2, and n. 11, who disagrees with this interpretation.

CHAPTER 8: THE FALL OF ACRE IN 1291 AND THE END OF THE CRUSADER STATES IN MAINLAND SYRIA-PALESTINE

The Fall of Acre, 1289–1291

1. Templar of Tyre, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. and trans. P. Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre: The Deeds of the Cypriots*, Aldershot, 2003, p. 115, sect. 479; *Les Gestes des Chiprois, RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 804, sect. 479. See now the new edition of the text by the Templar of Tyre, ed. L. Minervini, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314), La caduta degli stati crociati nel racconto di un* testimone oculare, Naples: Liquori, 2000, p. 198, sect. 479. The main sources for the taking of the city of Acre, which constitutes the main focus of historical accounts dealing with the Crusaders in the Holy Land between 1289 and 1291, are discussed by S. Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243–1291," *HC*, 2, p. 598, n. 95.

The "Templar of Tyre" is the only Crusader eyewitness to write a contemporary account. He is not a Templar himself, but was the secretary to the grand master, William of Beaujeu. Runciman says that his work was put together with that of other writers about 1325 by Gerard de Montreal to produce what we know as the *Gestes des Chiprois* today. See also S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 482, 484. We are relying chiefly on the "Templar of Tyre" and not on the later accounts by Thaddeus of Naples and the *De Excidio Urbis Acconis*, both of which, says Runciman, "clearly exaggerated their accounts for propagandist purposes" (p. 484). On these accounts, see S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*, Oxford, 1991, esp. pp. 114–24.

For the Arabic sources see now D. P. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291: The Muslim Version," *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem and Leiden, 1986, pp. 159–81, who corrects Runciman's interpretation of Ibn al-Furat's account. Little thinks the Templar of Tyre is Gerard de Montreal, based on the remarks of Ch. Kohler to the early edition by L. de Mas-Latrie, in the *RHC: Doc. Armen.* II, p. 296.

A famous detailed account of the fall of Acre written in modern times is by G. Schlumberger, "Fin de la domination franque en Syrie: Prise de Saint-Jean-d'Acre en l'an 1291 par l'armée du soudan d'Égypte," *Byzance et Croisades: Pages Médiévales*, Paris, 1927, pp. 207–79. This is a republication of an article, much enlarged, which first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in July 1913. Finally, Jonathan Riley-Smith told me about another important work on the fall of Acre, too late to be incorporated into this discussion. See E. Stickel, *Der Fall von Akkon: Untersuchungen zum Abklingen des Kreuzzugsgedankens am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Bern, 1975.

2. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 115–45, and the poem, pp. 145–54; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 804–22, and the poem, pp. 822–6; Minervini, pp. 198–252.

3. S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*, Oxford, 1991, p. 66.

4. S. Schein, "The Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the Late Thirteenth Century – *Seignors espiritueles et temporeles?*," *Outremer*, pp. 302–3.

5. J. Riley-Smith, "The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291," *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 45–62.

6. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, pp. 239–40.

7. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 115–16, sects. 480–1; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 804–5, sects. 480–1; Minervini, pp. 198–202, sects. 480–1.

8. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 116–17, sect. 481; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 805–6, sect. 481.

9. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," pp. 166–7.

10. Ibid., p. 168.

11. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 118, sect. 485; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 807, sect. 485; Minervini, p. 204, sect. 485.

12. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 118, sect. 484; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 806, sect. 484; Minervini, pp. 202, 204, sect. 484.

13. This is an interesting delegation reflecting the leading constituencies who exercised power in Acre in the circumstances in the year 1290. The sultan's uncharacteristic bad treatment of them was presumably because the Crusaders had ignored his letter warning them not to attempt diplomatic action.

14. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 119, sect. 489; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 808, sect. 489; Minervini, p. 206, sect. 489.

15. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," pp. 168–71.

16. Ibid., p. 170.

17. Ibid., pp. 168–9.

18. Ibid., pp. 162–4, 170.

19. Ibid., p. 171.

20. Al-'Ayni, 'Iqd al-Juman, cited in ibid., p. 171.

21. Some estimates are truly fantastic: Ludolf von Suchem, writing in the mid-fourteenth century offers the number, 600,000 men in the Mamluk army.

22. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, pp. 412–13.

23. In order to conceptualize the city of Acre at this time and to follow the narrative of the siege of the city in 1291, it is useful to consider the medieval maps from Matthew Paris's and Marino Sanudo's works, with the modern attempts to reconstruct the layout and panorama of the medieval city. For the medieval and modern maps, a convenient compendium is found in B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre, an Historical Cartography*, Acre, 1973. For a panoramic view of the city reconstructed from historical sources with

certain sites identified, see "Acre: A Crusader City," in *The Atlas of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith, London, 1991, pp. 102–3. For interesting aerial views of the city in the twentieth century, see the photos from 1918, 1945, 1968, and 1994 in B. Z. Kedar, *The Changing Land between the Jordan and the Sea, Aerial Photographs from 1917 to the Present*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 188–9. Note that in Riley-Smith's *Atlas*, the reconstructed city of Acre was made before research of Kedar and the archaeological evidence of Stern and others drew attention to the enlarged dimensions of the city, especially toward the eastern end of the city and along the sea walls on the west side. For the important Kedar article, see the citation in the next sentence.

Other relevant images are two famous seventeenth-century drawings of the city, reproduced by, for example, B. Z. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," *'Atiqot*, 31 (1997), p. 165 (E. Gravier d'Ortières), and in Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, pl. IX (Cornelis de Bruyn).

24. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 121, sect. 490; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 808, sect. 490; Minervini, p. 206, sect. 490.

25. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 120–2, sects. 490–1; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 808–10, sects. 490–1; Minervini, pp. 206–10, sects. 490–1.

26. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 172.

27. Ibid., pp. 173–4. See also the Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 122–3, sect. 491; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 809–10, sect. 491; Minervini, pp. 208–10, sect. 491.

28. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 122–3, sect. 491; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 809–10, sect. 491; Minervini, pp. 208–10, sect. 491; and Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 174.

29. Abu l-Mahasin, *The Shining Stars Concerning the Kings of Egypt and Cairo, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, London, 1969, p. 347.

30. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 124–5, sect. 493; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 811, sect. 493; Minervini, p. 212, sect. 493.

31. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 174.

32. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 126–7, sect. 495; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 812, sect. 495; Minervini, p. 214, sect. 495.

33. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 127, sect. 496; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 812, sect. 496; Minervini, p. 214, sect. 496.

34. Abu l-Mahasin, *The Shining Stars Concerning the Kings of Egypt and Cairo, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 347.

35. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 129, sect. 498; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 812–13, sect. 498; Minervini, pp. 216–18, sect. 498.

36. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 129–31, sect. 498; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 813–14, sect. 498; Minervini, pp. 216–18, sect. 498.

37. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 175.

38. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 136, sect. 506; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 814–16, sect. 506; Minervini, p. 224, sect. 506.

39. M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291," *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), pp. 201–27.

40. Ibid., pp. 205–9, and nn. 9 and 10.

41. Ibid., pp. 207–8.

42. Ibid., pp. 210–11.

43. Ibid., pp. 213–17.

44. Ibid., p. 216.

45. Templar of Tyre: *Gestes des Chiprois*, Crawford, pp. 131–3, sects. 499–501; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, pp. 814–15, sects. 499–501; Minervini, pp. 218–22, sects. 499–501.

46. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 134, sect. 503; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 815, sect. 503; Minervini, pp. 222, 224, sect. 503.

47. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 134–5, sect. 503; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 815, sect. 503; Minervini, pp. 222, 224, sect. 503. See also Crawford's n. 1, p. 135.

48. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 420.

49. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, pp. 136–7, sect. 507; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 816, sect. 507; Minervini, pp. 224, 226, sect. 507.

50. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 176.

51. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 420.

52. R. B. C. Huygens has kindly drawn my attention to a passage in his forthcoming book, *The Fall of Acre 1291*, where his new edition of the text of Thadeus of Naples contains a detailed description of the Templar headquarters (lines 255–62). He notes that the Latin text is very difficult because of its rhetorical wording, but he provides a translation of the description as follows:

> when the towers became weakened, having been violently cut away from their foundations and completely undermined by the exertions of the unbelievers, along with the platforms contained between them by ingenious construction – platforms by virtue of which the Templar fortress, with vaulted stonework everywhere, was nicely paved above and, by means of the artfully constructed and extensive terrace in the upper part, opened up a wide space for everyone to walk on, to which it was not at all possible to climb [other than] through doors.

I thank Robert Huygens very warmly for sending me this information in a letter, in advance of the publication of his edition, which will appear late in the year 2004.

53. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 138, sect. 508; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 817, sect. 508; Minervini, p. 226, sect. 508.

54. Schlumberger, "Prise de Saint-Jean-d'Acre," p. 276.

55. It had only taken the Crusaders thirty-eight days to capture Jerusalem in 1099, but the circumstances were much different.

56. This text says 17 Jumada II, but the date was actually 17 Jumada I.

57. Abu l-Mahasin, *The Shining Stars concerning the Kings of Egypt and Cairo, Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 349.

58. Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population," p. 227.

59. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 135, sect. 504; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 815, sect. 504; Minervini, p. 224, sect. 504.

60. N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford, 1992, p. 17.

61. Al-Yunini, quoted by Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 178.

62. Ibid., p. 178.

63. The Templar of Tyre appears to have conflated two emirs into one. According to Little, Emir 'Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Sawabi took Tyre, and Emir 'Alam al-din al-Shuja'i commanded the Mamluk forces at Sidon ("The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," pp. 177, 179).

64. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 139, sect. 510; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 817, sect. 510; Minervini, p. 228, sect. 510.

65. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 179.

66. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 140, sect. 511; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 817, sect. 511; Minervini, p. 228, sect. 511; Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 179.

67. Templar of Tyre: Crawford, p. 140, sect. 512; *RHC: Doc. Armen.*, II, p. 818, sect. 512; Minervini, p. 228, sect. 512.

68. Abu l-Fida, *Al-Muktasar*, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 346.

69. Abu l-Fida, *Al-Muktasar*, quoted by Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 177, and in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 346.

70. On the portal and the monument in Cairo, see K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, Oxford, 1959, pp. 234–5. The sources do not mention the name of the church in Acre from which this portal was taken. Various suggestions have been proposed for the origin of this portal, including St. Andrew's, by Enlart, and the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, by B. Dichter (*The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre, 1979, p. 61). It is not possible as yet to say definitively from which church the portal came.

71. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 177, and nn. 105–7.

72. M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," *HC*, 2, p. 754.

73. Little, "The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291," p. 179.

74. Ludolph von Suchem's "Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither," *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 12, trans. A. Stewart, London 1895, p. 60.

75. The new critical edition of his pilgrimage account is by R. Kappler, (ed. and trans.), Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient*, Paris, 1997, pp. 33–205. On Ricoldus of Monte Croce, see the remarks of Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 124–8, and S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crusesignatorum*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, 1984, pp. 255–7; P. Mandonnet, "Fra Ricoldo de Monte-Croce pelerine en Terre Sainte et missionaire en Orient," *Revue Biblique*, 2 (1893), pp. 46–66; A. Dondaine, "Ricoldo de Monte Croce," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 37 (1967), pp. 119–79; and U. Monneret de Villard on Ricoldo da Monte Croce, "La vita, le opera e i viaggi di frate Ricoldo da Montecroce O. P.," in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 10 (1944), pp. 227–70.

76. His letters are included in the new critical edition cited in n. 75. Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche*

Orient, ed. and trans. R. Kappler, Paris, 1997, pp. 207–52. See also R. Röhricht, "Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte-Croce," trans. M. F. Raynaud, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, 2, Paris, 1884, pp. 258–96; and Monneret de Villard, "La Vita, le opera e i viaggi di frate Ricoldo da Monte Croce O. P.," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 10 (1944), pp. 266–7.

77. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 125–8, and Röhricht (ed.), "Epistolae V commentatoriae de perditione Acconis 1291," *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, 2, pp. 264–6, 269, 270, 272, 277, 280–1, 284, 291, and 293.

78. Ludolph von Suchem's "Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither," *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. 12, trans. A. Stewart, London 1895, pp. 60–1.

79. Ibid., pp. 50–61.

80. On Marino Sanudo, see the foreword by J. Prawer to the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, by Marinus Sanutus Torcellus, reprinted from the Hanover edition of 1611 by the University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1972, pp. v–xvii.

81. Prawer, "Mappae Sanudinae," ibid., pp. xviii–xix.

82. On the maps of Matthew Paris, see S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, pp. 321–3, 356–62, and see now also P. D. A. Harvey, "Matthew Paris's Maps of Palestine," *Thirteenth Century England*, eds. M. Prestwich et al., vol. 8, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001, pp. 165–77, with earlier bibliography.

83. See the color reproduction in the reprint of the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, ed. J. Prawer, which is drawn from the manuscript in the British Library, MS Add. 27376.

84. Paulinus Minorita, also known as Paulinus Venetis, or Paulinus Puteolinus. See B. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre: An Historical Cartography*, Acre, Israel, 1973, pp. 25–30.

85. These differences are evident when looking even at the most rudimentary reproductions. See the color reproduction of the map in British Museum, MS Add. 27376, published in Prawer's foreword to the reprint of the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione*, p. xi, as compared to the map in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 190, published in Dichter, *The Maps of Acre*, p. 18, or A. Kesten, *The Old City of Acre: Re-examination Report 1993*, Acre: Survey of Israel, 1993, Map 1. For lists of the manuscripts which contain these maps see R. Röhricht, *Bibliothecae geographica Palaestinae*, Berlin, 1890, no. 179, supplements on pp. 600–1, and 715; A. Magnocavallo, "La Carta del Mare Mediterraneo di Marino Sanudo il Vecchio," Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana, 39 (=ser. IV, vol. 3), (1902), pp. 438–49; and Dichter, *The Maps of Acre*, p. 16. On the various manuscripts of Marino Sanudo's treatise with drawings, see B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300–1450*, Teil II: Venedig, 1. Bd, Berlin, 1980, cited later in n. 112.

86. N. Makhouly and C. N. Johns, *A Guide to Acre*, Jerusalem, 1946.

87. W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen und Kreuzritter im Heiligen Land*, Munich-Berlin, 1966.

88. D. Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 20 (1979), pp. 1–45.

89. A. Kesten, *The Old City of Acre: Re-examination Report 1993*, trans. N. Steigman, Acre: Survey of Israel, 1993, passim.

90. B. Z. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," *'Atiqot*, XXXI (1997), pp. 157–80.

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91. Archaeological investigations by the Israel Antiquities Authority in Acre ('Akko) are attempting to identify surviving parts of both of these two sites.

92. See F. Hiestand, "*Castrum Peregrinorum* e la fine del dominio crociata in Siria," *Acri 1291: La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, ed. F. Tommasi, Quattroemme, 1996, pp. 23–41, and the republication of the excavations there by C. N. Johns, *Pilgrim's Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at ar-Rabal ('Ajlun)*, ed. R. D. Pringle, Aldershot, 1997. It is sometimes said that later Ottoman builders quarried 'Atlit for stone, but the extent of this has not been seriously studied.

93. See n. 70.

94. J. Folda, "Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1291," *HC*, IV, p. 277, Pls. XXVIa, b.

95. See the chapter on "Tombs" in C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, ed. and trans. D. Hunt, London, 1987, pp. 361–72.

96. The main reference is J. Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb of 1290 from Acre and the Last Archbishops of Nazareth," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 24 (1974), pp. 241–51. See also Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, pp. 314–16, and M. Avi-Yonah, *A History of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1969, p. 236.

97. See Chapter 6, and Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, pp. 258–9.

98. Unfortunately no information is given about the archaeological circumstances of this find. Prawer only reports, "In 1962 two parts of a stone slab were discovered in the Old City of Acre. Today, carefully put together, they belong to one of the prize exhibits of the Acre Municipal Museum." (Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb of 1290 from Acre," p. 241.)

99. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church*, London, 1980, p. 279.

100. It is of interest to determine the type of stone, because it could be local limestone, marble, even reused marble, Cypriot limestone, or Cypriot schist. Tomb plaques of this basic kind are known in Cyprus as well as in western Europe at this time, and the material may provide some indication of its origin and the origin of the sculpture.

101. Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb of 1290 from Acre," p. 243, Fig. 2, reproduces a detail of one of the eagles and the guilloche pattern next to it.

102. For the full documentation of Alberto Sotio's painted cross, dated 1187, see the forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Ann Driscoll at the University of North Carolina, Spring 2005.

103. Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb of 1290 from Acre," p. 250, n. 23, compares this inscription to two other epitaphs of the same period, that is, 1278 and 1266, for Sire Gautier Meinne-Abeuf and Messier Berthelme Chayn, respectively. See Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "Nouveaux Monuments des Croisés recueillis en Terre Sainte," *Archives de L'Orient Latin*, II, Paris, 1884, pp. 458–9, Pl. IA, and Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, pp. 308–10.

104. Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb of 1290 from Acre," p. 242.

105. E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, New York, 1964, p. 53, Fig. 205.

106. Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 91–5, 456–63, Figs. 5.14a, b, f, g, 10.17b, c d.

107. J. Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge, 1999, p. 467.

108. For the literature on Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS PLU.LXI.10, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 111–16, 139–41, 192–6, with the older bibliography, H. Stahl, review in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), p. 419; Folda, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 54–5; B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300–1450*, Teil II: Venedig, 1. Bd, Berlin, 1980, pp. 25–7, 29, 30, Fig. 45; L. Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale, Il Viaggio dei Testi*, Rubbettino, 1999, pp. 90–1.

The main contents/decoration of Florence, Laurenziana MS PLU.LXI.10 is as follows:

Old French Translation of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* (Books 1–22), with continuation to 1277 in Old French.

349 folios, with 32 gatherings of 10 folios each, 3 gatherings with 8 folios each (gatherings 28, 30, and 34), and 1 gathering with 6 folios (gathering 2); overall there are only two leaves missing, and a misfoliation at fol. 158. Overall dimensions, 38.8 × 26.85 cm.

Text in two columns of 42 lines each (scribe 1), and 42 or 43 lines each (scribe 2).

Justification, 25.1 × 17.1 cm, interval, 1.45 to 1.55 cm.

25 miniature panels, and 1 historiated initial, with large red and blue calligraphically decorated book incipit initials for the 25 panels, and small red and blue calligraphic chapter initials.

Rubrics.

Acre, 1291.

Fol. 10r, Book 1, (L)es ancienes estoires… (panel: 10.1 × 7.25 cm).

> Pilgrims praying at the Holy Sepulcher.
> Rubrics: Se est le livre dou conquest de la terre sainte de ierlm.

Fol. 24r, Book 2, (V)enus estoit le mois daost… (panel: 9.85 × 7.7 cm).

> The bishop of Le Puy, Adhemar, and the men of the First Crusade ride toward the Holy Land.

Rubrics: Ce est le segont livre dou conqst de la terre sainte de ierlm en qi se contient coment le duc godefroi & les autres granz barons q vos ores nomer se vinret de lor pays por venire la conqrre.

Fol. 33r, Book 3, (D)e la cite de nique... (panel: 8.45 × 7.7 cm).

The Crusaders attack Nicaea.

Rubrics: Ce est le tiers livre ou quell se contient coment la cite de nique fu prise. Mes premier vo dirons coment elle est assise. & coment notre gent lassegierent.

Fol. 42r, Book 4, (O)r aves oy coment tancre... (panel: 8.75 × 7.4 cm).

Antioch is attacked by the Crusaders with infantry and siege engines.

Rubrics: Ce est li quars livres ou ql se contient coment baudoyn conquest la conte de rohais & coment noz genz alerent devant antioche & lassegierent. & coment il soufrirent grant poine & gnt mesaise einsois quil la conquistrent.

Fol. 51r, Book 5, (V)oiant les seignors dantioche... (panel: 8.85 × 7.35 cm).

The Crusaders, after defeating the invading Turkish army, chase them to Harim.

Rubrics: Ci comense li quins livres ou quel se contient coment noz genz après grant poine & grant mesaise quil quil [sic] orrent souferte; conquistrent antioche. Mes premier ores coment anxiaus par ces lettres & ces messages avoit fet assembler gnz genz defors la cite por venire combater anoz genz.

Fol. 61r, Book 6, (I)a cestoient bien saoul... (panel: 8.8 × 7.5 cm).

The Crusaders enter and take Antioch with much carnage in the city. Some Antiochenes take refuge in the citadel of the city.

Rubrics: Ci commence li .vi. livre ou quell se contient coment corbagaz asseia noz genz en antioche. & coment la lance dont nre sires ot persie le coste en la crins fu trouvee. & coment après ce quil orrent souferte grant mesaise & grant famine desconfirent corbagaz.

Fol. 70v, Book 7, (C)es choses furent ensi atiriees en la cite... (panel: 8.7 × 7.6 cm).

Two Crusader envoys deliver a message to the emperor of Constantinople.

Rubrics: Ce est li setisme livre ou quel se contient coment noz genz requistrent lempereor de Constantinople de covenances ql avoit a yaus. & coment il murent de la terre dantioche por venire en ierlm & que en leur voie il gaaignierent la cite de tortose & rames & offrirent rames & liddes a mon seignor seint iorge & coment il vindrent après devant la sainte cite de ierlm.

Fol. 80v, Book 8, (V)erites es que la saite cite... (panel: 8.5 × 7.7 cm).

The city of Jerusalem between two mountains.

Rubrics: Ci commence li viii livre ou quel se contient coment noz genz conquistrent la sainte cite de ierlm mes premierment vos dirons des ostre de la terre.

Fol. 89v, Book 9, (S)i come vos aves oy li pelerin (panel: 8.45 × 7.6 cm).

The pilgrims pray at the Holy Sepulcher.

Rubrics: Ci comence li neuvisme livre ou quel se contient coment le duc godefroi fu esleu a roi & a gouverneor dou roiaume de ierlm & coment il trespassa de cest siecle.

Fol. 99r, Book 10, (R)ois fu le duc godefroi de ierlm... (panel: 8.5 × 7.5 cm).

The coronation of Baldwin I.

Rubrics: Ci comense li × livre ou ql se contiet coment baudoyn le frere le duc godefroi fu roi de ierlm. Et coment la cite de tortose fu conquise & douse au conte de tholouse. Et coment li rois baudoyn conquest le chastel darsur & cesaire. [la cite & raiaes] sur les ennemis de la [feimes] premier: vos dirai dou roi baudoyn.

Fol. 111v, Book 11, (E)stes estoit ia passes le prince buemont... (panel: 8.6 × 7.35 cm).

Bohemond gives Tancred custody of the Principality of Antioch as he sets out for the West.

Rubrics: Ci comence li onzeime livre, ou quel se contient coment le prince buemont passa outre mer. & coment noz genz gaaignierent la cite de gibelet. & celle de triple & la cite de baruth & de seete.

Fol. 126v, Book 12, (X)erses fu un puissant roi de la terre... (panel: 8.6 × 7.5 cm).

The funeral and mourning for the dead King Baldwin I.

Rubrics: Cest le douzime livre ou ql se contient come baudoyn de borc fu roi de ierlm & come lordre dou temple comesa. Et coment une grant navie de veneciens aveuc lor diex vin en surie & les covenances q les barons de la terre orrent a els por la conqueste de sur.

Fol. 138v, Book 13, (F)ort fu a gnt merveilles la cite de sur... (panel: 8.45 × 7.45 cm).

The Crusaders sail to the city of Tyre.

Rubrics: Ce est le trezeime livre ou quel se contient coment noz genz olave [sic] des veniciens assigierent la cite de sur. & coment elle lor fu rendu & coment le roi baudoyn qui estoit en prison fu delivre morut.

Fol. 149v, Book 14, (R)ois fu après de ierlm fouques le gendre le roi... (panel: 8.45 × 7.55 cm).

The coronation of Fulk of Anjou as king of Jerusalem.

Rubrics: Ce est le quatorzeime livre ou ql se contient coment fouqs li cuens danio fu roi de ierlm & come lemperere iohan de costantinople passa en Surie & assist antioche por mau dou prince & coment il sacorderent puis.

Fol. 162v, Book 15, (A)pres le mois dyver quant li dous tens fu retornes... (panel: 8.5 × 7.45 cm).

The emperor of Constantinople and his men besiege Shayzar.

Rubrics: Ce est le quinzeime livre ou ql se contient coment lemperere de costatinople & le prince dantioche & li cues de rohais assegierent cesaire la gnt & sen partirent sanz riens faire & coment la baye sainte ladre de Bethune fu premier establie & comt le roi fouque trespassa de cest siecle.

Fol. 174v, Book 16, (N)e demora gaires apres la mort au roi folque... (panel: 8.45 × 7.45 cm).

The coronation of Baldwin III.

Rubrics: Ce est le sezeime livre ou ql se contient coment baudoyn fiz dou roi fouque fu corone a roi de ierlm & coment les sarrazins pristrent la cite de belinaz. & coment conrat lemperere dalemaigne & le roi loys de france vindrent en surie. ou il orrent ennui asses a la voie.

Fol. 188v, Book 17, (C)onras lemperere dalemaigne doit ester premier nomes... (panel: 8.45 × 7.65 cm).

The Second Crusade: the council at Acre with Emperor Conrad of Germany and King Louis VIII of France.

Rubrics: Ce est disetisme livre ou quel se contient coment lempere dalemaigne & le roi de france & celui de ierlm assegierent la cite de domas... & coment la conte de rohais fu livree a lempereor de costantinople & coment la cite descalone fu conqse.

Fol. 203r, Book 18, (O)r parlerons un poi de ce qui avint en antioche... (panel: 8.45 × 7.65 cm).

The abuse of the patriarch of Antioch by Raynauld de Chatillon.

Rubrics: Ce est le disehuitisme livre ou ql se contient coment renaut de chastillo espousa la princesse dantioche. & la devise coment la maison de lhospital de saint iohan fu premierement establie. & coment noz genz pristrent cesaire la grant. Et coment le roy baudoyn trespassa de cest sciecle.

Fol. 219v, Book 19, (R)emes estoit un frere le roi baudoyn... (panel: 7.9 × 7.65 cm).

The coronation of Amaury I.

Rubrics: Ce est le xviiii livre ou quel se contient coment li rois amauri fu coronez a roi de ierlm. & coment il passa pluisors fois en egypte por aidier & por gueroier cil dou pays. Et coment norredins prist arieres la cite de belinaz.

Fol. 232v, Book 20, (U)ne chose ne viaus ge mie laissier a dirre... (panel: 8.5 × 7.7 cm).

Two Crusader envoys, archbishop Hernesius and Eudes de St. Amand, deliver a message to the emperor of Byzantium requesting a wife for King Amaury.

Rubrics: Ce est le .xx. livre ou ql se contient coment le roi amauri espousa feme. Et coment Salahadin comesa a regner en egypte. Et coment un gnt ost del empereor de costantinople vint en surie por conquerre egypte. Et coment li sires de hassisins se vost faire crestien & sa gent & par q il fu destorbe. Et coment le bon roi amauri trespassa de cest sciecle.

Fol. 246r, Book 21, (M)olt fu grant le duel en la terre ... (panel: 7.6 × 7.55 cm).

The dead King Amaury is mourned.

Rubrics: Ce est le .xxi. livres ou ql se contient coment le roi baudoyn qui fu mesiau fu roi de ierusalem.

Fol. 258v, Book 22, (B)uemont le prince datioche ... (panel: 8.5 × 7.85 cm).

Baldwin IV prepares to give his sister, Sibylle, to Guy to Lusignan to marry.

Rubrics: Ce est le .xxii. livre. ou ql se contient coment le roi baudoyn dona sa seror a gui de lezignan. Et coment & por quoi une taille fu faite lors ou roiaume. Et dune q forst entre la gent dou pays. & coment baudoyn lenfant fu corones a roi. Et coment le roi baudoyn le mesiau trespassa de cest sciecle.

Fol. 275, Book 23, Ch. 6, (D)evant ce q li rois fu mors ... (panel: 8.8 × 7.65 cm).

The patriarch of Jerusalem crowns Balwin V, the king's nephew, in the presence of King Baldwin IV and a Crusader baron.

Rubrics: Ce est le .xxiii. livre ou ql se contient coment le marqs de monferat ayol le iuene roi vint en surie. Et comt le iuene roi morut et coment gui de lezignan fu corone a roi de ierlm. Et coment par the pechie & lenvie as crestiens te te [sic] [laierie] fu perdu fors foulement fui q fu garentie par le fiz au marquis a come vos orres apres.

Fol. 292r, Book 24, (E)n ycel tens q le roi richart mut dengleterre ... (panel: 8.1 × 7.7 cm).

The Crusaders attack Acre by sea.

Rubrics: Ce est le .xxiiii. livre ou ql se contient coment le roi de france & le roi dengleterre passerent en surie. – couvrerent partie – terre. Et coment un contens forst [contre] ces .ii. seignors de quoi grant domage fu a la terre de surie. Et coment le roi richart en fois venir gaaigna fui les grex lisle de chypre qui vendi [tous] au rois gui de lezignan.

Fol. 316r, Book 25, (I)l avint chose q li rois beyme q fu mort ... (panel: 8.2 × 7.9 cm).

The Coronation of John of Brienne and his wife.

Rubrics: Ce est le vintessinqueime livre ou ql se contient coment le roiaume eschey a la fille au marqs q fu feme le roi iohan & mere de la feme lempereor federic.

Fol. 336v, Book 26, (L)i rois de france arriva ... (illuminated book initial in conjunction with miniature: panel is 8.55 × 8.85 cm).

1. Louis IX and his men set out for Aigues Mortes.
2. Louis IX and his men sail for Cyprus and the Holy Land.

Fol. 349r, ... dedenz la mayson dou temple. (end)

109. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 112.

110. The domed structure with a cross on top is unlikely to be the Templum Domini because although it was and is the most prominent domed building in the city and the Crusaders did give it a cross on top when it was consecrated as a church in the 1140s, the cross was taken down by Saladin in 1187.

111. See the silk, lampas weave, silk and gold thread fragment with winged dragons from central Asia, *c.*1300, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1973.269), illustrated in R. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2002, p. 37, Fig. 25.

112. Degenhart and Schmitt, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300–1450*, Teil II, Venedig, bd. 1, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis", edition from 1316–21, in the following manuscripts: Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, MS V. F.35 (Fig. 8); Rome, Vatican MS lat. 2972, (Figs. 19–20, 42); Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS D.203 inf.(Katalog 636, Pls. 1–4); and Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS lat. Z.410 (1650) (Katalog 637, Pls. 1–3).

113. Degenhart and Schmitt, *Corpus*, p. 28, Fig. 48.

114. Ibid., p. 29, Figs. 43, 44.

115. R. Pallucchini, *La Pittura Veneziana del Trecento*, Venice-Rome, 1964, Pl. XI between pp. 82 and 83.

116. See Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 9404–5, fol. 110, in F. Gualdi, "Marin Sanudo illustrato," *Commentari*, 20 (1969), p. 187, Fig. 31, and M. Muraro, *Paolo da Venezia*, University Park, PA, and London, 1970, Pl. 59, opposite p. 46.

117. On the type of ship and the rigging, see F. C. Lane, "Le Navi raffigurate nello Zibaldone," in Zibaldone da Canal, *Manoscritto mercantile del secolo XIV, Fonti per la storia di Venezia*, sez. V, Fondi Var. (Venice, 1967), p. LXII and n. 7.

118. See the magnificent new critical edition of this text by P. Edbury (ed.), John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500, vol. 50, Leiden and Boston, 2003.

119. For the literature on Venice, Biblioteca Marciana MS fr. App. 20 (=265), see P. Edbury and J. Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 243–54, with older bibliography, and Pl. 31; P. Edbury, "The *Livre des Assises* by John of Jaffa: The Development and Transmission of the Text," *The Crusades and Their Sources*, pp. 169–79; J. Folda, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 51–2, 55, 57, 58, and 272, Pl. 5.

The main contents/decoration of Venice, Biblioteca Marciana MS fr. App. 20 (=265) is as follows: [This manuscript consists of two distinct codices bound together.]

Part 1 of the manuscript: fols. 1–10, and i–cciv, from Acre, *c.*1290:

Jean d'Ibelin's *Livre des Assises* and various other texts, in Old French.

29 gatherings of which gatherings 2 and XXVI have 4 fols. each, gatherings 1, I, X, XIX, and XXVII have 6 fols. each, and the rest have 8 fols. each; 31.0 × 22.0 cm.

Text in two columns of 34 lines each.

Part 2 of the manuscript: fols. ccv–ccclxiv, from Cyprus, mid-fourteenth century [after 1346]:

Philippe de Novare and various other texts, in Old French.

20 gatherings of 8 folios each; 31.0 × 22.0 cm.

Text in two columns of 34 lines each.

Part 1:

Fol. 1r, rubrics: Ci commence le livre des assises & des bons usages dou roiaume de iherusalem qui furent establis & mis en escrit par le duc godefroi de buillon. qui lor par comun acort fu esleu a roi & a seignor dou dit roiaume & par lordenement dou patriarche de iherusalem q lors primes fu esleu & sacre & par le conseill des autres rois princes & barons qui après le duc godefroi furent.

[text] (Q)uant la sainte cite de ierlm fu conqse ... (Illuminated initial below the miniature panel: pink (Q) with long tail and pinwheel flourish in the lower margin, each scalloped stem of which is embellished with a gold disc.)

Miniature panel on fol. 1r, 7.9 × 13.9 cm (Fig. 339).

The *haute cour* of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem with the king and patriarch presiding.

120. Edbury and Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts," pp. 243–54, Pls. 32, 33. There is a third manuscript closely related to these two, another codex in Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 19096, also unillustrated. It would appear to have been done on Cyprus in the very early fourteenth century. See ibid., p. 250

121. Below the rubrics six lines were left blank, which are now filled with a modern notation on the contents of this manuscript.

122. Even though there were two obvious traditions that existed, the imagery of the *Traditio Legis* from Early Christian times, and the imagery of the illustrated *Decretum* of Gratian from more recent times, both of these traditions pertained to religious or canon law. The *Livre des assises* was, however, a secular law code written in the vernacular, which would have required an independent artistic interpretation in the Latin East.

For the *Traditio Legis*, see C. Davis-Weyer, "Das Traditio – Legis – Bild und seine Nachfolge," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XII (1961), pp. 7–45. For the illustration of Gratian's *Decretum*, see A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, tome 1, vols. 1–3, Rome, 1975, esp. vol. 1, pp. 3–19, and 23 f., vol. 3, Appendix and pp. 1229 f.

123. See, for example, for Antioch, Paris MS fr. 9084, fol. 64v, or Boulogne sur Mer MS 142, fol. 49v; for Tyre, Florence MS PLU.LXI.10, fol. 138v; and for Jerusalem, also with a domed building, in Florence MS PLU.LXI.10, fol. 80v, as illustrated in CD Figures 374, 397, 482 and 477, respectively.

124. See for example, the icons of Sts. Sergios and Bacchus (no. 63), St. Sergios with a donor (no. 80), and Sts. George and Theodore (no. 1463).

125. G. Schlumberger et al., *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1943, p. 69, no. 163, illustrated by S. Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano oggi di Malta...*, Lucca, 1733, Pl. VIII, no. 66, also reproduced in Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae*, pp. 319–20, no. 423.

126. See S. Schein, "The Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the Late Thirteenth Century – *Seignors Espiritueles et Temporeles?*," *Outremer*, pp. 297–305.

127. For further considerations on the colorism, see Folda, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre," pp. 51–9, and 269–72.

128. Edbury, "The *Livre des Assises* by John of Jaffa," pp. 172–3, "This manuscript – or rather this section of the manuscript – seems to date to *c.* 1290."

129. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London, 1972, p. 75.

130. For the literature on Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 11907, see R. W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900–ca. 1470)*, trans. M. Hoyle, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 194–200, cat. no. 16, with the older bibliography; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 103–11, 192, no. 11; and the two basic publications: L. G. Friedman, *Text and Iconography for Joinville's Credo*, Cambridge, MA, 1958, and H. F. Delaborde and P. Lauer, "Un projet de decoration murale inspiré du Credo de Joinville," *Monuments et mémoires publiées par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Piot)*, 16 (1909), pp. 61–84.

N.B.: "This manuscript forms part of the literary remains of Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741)[sic], Mss. 11904–11920." (Scheller, *Exemplum*, p. 195.)

The main content/decoration of Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat. 11907 is as follows: (Fig. 341)

1 bifolium extant, 34.4 × 22.4 cm, gatherings, 1 (missing), 2 (with two folios).

Justification:

Fol. 231r, 27.9 × 17.7 cm.
Fol. 231v, 27.95 × 17.5 cm.
Fol. 232r, 27.85 × 17.75 cm.
Fol. 232v, 28.3 × 17.75 cm.

Drawings in rectangular frames in three registers except on fol. 232v, which has four registers. Occasional use of red and pale yellow coloring for the images. Text captions rubricated, except, for example, "HELIAS" in black, and small labels for figures also in black ink.

131. Scheller, *Exemplum*, p. 195.

132. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 103–11.

133. Scheller, *Exemplum*, pp. 199–200.

134. H. Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church, A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism*, 's-Gravenhage and New York, 1974, p. 78.

135. J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310*, London, 1967, pp. 46–52.

136. Scheller, *Exemplum*, p. 200, n. 8.

137. I am offering these considerations to complement the argument already presented in *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 107.

138. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 107–9.

139. Lauer, in Delaborde and Lauer, "Un projet de décoration murale inspiré du Credo de Joinville," p. 92.

140. Both of these icons are found today in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia, Cyprus. For color plates see A. Papageorghiou, *Icons of Cyprus*, Nicosia, 1992, pp. 51–3.

141. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, pp. 209–37, esp. p. 217.

142. See now A. Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and Their Pasts in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 45–64; A. Staring, O.Carm., *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, Textus et Studia Carmelitana, vol. 16, Rome, 1989, pp. 49–51, 54–61; E. Friedman, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel*, Institutum Historicum Teresianum, Studia 1, Rome, 1979, pp. 197–99; J. Smet, O.Carm., *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, ca. 1200 A.D. until the Council of Trent*, Illinois, 1975, pp. 24–6; *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique*, eds. A. De Meyer and E. van Cauwenbergh, vol. 11, Paris, 1949, col. 1081. The new Carmelite white mantle was confirmed by Pope Boniface VIII in 1295.

143. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291," pp. 218, 227, n. 49.

144. A. Weyl Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, see esp. pp. 242–4.

145. E. J. Stern, "Ceramic Ware from the Crusader Period in the Holy Land," *Knights of the Holy Land, The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. S. Rozenberg, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 258–65.

146. Ibid., p. 260.

147. E. Stern, "Export to the Latin East of Cypriot Manufactured Glazed Pottery in the 12th–13th Century," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 325–6.

148. Stern, "Ceramic Ware from the Crusader Period in the Holy Land," *Knights of the Holy Land*, ed. S. Rozenberg, pp. 262–3, with color plates of some of these works in Figures 6–9 on pp. 263–5.

149. Stern, "Export to the Latin East of Cypriot Manufactured Glazed Pottery," pp. 327–8.

150. J. Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," *HC*, 6, p. 387.

151. Ibid., and see D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, London, 1995, p. 323, no 58.

152. R. Kool, "Currency and Coins in the Frankish East (1099–1291)," *Knights of the Holy Land, the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. S. Rozenberg, Jerusalem, 1999, p. 279, and Pl. 19. Kool notes that the full publication of this hoard will appear by E. Galili and K. Sharbit in a forthcoming issue of *'Atiqot.*

153. D. Metcalf, R. Kool, and A. Berman, "Coins from the Excavations at 'Atlit (Pilgrims' Castle and Its *Faubourg*)," *'Atiqot*, XXXVII (1999), pp. 91*, 93* with an extensive catalogue/analysis and bibliography on pp. 114*–64.*

154. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Pl. 26, no. 667; and J. Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection of Coins of the Crusades*, London, 1997, nos. 594–5.

155. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, Pl. 26, nos. 668–70; and Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection*, nos. 597–601.

156. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, Pl. 20, nos. 490–3, and 497–8; Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection*, nos. 369–80.

157. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, pp. 201–5; Porteous, *The John J. Slocum Collection*, nos. 602, 609; and A. Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States*, New York, 1994, pp. 254–5.

158. R. Irwin, "A Note on Textual Sources for the History of Glass," *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East*, ed. R. Ward, London, 1998, pp. 24–6.

159. F. Aldsworth et al., "Medieval Glassmaking at Tyre, Lebanon," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 44 (2002), pp. 49–66.

160. S. Carboni, G. Lacerenza, and D. Whitehouse, "Glassmaking in Medieval Tyre: The Written Evidence," *Journal of Glass Studies*, 45 (2003), pp. 139–49.

161. R. Irwin, "A Note on Textual Sources for the History of Glass," p. 24. See also J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem: 1174–1277*, London, 1973, pp. 63–4, 226.

162. For comments on the minor arts, see N. Brosh, "Between East and West: Glass and Minor Arts in the Crusader Kingdom," *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. S. Rozenberg, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 267–71. See also A. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, London and New York, pp. 143–92, and examples of minor arts from the thirteenth century presented in M. Rey-Delqué, *Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096–1270*, Milan, 1997, passim on pp. 393–429.

163. Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 22.

164. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 74.

165. Ibid., p. 77.

166. Ibid., p. 140.

167. Ibid., p. 115, and n. 8, with the following literature: "*De Excidio Urbis Acconis Libri II*," *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Amplissima Collectio*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, Paris, 1724–33, vol. 5, p. 758, and V. M. LeClerq, "Relation anonyme de la prise d'Acre en 1291," *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. XX, Paris, 1842, pp. 79–89, among other articles.

168. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 117.

169. Ibid., p. 78.

170. These quotations are cited from the text of J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, a Short History*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp. 255–6.

171. E. Siberry, "Images of the Crusades in the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995, p. 379.

172. Ibid., pp. 379, 381.

173. Ibid., pp. 379–81, and colorplate opposite p. 404.

174. Ibid., p. 367. The sword of Godefroy de Bouillon he is referring to is now kept in the Franciscan sacristy of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. See Folda, *ACHL 1*, p. 40 and Pl. 3.2.

175. Siberry, "Images of the Crusades in the 19th and 20th Centuries," pp. 367–8.

176. Ibid., p. 372.

177. M. Piccirillo, "I Frati Minori al servizio dei Luoghi Santi," *In Terra Santa Dalla Crociata alla Custodia dei Luoghi Santi*, ed. M. Piccirillo, Milan, 2000, pp. 44–57. The Franciscan presence in the Holy Land dates from the time of St. Francis in 1217, but the "Custody of the Holy Land" dates from 1333, when according to Franciscan historians, negotiations between the Mamluk sultan and the king and queen of Naples, Robert and Sancha, resulted in the reestablishment of Latin clergy in the holy places. See S. de Sandoli, *The Peaceful Liberation of the Holy Places in the XIV Century: The Third Return of the Frankish or Latin Clergy to the Custody and Service of the Holy Places through Official Negotiations in 1333*, Cairo, 1990, and the popular account in *The Custody of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1981, with information on current activities.

As for the presence of other, Eastern Christians at the holy sites, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher epitomizes this arrangement and its convoluted history over the centuries. Today there are three major communities, the Latins, represented by the Franciscans, the Greek Orthodox, and the Armenians at the Holy Sepulcher, along with three minor communities, the Syrians, the Copts, and the Ethiopians. On the status of the Christian holy sites in modern Israel, see W. Zander, *Israel and the Holy Place of Christendom*, New York, 1971.

178. N. Bux, "I Codici della Custodia," *In Terra Santa: Dalla Crociata alla Custodia dei Luoghi Santi*, pp. 156–9, and idem, "I Codici liturgici del Monte Sion e del Santo Sepolcro," ibid., pp. 283–4. See also the basic publication: N. Bux, *I codici liturgici latini di Terra Santa*, Fasano, 1990.

179. F. Cardini, "La Custodia di Terra Santa, l'Italia e l'Europa," *In Terra Santa: Dalla Crociata alla Custodia dei Luoghi Santi*, pp. 174–83; J. Herrojo, "La Spagna, il Regno di Napoli e la Terrasanta," *In Terra Santa: Dalla Crociata alla Custodia dei Luoghi Santi*, pp. 184–5; F. Cardini, "Genova e la Terrasanta," *In Terra Santa: Dalla Crociata alla Custodia dei Luoghi Santi*, pp. 186–9, with magnificent vestments focused on images of St. George and the Dragon; and M. C. Paczkowski, "Relazioni tra la Polonia e la Terrasanta," *In Terra Santa: Dalla Crociata alla Custodia dei Luoghi Santi*, pp. 190–1.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION: WHAT IS CRUSADER ART?

1. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1972, p. 558.

2. C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols., 2 albums, Paris, 1925–8.

3. T. S. R. Boase in, *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, vol. 4, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard, Madison and London, 1977.

4. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, pp. 361–2.

5. R. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus*, vols. 1 and 2, Cambridge, 1993 and 1998, which will be, when volume 3 is published in the near future, the modern critical successor to the fundamental early studies by French scholars. I refer to those of Count M. de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, and the subsequent great publications of Vincent and Abel for Jerusalem, and C. Enlart for the Crusader States more generally. Both of the latter works focused on architecture although Vincent and Abel dealt more broadly with the history of Jerusalem approached through archaeology, and whereas Enlart emphasized architecture as the core of his study, he commented on sculpture and the minor arts as well. These early works are discussed in Chapter 1.

6. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, p. 361.

7. Ibid.

8. J. Folda, "The South Transept Façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: An Aspect of 'Rebuilding Zion'," *The Crusades and Their Sources*, pp. 239–57.

9. J. Riley-Smith, "Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, eds. D. Abulafia and N. Berend, Aldershot and Burlington, 2002, p. 125.

10. See, for example, R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193*, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 40–63, and J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London, 1972, pp. 504–33.

11. R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlements in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 3–5, and passim; Riley-Smith, "Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," pp. 121–31.

12. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, 1980, p. 367.

13. Burchard of Mount Sion, AD 1280, "A Description of the Holy Land," trans. A. Stewart, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, 12, London, 1897, rpt. New York, 1971, pp. 2–3, and Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* (1283), *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, ed. S. de Sandoli, vol. 4, Jerusalem, 1984, pp. 122, 124.

14. This is Paris, BNF, MS fr. 20125, done in the late 1280s by a painter who may have worked with the Paris–Acre Master, and indeed may even have trained with him. See my discussion in Chapter 7, n. 494.

15. The essential recent publications on this debate are by Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 3rd edn., Basingstoke and New York, 2002, and Giles Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington, DC, 2001, pp. 121–31.

16. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 256–65; idem, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, London, 1972, pp. 277–86; Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c.1071–c.1291*, trans. J. Birrell, Cambridge, 1999.

17. C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of the Crusade*, Stuttgart, 1935, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart, Princeton, 1977, and Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?" *Historische Zeitschrift*, 259 (1994), pp. 297–336.

18. C. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, Basingstoke, London, Toronto and Buffalo, 1998.

19. See, for example, J. Flori, *La Guerre Sainte: La Formation de l'Idée de Croisade dans l'Occident Chrétien*, Paris, 2001, derived from his earlier work, and articulated earlier by P. Alphandéry and A. Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'Idée de Croisade*, 2 vols., Paris, 1954–9.

20. J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 3rd edn., and N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford, 1992, and idem, "The Crusading Movement, 1274–1700," *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1997, pp. 260–93.

21. See, for example, the review by H. E. Mayer of the book by J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 1st edn., Basingstoke and London, 1977, in *Speculum*, 53 (1978), pp. 841–2.

22. H. L. Kessler, "On the State of Medieval Art History," *Art Bulletin*, 70 (1988), pp. 169–71, 174, 183, 186, alluded to the diversity of Crusader art as an emerging subject without attempting to define its nature or to resolve the various approaches to the interpretation of its development to that point.

23. "Si l'on pouvait transporter les églises du royaume de Jérusalem dans les vallées du Rhône, de l'Allier ou de la Garonne, il n'en est pas une qui semblerait hors de son milieu." C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, vol. 1, Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1925, p. 32.

24. P. Deschamps, "La Sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'epoque des croisades," *Memoires et monuments de la fondation Piot*, 31 (1930), pp. 91–118.

25. The pioneering work in this period was by Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, rpt. London, 1986. This was followed by two articles published by Kurt Weitzmann: "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," in the *Art Bulletin*, 45 (1963), pp. 179–203, and "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), pp. 49–83, along with other papers by Weitzmann, E. Kitzinger, J. Stubblebine, and Hugo Buchthal, drawn from the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," April 29–May 1, 1965. The relevant work of Otto Demus appeared in the publication of the 1966

Wrightsman Lectures, entitled, *Byzantine Art and the West*, New York, 1970.

26. No book-length studies have yet appeared on Crusader glass, pottery, or textiles; virtually all major publications on these media have appeared in journals and exhibition or museum catalogues.

27. See Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 175–245, and the studies by R. Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 48 (1989), 66–78, and his important article entitled, "The French Connection? Vaulting Ambitions and Crusader Architecture," *France and the Holy Land*, eds. D. Weiss and L. Mahoney, pp. 77–94.

28. J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, University Park and London, 1986.

29. J. Folda, *ACHL* 1, pp. 91–7, and G. Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Berlin, 1988, pp. 15–22, Pls. III–V, Figures 3–9.

30. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 1–14, and Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 137–59, among others.

31. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 54–68; D. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge, 1998, and our discussion earlier in this volume in Chapter 6.

32. See Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ms. Plu. LXI.10, in J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291*, Princeton, 1976, pp. 111–16.

33. Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 97–100.

34. Ibid., pp. 289–90, 334–7.

35. For all of these examples I am simply referring to basic earlier publications, bearing in mind that I have discussed them in earlier chapters and provided full documentation there.

P. Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Romane*, Abbaye Ste-Marie de la Pierre qui Vire, 1964, pp. 231–6; T. S. R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria, A. Architecture and Sculpture," *HC* 4, pp. 108–10; and R. D. Pringle, "Architecture of the Latin East 1098–1571," *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith, pp. 166–7.

36. H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 146–68.

37. C. N. Johns, *Guide to 'Atlit: The Crusader Castle, Town & Surroundings*, Jerusalem 1947; ed. R. D. Pringle, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*, Aldershot, Brookfield, 1997, pp. 35–89; and C. Johns, "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1931–2)," ibid., pp. 122–42.

38. B. Dean, "The Exploration of a Crusaders' Fortress (Montfort) in Palestine," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, vol. 22, pt. II, 1927, pp. 91–7.

39. P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte, I: Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Paris 1934, and W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter in Heiligen Land*, Berlin, 1966, pp. 61–3 and Pls. 66–83.

40. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 39–46, 54–68, and 68–87.

41. K. Weitzmann, "The Icons of the Period of the Crusades," [11 (1982)], pp. 201–35.

42. T. Ulbert, *Resafa III: Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiupolis*, Mainz am Rhein, 1990.

43. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd edn., London, 1995, pp. 148–55.

44. Ibid., pp. 43–51.

45. J. Riley-Smith, *What Were The Crusades?*, 3rd edn., Basingstoke and New York, 2002.

46. B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical or an Art Historical Notion?*, Berlin, 1994. See the extensive review of her book by A. von Hulsen-Esch in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 248 (1996), pp. 112–20.

47. Folda, *ACHL 1*, 1995.

48. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 48–51, 116.

49. Ibid., pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

50. Ibid., p. 105. He refers to the painters as "Palestinian artists" on p. 104, but he does not explicitly use the term "Crusader artists" or "Crusader art."

51. K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)] pp. 180–4.

52. Ibid., p. 182.

53. Ch. J. M. de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, rpt. Toronto and Buffalo, 1973.

54. H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vol. II, Paris, fasc. I–II, 1914, fasc. III, 1922, fasc. IV, 1926.

55. C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des croisés dans le royaume de jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. VII, VIII, and atlas, Paris, text, vol. 1, 1925, vol. 2, 1928; atlas in two albums.

56. P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte: Le Crac des Chevaliers*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. XC with album, Paris, 1934; idem, *La Défense du Royaume de Jérusalem*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. XXXIV with album, Paris, 1939; idem, *La Défense du Comté de Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche*, Bibliothèque archéolgique et historique, vol. XC with album, Paris, 1973.

57. T. S. R. Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 2 (1938–9), p. 11. He continued this line of thought, somewhat modified, in idem, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria, A. Architecture and Sculpture," *HC*, 4, pp. 102–5.

Boase was followed by Alan Borg, "Romanesque Sculpture from the Rhone Valley to the Jordan Valley," in J. Folda (ed.), *Crusader Art*, pp. 97–119, who argued for a further precision in seeing Vienne as the source for both Plaimpied and Nazareth. In any case, the view that the Nazareth sculptor(s) was French is a strong one stated by numerous scholars. Consult the works cited in Folda, *ACHL 1*, p. 593, n. 141.

58. Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom," p. 20, offers his important observation on the interchange as follows: "In sculpture, painting and architecture, the West and the East meet and effect exchanges in Palestine: there was also a similar interaction in literature."

59. Boase also remarks on the painter Basil, who signed the Deësis image in the Melisende Psalter (Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom," 14–15). Boase clearly suspects that Basil was an Easterner, but he never comes right out and says it.

On William of Tyre, see P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge, 1988.

60. Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom," p. 15.

61. W. Harvey, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: Structural Survey, Final Report*, London, 1935.

62. *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, vol. 4, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard, London, 1977.

63. O. Demus, review of *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 4, in the *Art Bulletin*, 61 (1979), pp. 636–7.

64. In fact, since Demus was writing his review a great deal of work has been done on "Crusader sculpture" that clearly makes the phenomena of stone, ivory, and metal sculpture commissioned in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem much more intelligible as a Crusader artistic development compared to the bewildering diversity Demus and others found in early studies by Enlart and others. See, for example, the work of A. Borg, H. Buschhausen, J. Folda, L. Koetzsche, B. Kuhnel, Z. Jacoby, N. Kenaan-Kedar, V. Pace, and H. Plommer cited in J. Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 619–37.

65. H. Belting, "Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz," *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte*, 41 (1978), pp. 217–57.

66. Belting, "Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz," pp. 251–4. For the "lingua franca" as a linguistic phenomenon, see H. Kahane et al., *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*, Urbana, 1958.

67. H. Belting, "Introduction," and "Die Reaktion der Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts auf den Import von Reliquien und Ikonen," in *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, vol. 2, Bologna, 1982, pp. 1–10, 35–53.

68. Belting, "Introduction," *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, p. 3.

69. "Il faudrait réserver l'expression 'Art-Croisé,' pour le 12e siècle. Son existence ne participe à la compréhension de l'art occidental qu'au niveau des idées et des programmes, et non à celui des formes et des techniques." Ibid., p. 1.

70. K. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and la 'Maniera greca,'" in *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, pp. 71–7; idem, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," *Byzanz und der Westen*, Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Bd. 432, Vienna, 1984, pp. 143–70.

71. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," pp. 143–4.

72. On the international style around 1400, see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, MA, 1953, vol. I, pp. 51–74; *L'Art europeen vers 1400*, 8th Exhibition of the Council of Europe, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1962; *The International Style: The Arts in Europe around 1400*, Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery, 1962; and *Die Parler und der Schone Stil 1350–1400: Europaische Kunst unten den Luxemburgen*, Cologne, 1978, 5 vols.

73. On the art of Crete in the late medieval period and its parallels with the art of the Crusaders, see Robin Cormack, *Painting the Soul: Icons, Death Masks and Shrouds*, London, 1997, pp. 170–217. On the dynamics of East–West interchange in the late medieval period on Crete, see also now M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, New York, 2001.

74. The most recent reference to the Wilton Diptych is found in the catalogue of the exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, *Gothic: Art for England 1400–1547*, eds. R. Marks and P. Williamson, London and New York, 2003, pp. 16, 17. Another recent article proposes to identify new iconography. See D. Gordon, "A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych," *Burlington Magazine*, 134 (1992), pp. 662–7. Otherwise, see P. Tudor-Craig, "Panel Painting," *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*, eds. J. Alexander and P. Binski, London, 1987, pp. 134–6.

Valentino Pace is one scholar who has discussed these issues. See "L'analisi 'stilistica' come metodologia storica: possibilita e limiti con particolare riferimento alle icone 'crociate'," *Artistes, Artisans et Production Artistique au Moyen Age*, ed. X. Barral i Altet, vol. III, Paris; 1990, pp. 513–23; idem, "Fra la maniera greca e la lingua franca," *Il Classicismo Medioevo, Rinascimento, Barocco, Atti del Colloquio Cesare Gnudi*, Bologna, 1993, pp. 71–81.

75. This same position is adopted by Bianca Kühnel for the twelfth century, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 164–8.

76. Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, "Die Mosaiken der 'Auferstehungskirche' in Jerusalem und die Bauten der 'Franken' im 12. Jahrhundert," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 13 (1979), pp. 442–71. The "Einfuhrung" is found on pp. 442–6.

77. Bulst-Thiele, "Die Mosaiken," p. 442. She quotes the entire passage consisting of fourteen lines in her German text. I only quote the well-known introductory lines here.

78. I have discussed this passage by Fulcher of Chartres in Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 86–7. The content of the entire passage and its purpose must be taken into account.

79. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, 1–14, and Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 137–59.

80. See my remarks on this problem: J. Folda, "Reflections on Art in Crusader Jerusalem about the Time of the Second Crusade: c. 1140–c. 1150," *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers, New York, 1992, pp. 171–82.

81. The only major proposal heretofore was the Riccardiana Psalter said to be commissioned by Frederick II for his third wife, Isabel of England. See Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 39–46. However, that interpretation seems untenable, see Chapter 5, and the issue is far from solved; it is possible that this luxury psalter was done for Isabella of Brienne, the second wife of Frederick II, in Acre, commissioned by her father or a close associate for the bride-to-be.

82. See our discussion in Chapter 6.

83. R. Cormack and S. Mihalarias, "A Crusader painting of St George: 'Maniera Greca' or 'Lingua Franca'?", *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), p. 132.

84. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3, (1966)], p. 61.

85. Pace had already begun the discussion of Crusader styles as related to Italian art in an earlier article. See V. Pace, "Italy and the Holy Land: Import-Export, 2. The Case of Apulia," in Folda (ed.), *Crusader Art*, pp. 245–469.

86. V. Pace, "Italy and the Holy Land: Import-Export, 1. The Case of Venice," *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, eds. V. P. Goss and C. V. Bornstein, Kalamazoo, 1986, p. 334.

87. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," [1 (1963)], p. 182.

88. P. Edbury, "The Latin East, 1291–1669," *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1997, p. 295.

89. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London, 1972.

90. J. Phillips, "The Latin East, 1098–1291," *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1997, p. 112.

91. J. Riley-Smith, "Government and the Indigenous in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Medieval Frontiers*, p. 121.

92. See my comments on the issue of Crusader art as a colonial art in the conclusion to my study of the art of the Crusaders in the twelfth century: Folda, *ACHL 1*, pp. 474–8.

93. V. Pace, "I capitelli di Nazareth e la scultura 'franca' del XII secolo a Gerusalemme," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Salvini*, Florence, 1984, pp. 87–95. Pace contrasts the Nazareth Capitals with French *comparanda* in style.

94. See the discussion of American colonial art and these two monuments in the following works, among others: J. Wilmerding, *American Art*, Harmondsworth, 1976, pp. 3–44, esp. 17–8; D. P. Handlin, *American Architecture*, London, 1985, pp. 9–38, esp. pp. 18–19 and Fig. 11; and M. W. Brown, *American Art to 1900*, New York, 1977, pp. 22–3, 33, 35.

95. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, pp. 64–5.

96. Folda, *ACHL 1*, p. 478 for the quote, and pp. 474–80, and p. 603 n. 4 for the full discussion.

97. See our discussion in Chapters 7 and 8. See also the recent publications on the newly discovered manuscripts by this master and his new name: Folda, "The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187–1291: Some New Realities," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 58 (2005) (forthcoming); idem, "The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre: Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 51–9, 269–72; idem, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 243–54; and idem, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 5334 and the Origins of the Hospitaller Master," *Montjoie*, pp. 177–87.

98. See n. 57 for citation of the works by Boase and Borg, and nn. 53–6 for citations of the older French scholars.

99. D. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, nos. 1–2 (1985–6), Athens, the Gennadius Library, 1986, pp. 9–112, and idem, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of St. Catherine*, ed. K. A. Manafis, Athens, 1990, pp. 102–24, esp. 108–20.

100. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting," p. 83, Fig. 6, and p. 112, Figs. 62 and 63, respectively. The two St. Sergios icons were first published by G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai* (Athens: Institut francais d'Athenes, vol. 1, 1956, vol. 2, 1958), 2, p. 171, and 1, Fig. 187 (St. Sergios), and 2, p. 170, and 1, Fig. 185 (Sts. Sergios and Bacchus). The icon of Sts. Sergios and Bacchus is a bilateral icon with an image of the Virgin Hodegetria on the other side.

101. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," [3 (1966)], pp. 71–3, Fig. 49. See also idem, *The Icon*, [11 (1982)], pp. 206, 232, and idem, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," [14 (1984)], pp. 148–9, Fig. 4.

Weitzmann, "Annotation (1980)," *Studies in the Arts at Sinai*, p. 435 (p. 72), reaffirms his attribution of the artist to Apulia by revising the name of the "Master of the Knights Templars" simply to Apulian or South Italian painters. (In our discussion earlier in Chapter 6 we further proposed to rename these artists to "the Workshop of the Soldier Saints.") In suggesting thereby the idea of a Crusader workshop with several artists, he is close to the position taken by V. Pace, "Italy and the Holy Land: Import-Export, 2. The Case of Apulia," Folda, ed., *Crusader Art*, pp. 245–9.

102. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting," pp. 66–71.

103. Lucy-Anne Hunt, "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Mount Sinai," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1991), pp. 96–124, esp. 106–10.

104. G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, Collection de l'Institut Francais d'Athenes, 102, vol. 2, Athens, 1958, p. 171.

105. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting," p. 77.

106. See, for example, A. Weyl Carr, "East, West, and Icons in Twelfth-Century Outremer," *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, eds. V. Goss and C. V. Bornstein, Kalamazoo, 1986, pp. 347–59, and idem, "Correlative Spaces: Art, Identity, and Appropriation in Lusignan Cyprus," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, Minneapolis, 14/15 (1998/9), pp. 59–80. See also L.-A. Hunt, "Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem (1169), and the Problem of 'Crusader' Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 45 (1991), pp. 69–85, and B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, Berlin, 1994. Also see Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, pp. 167–217.

107. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, p. 167.

108. Ibid., p. 168.

109. Hunt, "Art and Colonialism," p. 69.

110. Ibid., p. 85.

111. A. Weyl Carr, "Images of Medieval Cyprus," *Visitors, Immigrants, and Invaders in Cyprus*, ed. P. W. Wallace, Albany, 1995, pp. 97–8.

112. Crusader Gothic art started on Cyprus in architecture much earlier in the century, but the traditional multicultural Crusader style only really emerges there in the decade before 1291 at the earliest, depending on when we date the two major icon/altarpieces that exemplify this work. See Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291," pp. 211–22.

113. A.Weyl Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," p. 243.

114. A. Weyl Carr, "Icon-Tact: Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," *Treasures in Heaven, Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, Symposium papers, eds. T. Mathews and R. Wieck, New York, 1996, pp. 74, 75 Fig. 1, 98, and 102.

115. Cormack and Mihalarias, "A Crusader Painting of St George: 'Maniera Greca' or 'Lingua Franca,'" p. 132.

116. Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, pp. 176–87. My remarks are based directly on Cormack's text on the pages cited, but the interpretation of the possible usefulness and relevance of this important study of Cretan icons and archives for the study of Crusader art is my extension of Cormack's discussion.

Another important scholar who was working on the icon painting of Crete is the late George Galavaris. We look forward to the publication of his work on this material.

117. M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, New York, 2001.

118. M. Georgopoulou, "Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon," *Medieval Encounters*, 5 (1999), pp. 290–1.

119. D. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," p. 76.

120. B. Zeitler, "Two Iconostasis Beams from Mount Sinai: Object Lessons in Crusader Art," *The Iconostasis: Origins – Evolution – Symbolism*, ed. A. Lidov, Moscow, 2000, p. 234.

121. R. Cormack, "Crusader Art and Artistic Technique: Another Look at a Painting of St George," *Byzantine Icons: Art, Technique and Technology*, ed. M. Vassilaki, Heraklion, 2002, pp. 165–6. Cormack refers to Mouriki's important contribution to K. Manafis (ed.), *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, Athens, 1990, pp. 102–20, 384–7.

122. R. Cormack, "Crusader Art and Artistic Technique: Another Look at a Painting of St George," p. 166.

123. R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, a Corpus*, Cambridge, vol. 1, 1993, vol. 2, 1998.

124. M. H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*, Victoria House, Buckhurst Hill, 1987, published on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem by the World of Islam Trust.

125. A. J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule*, London and New York, 2001, is a useful historical and archaeological survey.

126. Demus, review of *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 4, in the *Art Bulletin*, 61 (1979), pp. 636–7.

127. G. Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst, 14, Berlin, 1988.

128. See the Appendix in this volume. It remains to be seen whether any other volumes in the projected publications of the icons of the Monastery of St. Catherine's begun by K. Weitzmann will be published. So far only the first volume has appeared: K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, vol. I, *From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton, 1976. It also remains to be seen whether the twelfth- and thirteenth-century icons with Arabic inscriptions in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai will be studied and published.

129. B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 67–125; idem, "The Kingly Statement of the Bookcovers of Queen Melisende's Psalter," *Tesserae: Festschrift fur Josef Engemann, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Erganzungsband 18 (1991), pp. 340–57.

130. D. M Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, 2nd edn., London, 1995, and A. G. Malloy, I. F. Preston, and A. J. Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States: 1098–1291*, New York, 1994.

131. See, for example, the recent book of M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, Gloucestershire, 1999, with bibliography; and his previous article, idem, "Jerusalem: The Tomb of Christ," *Current Archaeology*, no. 123 (1991), pp. 107–12.

132. T. Ulbert, *Resafa III: Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiupolis*, Mainz am Rhein, 1990.

133. P. Edbury and J. Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 243–54. Edbury has just recently also published his monumental new critical edition, John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. P. Edbury, Leiden and Boston, 2003.

134. [J. Porteous], *The John J. Slocum Collection of Coins of the Crusades*, London: Sotheby's, 1997, sale on 6 and 7 March.

135. C. Diehl, "Les monuments de l'orient latin," *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 5 (1897), pp. 293–310.

136. For Cyprus, see especially the works of C. Enlart, *Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. and ed. D. Hunt, London 1966; D. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, nos. 1–2 (1985–6), pp. 9–112; and A.Weyl Carr, "Art in the Court of the Lusignan Kings," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia, 1995, pp. 239–74, as well as that of the present author, J. Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, 1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Question," *Cyprus and the Crusades*, pp. 209–37.

For Armenian art see the various works of S. Der Nersessian, especially S. Der Nersessian and S. Agemian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 31, Washington, DC, 1993.

137. C. L. Striker and D. G. Kuban, *Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul, the Buildings, Their History, Architecture and Decoration: Final Reports on the Archeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii, 1966–1978*, Mainz, 1997. A recent M.A. thesis at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill by E. W. Winsor, "Preaching to Byzantium: Constantinople, the Friars Minor and the Latin Empire; Reconsidering the Frescos at Kalenderhane Camii," 2002, has raised a number of questions about Frankish art in Constantinople during the Latin Empire.

138. An important study on fresco painting in the Frankish Morea addresses certain issues relevant to the whole eastern Mediterranean region; see S. Gerstel, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea, *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, Washington, DC, 2001, pp. 263–85.

139. On fresco painting in the Lebanon, including work by Maronite artists, we now have E. C. Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, Wiesbaden, 2004. For Melkite and Syriac artists we have valuable studies by L.-A. Hunt and L. Doumato. See L.-A. Hunt, "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," *ARAM*, 9 & 10 (1997–8), pp. 289–336, and idem, "Christian Art in Greater Syria and Egypt: A Triptych of the Ascension with Military Saints Reattributed," *Al-Masaq*, 12 (2000), pp. 1–36, and L. Doumato, "The Art of Bishop Dioscorus Theodorus: Interpreting Syriac Miniatures in the Crusader East," *Arte Cristiana*, 87 (1999), pp. 245–60.

140. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 117–58.

141. Ibid., pp. 120–8.

142. Ibid., pp. 142–8.

143. Buchthal, *MPLKJ*, p. 70.

144. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 129–30.

145. Ibid., pp. 128–38.

146. Ibid., pp. 148–51, 155–8.

147. Ibid., pp. 152–5, 158.

148. S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis, The Papacy, the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 74–180, and N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580, from Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 22–30.

149. On these treatises, see Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 181 ff., esp. 200–18, and Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 23–4, 36–7.

150. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 171–5; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 21–4.

151. H. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar, a New History*, Phoenix Mill, pp. 230–3.

152. Ibid., pp. 221, 223, and M. Barber, *The New Knighthood, a History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 280–313.

153. Malcolm Barber cites the following story as an example:

> In about 1340 Ludolph of Sudheim, a German priest on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, came upon two elderly men on the shores of the Dead Sea. He entered into conversation with them and discovered that they were former Templars, captured when the city of Acre had fallen to the Mamluks in May 1291, who had since then been living in the mountains, cut off from all communication with Latin

Christendom. They had wives and children and had survived by working in the sultan's service; they had no idea that the Order of the Temple had been suppressed in 1312 and that the Grand Master had been burnt to death as a relapsed heretic two years later. The men were from Burgundy and Toulouse and, within a year, were repatriated, together with their families. Despite the scandal of the suppression, they were honourably received at the papal court, and were allowed to live out the remainder of their existence in peace (Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 1).

154. "Throughout the trial Clement had insisted that the Templar estates should be conserved for the benefit of the crusade to regain the Holy Land. By the time of [the council of] Vienne the Pope had come to favour their cession to the Hospitallers. Clement's determination to pursue this path, despite the opposition of many cardinals, most of the prelates at the Council, and Philip the Fair, forms one of the several extraordinary and unexplained aspects of the trial" (Housley, *The Later Crusades*, p. 213).

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Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the fall of Acre: 1187–1291

Bibliographic Addendum:

During 2004 scholars commemorated the 800th anniversary of the Fourth Crusade and the founding of the Latin Empire in a series of conferences and symposia held in the United States, Athens, Istanbul, and elsewhere. I wish to draw the reader's attention to the eventual publication of the papers of these scholarly meetings which will appear in due course, and which will contain much material of direct relevance to the discussion contained in this book.

In August of 2004, when this book went into production by Cambridge University Press, a number of new books had appeared over the immediately preceeding months – including two books on the Fourth Crusade – which I had either not been able to use for my study, or was able to use, in most cases only partially, based on typescripts and/or proofs which the various authors had kindly sent me prior to the publication of their work. I am listing these new publications below as being directly relevant to the content of this book, for the information of the reader:

Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context*, Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2003.

Paul Crawford, ed., *The 'Templar of Tyre', Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots', Crusade Texts in Translation*, Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2003.

Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, photographs by Raif Nassif, Syriac inscriptions by Amir Harrak, and architectural plans by George Michell and JeanYasmine, *Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients*, vol. 8, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004.

Christina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, Bibliotheca Victorina, 16, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Peter W. Edbury, ed., *John of Ibelin, Le Livre des Assises, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500*, vol. 50, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003.

Anastasia Drandaki, ed., *Pilgrimage to Sinai: Treasures from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine*, Athens: Benaki Museum, 2004, with a very interesting essay – in Greek with an English translation – by Titos Papamastorakis, "The 'Crusader' Icons in the Exhibition," pp. 46–63.

Helen C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004.

Helen C. Evans, *Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt: A Photographic Essay*, Photographs by Bruce White, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.

Hans-Jürgen Kotzur, ed., *Die Kreuzzüge*, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2004, catalogue for an exhibition at the Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesan-museums, Mainz.

Inna Mokretsova, et al., eds., *Materials and Techniques of Byzantine Manuscripts*, [in Russian with English translation], Moscow: Indrik, 2003.

Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*, London: Jonathan Cape, 2004.

Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot and Burlington, Ashgate, 2003.

Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney, eds., *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, Baltimore and London, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Finally, I wish to remind readers that the final volume of Denys Pringle's important work is also in progress and will be forthcoming: R. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. III, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming. Volume III will deal with Acre, Jerusalem, and Tyre.

Readers who wish to continue to update the bibliography in this volume may consult the *Bulletin* of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, now published annually in the journal, *Crusades*, for which volume 3, 2004, has appeared. There are also the relevant sections in the bibliographical supplements published regularly in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.

Jaroslav Folda
Chapel Hill
September 14, 2004

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